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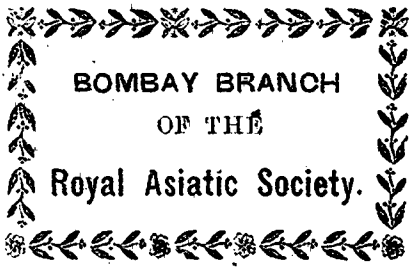

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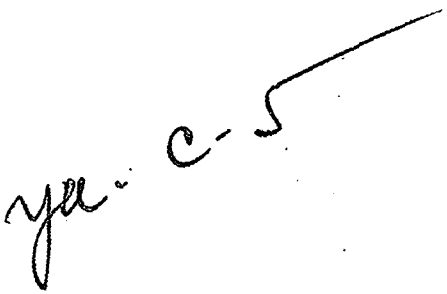

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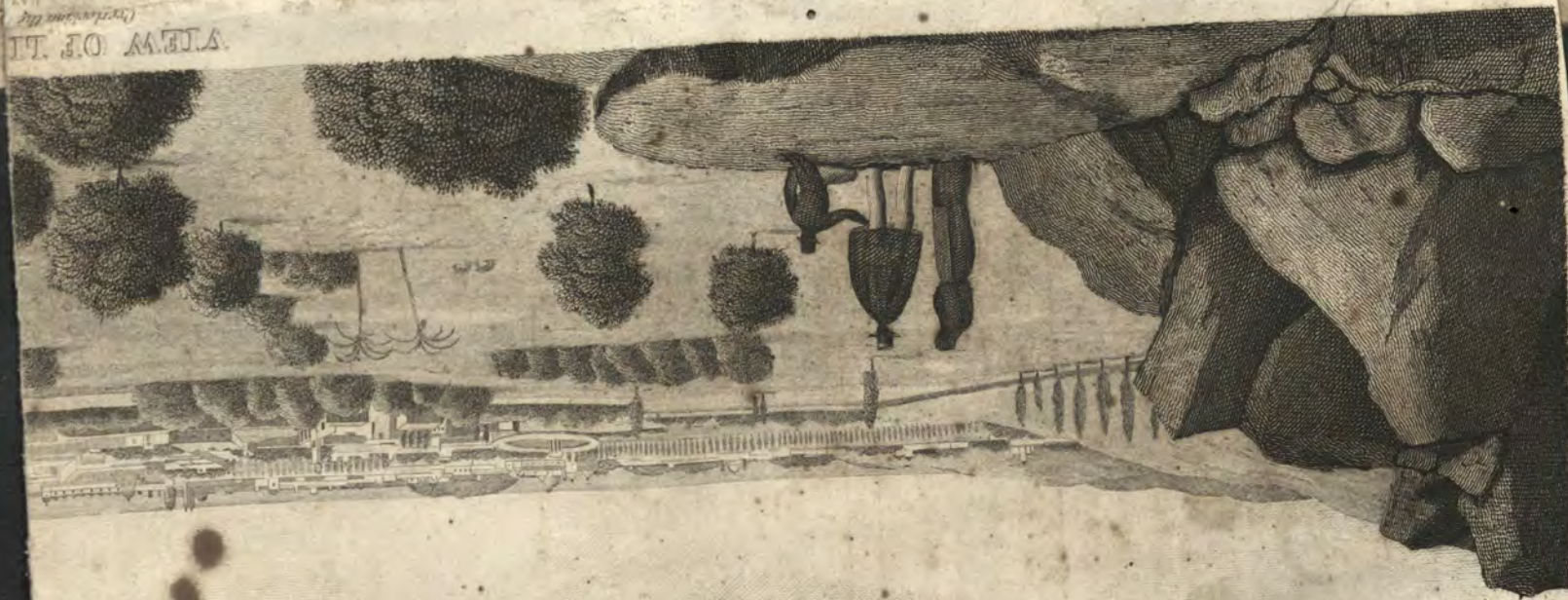

VOYAGE

OF THE

UNITED STATES FRIGATE POTOMAC,

UNDER THE COMMAND OF

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COMMODORE JOHN DOWNES,

DURING THE

CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF THE GLOBE,

IN THE

YEARS 1831, 1832, 1833, AND 1834;

INCLUDING A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE ENGAGEMENT AT QUALLAH-BATTOO, ON THE COAST OF SUMATRA; WITH ALL THE OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE SAME.

BY J. N. REYNOLDS.

Ya. C.5

"NAVAL POWER IS NATIONAL GLORY."

ILLUSTRATED BY SEVERAL ENGRAVINGS.

NEW-YORK:
PUBLISHED BY HARPER & BROTHERS,
NO. 82 CLIFF-STREET,
AND SOLD BY THE PRINCIPAL BOOKSELLERS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES.

1835.

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In the Clerk's Office of the Southern District of New-York.

DEDICATION.

We have been a commercial people from the very germe of our existence; we must ever remain so; and it is the dictate of common sense to protect this commerce. This can only be done by an effective navy. This doctrine was well understood by our ancestors, who, nearly one hundred and fifty years ago, made great exertions to raise a naval force for the purpose of taking Quebec; and in all the subsequent wars up to the time of the siege of Louisburg, a half a century afterward, they continued to increase it, and it was to them power and fame. The spirit of their fathers was then on the wave, and guided them to victory. At this time the provincial armed vessels became quite formidable, and caused great destruction to the French commerce and fisheries. In the war of the revolution our navy crowned itself with glory, in the number and character of the battles it fought. At the time of our difficulties with France, in the days of her revolution, the American navy avenged the insults offered our flag, and gained new laurels. The spirited efforts of our navy in destroying the Barbary powers, for their piratical conduct to us, as well as to other nations, received the highest praise from all the Levant, which was, by the exertions of our naval force, freed from plunder and constant agitation. Even the Pope joined his voice to the plaudits which rang along the shores of the Mediterranean, for the service our naval heroes had rendered the commercial world. In the last war, in which our navy was so efficient and successful,

most of the officers now holding a high rank bore an honourable part. In that contest they not only fought and conquered those

> "Whose flag has braved, a thousand years,
> The battle and the breeze;"

but at the same time achieved a more wondrous victory over the prejudices of many of their own nation; and secured to all coming ages the existence of a navy in this country. The importance of a navy is agreed to by all; and to sustain it as our pride and hopes, has become a common sentiment, beyond the mountains as well as on the seaboard. There breathes not a man in our country "of soul so dead," whose heart is not warmed at the recital of our naval exploits. The slightest deviation of duty, even on board a revenue-cutter, would be a wound to our national pride.

The navy has duties to perform in peace as in war; if not so arduous and dangerous, still they are not less useful. Our flag should be borne to every portion of the globe, to give to civilized and savage man a just impression of the power we possess, and in what manner we can exercise it when justice demands reparation for insulted dignity. A few instances of prompt retaliation have a lasting effect. The strong man, "knowing his rights, and knowing, dares maintain," is seldom ill treated; the weak and timid are those who are trampled upon. While impressing on others our spirit and efficiency, we may learn their ability and resources. With all the enterprise of our countrymen, their navy and commercial marine, still we can say,—

> "Of this huge globe, how small a part we know;"

there is room enough for centuries, with all our zeal, to know and to do.

I have had an opportunity of observing the devotedness of some of our naval officers abroad, in the great cause of national honour; where they have exerted themselves seriously to impress on the minds of all, that the United States, as a people, have no appetite for conquest—no desire for monopoly; but wish for peace and reciprocal commerce with every nation under the sun,—offering no insults, committing no injuries, nor submitting to any offered to themselves.

With these views and feelings, I take the liberty of respectfully dedicating this volume, containing an account of the voyage of the United States ship Potomac, under the command of Commodore John Downes, in the years eighteen hundred and thirty-one, two, three, and four, to the Honourable the SECRETARY AND OFFICERS OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY,—believing that, whatever is well done by one, among a band of brothers, is done by all in feeling and principle; for this is the only way of making up the treasury of a nation's glory.

THE AUTHOR.

April, 1835.

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INTRODUCTION.

In the month of October, 1829, I sailed from the city of New-York in the brig Annawan, N. B. Palmer captain, to the South Seas and Pacific Ocean. The particulars of this voyage, and the circumstances which led to it, as well as those of my subsequent travels by land through the Republic of Chili, and the Araucanian and Indian Territories to the south, will be given to the public in another volume. Suffice it here, that I was at Valparaiso in October, 1832, just three years from the commencement of my voyage, when Commodore Downes arrived at that place, from the coast of Sumatra and some of the principal ports in the East Indies.

He had been for some time expected on that station; and early in the afternoon on the day of his arrival, it had been announced by telegraph, from the high hill which overlooks the town, that a large ship was in the offing. An hour passed away, and the signal announced a man-of-war, southwest from Playa Ancha, with all sail set, standing directly for the port. The wind was fresh, and she approached rapidly. The stripes and stars were seen waving from the mizzen peak of a stately frigate, which was now pronounced by all to be the Potomac. She entered the harbour late in the afternoon, making several seaman-like tacks against a strong southerly breeze. Crowds gathered upon the beach, and the Americans in port evinced emotions of pleasure, as each one felt that the strong and protecting arm of his government was near him.

On the following day I went on board, with the view of visiting several of the officers with whom I had been previously acquainted. Here I received an invitation from the commodore to join the Potomac as his private secretary, the

gentleman who had previously filled that station having died at sea. This is a pleasant birth on board a flag-ship, and I accepted it, as the stay of the commodore on the station promised me a fine opportunity to improve my knowledge of the institutions, natural capacities, commercial resources, and political condition and prospects of so large a portion of South America, which hitherto I had not been able to visit.

The cruise of the Potomac, thus far, had been one of great interest, and the services performed by her of high importance to our commercial interests in the east. News of her arrival at the Island of Sumatra, and her action with the Malays, reached the United States in the early part of July, 1832, at which time Congress was still in session.

Partial statements relative to the occurrences at Quallah-Battoo had been published in the journals of the day; and those papers had now reached the Pacific. The attention of Congress had been called to the subject. Mr. Dearborn, of the House of Representatives, on the 12th day of July, submitted a resolution calling on the President for the instructions under which Commodore Downes acted, in his attack on the Malays of the Island of Sumatra. The resolution was adopted without objections from any quarter; and before the adjournment of the House on the next day, a communication covering the instructions was received from the President, recommending that these papers should not be made public until a full report of the proceedings at Quallah-Battoo should be received from Commodore Downes; intimating, that the vague rumours and partial statements before the public relative to the transactions at that place, when compared with the instructions under which that officer acted, might create an unfavourable prejudice against him in the public mind, which ought to be guarded against during his absence from the country, and until all the circumstances which influenced his mind should be authentically known.

On the reception of these papers, the House of Representatives referred them to the Committee on Foreign Affairs; and after being examined by that committee, the latter unanimously concurred with the President, that the instructions ought not to be published until official, full, and accurate information was received, as to the manner in which the instructions had been executed.

Without taking any further measures on the subject, Congress adjourned on the 16th of July.

It seemed evident that the public mind, though always just when correctly informed, had, in this instance, been misled by partial statements and publications of irresponsible persons, who attempted to pronounce upon the merits of the proceedings at Quallah-Battoo without knowing, or having it in their power to know, a single motive which had influenced the mind of the commodore during his stay on the Malay coast.

These circumstances, together with the extent and nature of the Potomac's voyage,—the direct manner in which the attention of Congress and the country at large had been thus early called to it—seemed to require that an authentic record should be prepared; in which not only the incidents of the voyage, but the public considerations which led to it,—and the motives which, at different periods of the cruise, had operated on the mind of its commander, in carrying into execution the views and instructions of the government, should be faithfully preserved.

It was at this time, and under these circumstances, and with the express sanction of the commodore himself, that I undertook the task of preparing this record—in the execution of which every facility was offered me. Though more or less indebted to most of the officers of the higher grades for some incidents of the voyage, noted down by them on going below from their watches on deck, yet I feel it my duty especially to acknowledge my obligations to Lieutenant R. Pinkham and Acting-lieutenant S. Godon. The former, an intelligent officer, had kept a copious record, day by day, as the incidents of the voyage passed before him, which notes were placed in my hands. The latter, a young officer of high promise, had been an attentive observer, and recorded what he saw. For days, and weeks, and even months, he was ever ready to pore over the charts with me; and, by a vivid recollection, to recall the rich tints of a tropical sky, the phosphorated gleamings of the ocean, or the mellow hues of the landscape among the "summer isles." The commodore's private journal was also in my hands; while the daily communication and unrestrained intercourse which existed between us, enabled me to speak with knowledge of all the public considerations which guided the movements of the frigate under his command.

In comparing what I had written from these authentic sources with the journal kept by N. K. G. Oliver, Esq., the commodore's private secretary during the early part of the voyage, I found not a line to erase, and scarcely a word to add. In addition to all these advantages combined, the length of residence on board of the Potomac, in the midst of those who had been eye-witnesses and actors, by whom the incidents of the past were so often brought in review before us, I found no difficulty in filling up even the lights and shades of the whole picture, up to the period at which I joined the frigate—some twenty months previous to her return to the United States. Being thus familiar with the whole subject, I have found it most convenient to adopt the first person and present tense in the narrative, from the beginning to the end of the cruise.

Where I have travelled beyond the record of the voyage, and say something on our commercial interests in the east, of its history, present condition, and means of its further extension; of sailing directions and the monsoons; of the Chinese, their peculiarities and pagodas; of the Sandwich and Society Islands, their population, missionaries, and foreign residents and traders; of the great Pacific whale fleet, the present derangement of this important branch of commerce, and the necessity of some action on the part of the United States government for the preservation of this interest; of the people of South America, their political and social institutions; of the controversy with the Argentine Republic in relation to the Falkland Islands; or of Rio and the empire of Brazil—I repeat, that what I say on any of these subjects, or others of a like nature, will be at all times on my own responsibility.

A short time after the return of the Potomac, I addressed a line to the Honourable Levi Woodbury, at that time Secretary of the Navy, requesting permission to examine certain public documents on file in the department, from our commercial agents in different parts of the world where the Potomac had touched, and which might contain matter useful in rendering more perfect the details of my work. To this request I received the following reply :—

"Navy Department, 9th June, 1834.

"SIR,

"Your letter of the 5th inst. has been read; I shall be happy to oblige you with the inspection of any papers in this department which are not confidential, and may be useful to you in your contemplated publication.

"I am, very respectfully, yours, &c.

(Signed) "LEVI WOODBURY.

"To J. N. Reynolds, Esq."

The same facilities, in answer to a similar request, were politely proffered me by the Honourable John Forsyth, Secretary of State.

One important object still remained to be accomplished, and without which the work would be very defective; and this was to obtain a copy of the official and public documents connected with the cruise. As there had been special, as well as general instructions from the department to Commodore Downes, I deemed it my duty to inform the latter of my application to the department for copies of these papers, and received from him the following reply; a copy of which I enclosed to the Secretary of the Navy:—

"Charlestown, 26th August, 1834.

"DEAR SIR,

"In answer to your note of the 19th inst., I have to state, that your having undertaken to prepare a Journal of the Potomac's Cruise while on the Pacific station, with my knowledge and approbation, and so often having held free communication with me on the subject; and knowing, as you do, my wish, that whatever is published should be authentic, I can of course have no objection that my instructions from the Navy Department, under which I acted while on the coast of Sumatra, with all official papers and reports made or received during the cruise, should be placed in your hands, with the sanction of the department, for the illustration of your book.

"Yours, very sincerely,

(Signed) "JOHN DOWNES.

"J. N. Reynolds, Esq., New-York."

"Navy Department, September 1st, 1834.

"SIR,

"Your letter of the 27th ultimo has been received, enclosing a copy of Commodore Downes' letter to yourself, consenting to your application for a copy of his instructions.

"The Secretary of the Navy will be here in a few days, when your request shall be submitted to him.

"I am, respectfully, yours,

(Signed) "JOHN BOYLE,

"Acting Secretary of the Navy.

"J N. Reynolds, Esq., New-York."

"Navy Department, 27th September, 1834.

"SIR,

"Your letter of the 20th inst. has been received; Commodore Downes has the permission of the department to furnish you with copies or extracts, as may be most desirable to you, of his instructions and reports in relation to his operations at Quallah-Battoo.

"I am, very respectfully, yours,

"MAHLON DICKERSON.

"P. S. Commodore Downes has this day been authorized to furnish the above papers.

"J. N. Reynolds, Esq., New-York."

With such credentials in my hands, and the consciousness of a well intended effort in my heart, I would respectfully make my *debut* before the American public—uninfluenced by vain ambition, unembarrassed by ill-timed diffidence. If my plain narrative of maritime incidents, perils, and achievements—

"All that occurred, part of which
I was * * * * * * * * * * *"

has no pretension to the charms of fine writing, it has at least the honest merit of truth and fidelity in the delineation of such facts as it purports to record.

VOYAGE

OF THE

UNITED STATES FRIGATE POTOMAC.

CHAPTER I.

Object of the Cruise—Selection of the Frigate—Her departure from Washington—Reflections on passing Mount Vernon—Descending the River—Hampton-Roads—New-York—Additional Orders—Final Departure—Sandy Hook—Dismissing the Pilot—Tributes of Affection.

THE United States frigate Guerriere, under the command of Commodore Thompson, having nearly fulfilled her term of service on the west coast of South America, in the Pacific, it became necessary to despatch another ship-of-war to relieve her on that important station. For this purpose, early in the year 1831, the Navy Department selected and for the first time put in commission the frigate Potomac, then lying at the navy yard in Washington city. She had been built at the same place ten years previously, and is of the first class of frigates, a fine model, and commanding, warlike appearance.

The officers intended for the cruise had received their orders in the early part of the year; and in the month of March a number of them had repaired on board, and reported themselves to the first lieutenant as ready for duty. On the 10th of May Commodore Downes was notified of his appointment to the command of the Potomac, then fitting for sea at the navy yard at Washington, for the purpose of joining the squadron in the Pacific. Being at that period employed on other public duties, he was only able to visit the frigate once previous to her removal from the seat of government. He then left her in the

charge of the executive officer until she should arrive in the port of New-York.

During the whole month of May the most active preparations were going on aboard, so that by the 31st she was hauled out from the navy yard wharf, and by the aid of two steam-boats was towed over the bar, and moored head and stern off the mouth of the eastern branch of the Potomac. Previous to her removal from the navy yard, she had been visited by the President and Honourable Secretary of the Navy.

The period from the 1st to the 14th of June was exclusively occupied in the outfits of the ship, and in getting off stores and various other articles; though all the sea-stores could not be taken in at this place, owing to the want of a sufficient depth of water in many parts of the Potomac river. In the mean time the ship had undergone a material change in her appearance and internal arrangements, and not only began to assume more of the regularity of a man-of-war among her inmates, but in every other respect bespoke preparation for a distant voyage. She was at this time, 15th, again visited and inspected by the Honourable Secretary of the Navy and Navy Commissioners.

On the following morning, the 16th, orders were issued to the commanding officer to proceed with the Potomac down the river to Norfolk. The anchor was immediately weighed, and the frigate put in motion by the aid of a fine steam-boat selected for towing her down the river to Hampton-Roads.

The movements of a vessel of such dimensions down the intricate channel of a river which rises so many leagues from the ocean, was not only calculated to produce a painful anxiety, but was, in fact, a matter of no small responsibility. The city of Washington, it is well known, is that point in the United States to which the largest vessels can be navigated the farthest into the interior of the continent. This single fact evinces the wisdom and foresight of him whose advice thus located the capital of the empire which he founded.

Neither sectional partiality nor prejudice, it appears, had the least influence in determining this important matter; for the father of his country did not recommend the spot where the city of Washington now stands, until he had bestowed great and unwearied pains, and made laborious and interesting reconnoissance

of the country adjacent; and though the conflicting claims of other states, particularly those of Pennsylvania, were strongly urged against the measure, yet, fortunately for the nation, the popularity and influence of Washington surmounted every obstacle, and permanently fixed the seat of the general government in, perhaps, the best possible position that could be selected in any part of the United States.

It may be mentioned as a curious coincidence, and a fact not generally known, that the present permanent seat of our national legislature is contiguous to the very spot where formerly were lighted the council-fires of the Powhattans, the most prominent, numerous, and powerful nation of red men in Virginia; and on the banks of the Potomac, extending from the shores of Chesapeake to the Patuxent. These people lived under a royal government, their despotic monarch being the father of the celebrated Pocahontas. The valley at the foot of Capitol-Hill, washed by the Tiber Creek, the Potomac, and the Eastern Branch, was, as we are informed by tradition, periodically visited by the Indians, who named it their *fishing-ground*, in contradistinction to their *hunting-ground*. Here, the tradition adds, the aborigines assembled in great numbers, in the vernal season, for the double purpose of preserving fish and consulting on the affairs of the nation. Greenleafe's Point was their principal camp, and the residence of the chiefs, where councils were held among the various tribes thus gathered together. This tradition was doubtless familiar to Washington.

It has been said above that a more eligible site for the seat of our national government could not have been selected. It is true that a hostile fleet has once violated the purity of these waters, conveying a sufficient military force to invest the capital of the nation, from which most of its physical strength had been drawn to defend points which seemed more exposed to immediate attack. But we were then a young, weak, and divided people, contending with a gigantic power. Things have changed since that period; and the waters which have borne the warlike Potomac with her frowning batteries so many leagues from the interior to her destined element, can scarcely again, in the course of human events, be agitated by a hostile keel.

Under the old confederation, by which the states were nomi-

nally bound together, Congress was dependant upon the several sovereignties for "a local habitation," and might have been virtually dissolved by the mere refusal to permit the occupation of public buildings. This inconvenience was provided for, probably at the suggestion of Washington himself, in the eighth section of the first article of the Constitution, which gave express power to Congress "to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as might by session of particular states and the acceptance of Congress become the seat of the government of the United States."

In accordance with this provision, the states of Virginia and Maryland ceded to the United States their jurisdiction over a district of ten miles square, situated on both sides of the Potomac, nearly two hundred miles from its mouth. This cession was formally accepted by the United States government, in an act of Congress passed on the 16th of July, 1790; and ten years afterward, during the presidency of John Adams, the government was removed thither, and permanently established in the infant city called after the deathless name of its patriotic founder. On the 3d of May, 1802, Congress passed an act by which the city of Washington became incorporated; the appointment of mayor being vested in the president annually, and the two branches of the council elected by the people in a general ticket. By a new charter granted by Congress in 1820, the mayor is now elected by the people for a term of two years. The city is rapidly increasing in wealth and population.

Our gallant, though as yet untried frigate, moved gracefully and majestically upon the waters of the river whose name she bears; and passing Mount Vernon with flag half-mast in token of respect for the sacred relics which were there deposited, she again came to anchor without accident at India Head.

The reader is doubtless aware that the consecrated spot alluded to is situated on the Virginia side of the Potomac river, the course of which at this place is nearly southwest, though its general course is to the southeast. Mount Vernon, therefore, is on the western bank of the river, and rises at least two hundred feet above its surface. It is about fifteen miles below the city of Washington, and eight miles from Alexandria. It was so named in honour of Admiral Vernon, in whose celebrated expedition

against the Spaniards Washington's brother Lawrence served; and he was the original proprietor of this delightful sylvan retreat. It afterward passed into the general's hands, and it was here that he resided when retired from the cares and labours of public employment; and it is here that his ashes now repose, together with those of his connubial partner, and several relatives of the family. To visit this place is deemed a sort of pious or rather patriotic pilgrimage, which few would willingly neglect to make at least once in the course of their lives, should circumstances call them to the seat of government.

The mansion in which Washington resided till his death is a plain edifice of wood, cut in imitation of freestone, two stories high, surmounted by a cupola, and ninety-six feet in length, with a portico in the rear, overlooking the river, extending the whole length of the building. The central part of this edifice was erected by Lawrence Washington, who named it as before mentioned; the two wings were afterward added by the general, who caused the ground to be planted and beautified in the most tasteful manner.

The house fronts northwest, looking on a beautiful lawn of five or six acres, with a serpentine walk around it, fringed with shrubbery and planted with poplars. The tomb, or family vault, in which rest the hero's remains, is about two hundred yards southwest from the house, and about one hundred and fifty from the river bank: "A more romantic and picturesque site for a tomb," says a late writer, "can scarcely be imagined. Between it and the river Potomac is a curtain of forest-trees, covering the steep declivity to the water's edge, breaking the glare of the prospect, and yet affording glimpses of the river even when the foliage is thickest. The tomb is surrounded by several large native oaks, which are venerable by their years, and which annually strew the sepulchre with autumnal leaves, furnishing the most appropriate drapery for such a place, and giving a still deeper impression to the *memento mori*. Interspersed among the rocks, and overhanging the tomb, is a copse of red cedar; but whether native or transplanted is not stated. Its evergreen boughs present a fine contrast to the hoary and leafless branches of the oak; and while the deciduous foliage of the latter indicates the decay of the

body, the eternal verdure of the former furnishes a beautiful emblem of the immortal spirit."

La Fayette's visit to the tomb of Washington, as described by M. Levasseur, is interesting and touching. "As we approached," says he, "the door of the tomb was opened. La Fayette descended alone into the vault, and a few minutes after he reappeared with his eyes overflowing with tears. He took his son and myself by the hand, and led us into the tomb, where by a sign he indicated the coffin of his paternal friend, alongside of which was that of his companion in life, united for ever to him in the grave. We knelt reverently near his coffin, which we respectfully saluted with our lips; rising, we threw ourselves into the arms of La Fayette, and mingled our tears with his."

"Flow gently, Potomac! thou washest away
The sands where he trod, and the turf where he lay,
When youth brush'd his cheek with her wing;
Breathe softly, ye wild winds, that circle around
That dearest, and purest, and holiest ground,
Ever pressed by the footprints of spring.
Each breeze be a sigh, and each dewdrop a tear,
Each wave be a whispering monitor near,
To remind the sad shore of his story;
And darker, and softer, and sadder the gloom
Of that evergreen mourner that bends o'er the tomb,
Where Washington sleeps in his glory."

BRAINARD.

The subject of this digression will naturally plead its excuse. While lying in sight of Mount Vernon in a ship-of-war, comprising within her oaken walls more effective force than the whole American navy could display at the time this beautiful spot first received the name it bears, such reminiscences occurred too forcibly to the mind to be passed unnoticed. But the anchor was again weighed, and our new ship-of-war soon left Mount Vernon far in the distance.

After a passage of several days, requiring great vigilance, and without encountering any serious accident, the Potomac came to anchor on the afternoon of the 23d June in Hampton-Roads, about eight miles below Norfolk, which is the most commercial town of Virginia, and is defended by several forts, the most im-

Drawn & Engraved by E. Dick from an original sketch

U.S. FRIGATE POTOMAC, PASSING MOUNT VERNON.

portant of which is on Craney Island, near the mouth of the Elizabeth river, about five miles below the town. The United States commissioners who were appointed in 1818 to survey the lower part of Chesapeake Bay, reported that Hampton-Roads, though extensive, were capable of adequate defence, so as to prevent the entrance of an enemy's fleet. We therefore trust that our national metropolis will henceforth be secure from invasions.

The general instructions of the secretary of the navy to Commodore Downes, as commander of the Potomac and of the Pacific squadron, are dated on the 27th of June, 1831. He was ordered to proceed to New-York by the 1st of August, if possible; and there receive on board the Honourable Martin Van Buren and suite, the recently-appointed minister to the court of St. James, who was to be landed at Portsmouth, or some other convenient port in the British channel. The commodore was then directed to make the best of his way to the Pacific Ocean by a passage round Cape Horn, first touching at Brazil. These instructions contain full and official directions as to the steps to be taken for the protection of American commerce and sustaining the honour of the American flag, as well as for increasing the domestic resources of our own country, by obtaining and preserving such foreign staple productions as might be naturalized in our own soil. These instructions, so creditable to the department and to the character of our country, are given at length in the Appendix.

Our frigate lay in Hampton-Roads until the 15th of July, during which period all hands were busily employed in taking on board such necessary stores as could be procured at this place. Here her officers first received the intelligence of a third point to a coincidence of a very remarkable character. On the 4th of July, the anniversary of our national independence, James Monroe, the fifth president of the United States, breathed his last, in the city of New-York, at the residence of his son-in-law, Samuel Governeur, Esq. This event had been for some time expected, and was several days previous to his death momentarily looked for. His spirit, however, was permitted to linger in the body until his country's birthday came round; and he departed while a grateful nation, for whose independence he had fought and bled—a nation which venerated him while living, and which

hallows his memory now as in the foremost rank of its benefactors —was holding its jubilee! Thus, by a coincidence for which it would be difficult to find a parallel in history, three patriots of the revolution, who had successively graced the presidential chair, were called away to a more permanent state of existence on the glorious anniversary of the independence which they had so zealously laboured to achieve. The death of James Monroe on the 4th of July, 1831, completed the threefold miracle that was doubtless intended to convince the most skeptical of the divine superintendence of that providence which raised up these three statesmen and patriots for the purpose of achieving the work of independence. "Did this event stand single in our annals," says an orator of much deserved celebrity, "were it unconnected in our memories with the deaths, on a former anniversary of the same glorious day, of two of his illustrious predecessors,—even then a similar removal of the deceased would have been deemed admonitory, and would have commanded a solemn and appropriate notice. But following, as it does, that signal union in their flight from this world of the immortal spirits of Adams and Jefferson, the departure of Monroe must impress us with an awful sense of a divine interposition, and awaken a lively gratitude for the favour and protection of an overruling providence."

On the 15th of July the Potomac, in conformity to orders, sailed from Hampton-Roads for the port of New-York, for the purpose of completing her outfits of all kinds, and also to receive her commander on board; who, having received his orders from the department, was nearly ready to take the immediate command. Nothing material occurred during the passage of the frigate to New-York. On Wednesday, the 20th of July, she was announced by telegraph as being anchored outside the bar, waiting for a fair wind to enter the harbour. On the following day she proceeded up the bay in gallant style, and came to anchor off the Battery, in the Hudson river.

Although it was for some time intended that the Potomac should proceed from New-York to England, in order to convey our newly-appointed minister, the Honourable Martin Van Buren, to the court of St. James as before stated, this arrangement, it will be seen, was ultimately abandoned, and Mr. Van Buren proceeded to England in the regular packet-ship President, which

sailed on the 9th of August; while new and additional orders were issued from the navy department, which totally changed the intended course of the Potomac, and sent her round the southern cape of the opposite continent.

On the 4th of August the United States frigate Hudson, Captain Cassin, arrived in New-York from Rio Janeiro, via Bahia, having left the latter place on the 2d of July. There were now three commanders' pennants floating over the waters of this port; viz. the *blue* of Commodore Chauncey, who commanded the station; the *red* of Commodore Downes, who commanded the Potomac; and the *white* of Commodore Cassin, who commanded the Hudson;—blue, red, and white being the order of the navy.

About the middle of July information was received in the United States of the piratical attack which had been made upon the ship Friendship, of Salem, on the coast of Sumatra, in the month of February preceding; the Malays having treacherously seized that vessel, and massacred part of her crew, who were receiving on board a cargo of pepper. The particulars of this unparalleled outrage on the United States flag and the lives and property of her citizens, will be given in detail in its proper place, where a chapter shall be devoted exclusively to the subject. The public were unanimous in calling for a redress of such an atrocious grievance, and the Potomac was now designated by government to perform that service instead of proceeding directly to her original destination. The *route* of the frigate to her station in the Pacific, as contemplated in the previous instructions, was therefore immediately changed, that measures might be promptly and effectually taken to punish so outrageous an act of piracy; Mr. Van Buren having, for this purpose, magnanimously relinquished his purpose of taking passage in the frigate, as the landing him in England would delay her arrival at the scene of this perfidious attack.

Messrs. Silsbee, Pickman, and Stone, of Salem, addressed a letter to Washington, dated on the 20th July, 1831, requesting that measures might be adopted by government for the punishment of the offenders in the case of the Friendship; but before this letter had reached Washington, arrangements for that purpose had been put in progress by the secretary of the navy on the 19th of that month, and a letter written to Salem on the subject on

the 22d, of which they were apprized by another letter dated the 25th of July, in reply to that of the 20th before referred to; in which they were requested to furnish the department with such local information relative to the region where the outrage was committed, as might become essential in seeking indemnity or inflicting punishment on the perpetrators. A copy of this letter will also be found in the Appendix. Through the medium of this correspondence the government obtained the services of a gentleman of Salem, who had been personally concerned in the pepper-trade on the coast—was on board the Friendship when attacked, and was well acquainted with that part of Sumatra.

The preparations being completed, additional instructions on this branch of the cruise were given to the commander, as before mentioned, by the secretary of the navy, on the 9th of August. In order to appreciate the judgment and caution with which these instructions on so delicate and important a subject were drawn up, as well as to enable the reader, in the sequel, to judge of the faithful and officer-like manner in which they were carried into execution, it will be necessary for him to recur to the copy which we have been permitted to insert at length in the Appendix. By these instructions it will be seen he was directed to proceed from Rio Janeiro to the east by the Cape of Good Hope, to call the treacherous Malays to an account, and redress our grievances in that quarter; and from thence, after visiting certain ports in the Chinese Seas, to cross the vast Pacific, and take command of the squadron on the west coast of South America.

With reference to the outrage in question, the public press evinced a sensitiveness which did honour to the editorial corps. Only a few days previous to the sailing of the Potomac, many articles on the subject appeared in the daily papers, from one of which the following extracts are copied:—"As far as public sentiment can be collected from the newspapers and from general conversation, it appears to be the unanimous wish of the nation that one or more of our ships-of-war should be despatched to the western coast of Sumatra, to look after our commercial interests in that remote sea, and punish the natives for the outrage recently committed upon the ship Friendship, of Salem." In the same article it is added, "A high-handed outrage has been committed, and if it be suffered to pass by unavenged, we know not how

many others may occur. The approaching departure of the Potomac will afford the government an opportunity of intrusting the expedition to an intelligent, active, and gallant officer, who, we apprehend, would teach these piratical vagabonds such a lesson respecting American manners and customs as would hereafter induce them to mend their own."

Although Commodore Downes had hoisted his broad pennant on board of the Potomac on the 24th of July, he was still absent on business until the 23d of August. During this period the Potomac lay at anchor off Castle Garden, in the North river, and every arrangement deemed necessary for a long and distant voyage was completed.

The wind, which for several days had blown from an unfavourable quarter, chopped round on the morning of the 24th of August, and gave us a fine light breeze from the northwest. "All hands up anchor, ahoy!" was the cheerful cry which passed through the ship before five o'clock, ere the rising sun had gilded the tallest spires of the city. This summons was succeeded by a scene of bustle and excitement which can only be realized by one who has witnessed its effects on the officers and crew of a man-of-war bound on a distant cruise. The Potomac's canvass wings were suddenly expanded, as if by magic, and the gallant vessel moved slowly but gracefully from her anchorage down the bay, until Sandy Hook lighthouse bore east by south half-south, when she was again brought to anchor.

The wind and tide both favoured the departure of the Potomac on the morning of the 26th, and by eight o'clock she had passed the bar with a fine leading breeze. The maintopsail was now laid to the mast, while the pilot made his hasty preparations to depart. At such a moment most vessels, but, perhaps, especially a man-of-war, present a busy and interesting scene. There had been ample leisure for writing during the days of detention by contrary winds; but the last moment on such occasions must always be embraced; and the state-rooms of the officers, the ward-room, steerage, and cockpit, are occupied by writers penning hasty adieus, despatching the last little earnest of continued affection. If this be a mere matter of feeling, be it so; there is something sacred in it which the warm heart can always appreciate—for a line written at the moment the noble vessel lies

shaking in the wind, and about to bound fearlessly on her destined track, must always possess a value that under no other circumstances can be imparted to it.

The pilot, having taken charge of these sacred scraps, hastened to his little boat, which had been dancing on the undulating billows near the Potomac like another nautilus during the whole of the morning. The ship was now filled away, and every drawing sail set, bearing to the south and east.

There have so often pretty things been said, and so many fine changes rung on language in describing the feelings of the heart on bidding to our "native land good night," that we shall attempt nothing of the kind here. We are well aware, however, that thousands are daily taking their departure without evincing any unusual emotions about it; and yet we do really believe no one can thus depart without experiencing emotions which do credit to the human heart.

In four hours, and they were short ones, the last faint lines of the highlands had vanished, and the active duties to which many were called seemed to relieve them from the recollections of home. But it is the youth, the young "reefers," who have for the first time left the parental fireside, who are likely to feel much in moments like these. Though previous to their embarcation they think they have a tolerably correct idea of the privations and toils of the mariner's life, and feel their minds well fortified to combat the most untoward events; yet, when in the space of a few hours they find themselves tossing upon the mighty deep, and that deep begirt only by the open horizon, the ship dashing with each freshening breeze, with accumulated velocity, from all their young affections hold dear; 'tis then that the heart, desponding, shorn of every pride, feels its frailty, and owns how strong is that cord which binds to country and home.

They now remember with the liveliest feelings and emotions of filial affection, that the kind admonitions of a father were really and in truth kind. Bygone hours and days, spent from home with convivial friends, or in search of some momentary pleasure, now present themselves to their lively imaginations, shaking their "gory locks," upbraiding them with their time mispent—or, if not entirely mispent, they feel they might have been much better employed in the society of a fond mother or sister—of those

whom they now sensibly feel are and ever must be the truest objects of their affections and obedience.

Having gained a sufficient offing, the anchors were, as is usual, securely stowed, cables unbent and coiled in their respective tiers, and, in the language of a thrifty housewife, as well as of the sailor, every thing "*made snug*."

CHAPTER II.

Sea-sickness—The Gulf-stream—A Storm at Sea—Cape de Verds—St. Antonio —A Whale-ship—Trial of Speed—Crossing the Equator—Rio Janeiro—Courteous Reception of the Frigate.

On the second day following her departure from Sandy Hook, a tumbling sea caused an irregular pitching and rolling motion of the vessel, peculiarly unpleasant to those who were unaccustomed to the turbulent domains of Neptune. The certainty, however, that sea-sickness is not fatal in its effects, and that sooner or later, a restoration to health will ensue, has sometimes encouraged others, whose stomachs are proof against this scourge of the "fresh man of the sea," to sport in wanton mood with the dejected feelings of the sufferer. Yes, we repeat, *sufferer*, for woful experience has taught, that, of all the "evils which flesh is heir to," none is so unpleasant, for the time being, as sea-sickness. The spirits droop, the heart sickens—a total indifference to life, death, friends, home, country, succeeds—until every thing seems swallowed up in that nauseating stupor which preys upon the very spirit itself!

The autumnal equinox was now fast approaching, a season of the year which frequently introduces itself into the North Atlantic with storms and tempests, and even violent and destructive hurricanes.

As the Potomac approached the gulf-stream, she underwent the usual preparation for storms and squalls, so generally met with in this portion of the Atlantic; so usual, indeed, that it has become proverbial—

> "That in the stream
> The lightnings gleam,
> And Boreas blows his blast."

The commodore had hoped to escape every thing like a gale, quite content to try the qualities of his ship for sailing with fine

breezes and clear weather. In this, he was disappointed; as, on the twenty-eighth, the wind, which had for some hours prevailed from the eastward, with rain, partially died away, the sky became overcast with threatening appearances, which the wary and experienced seamen very soon recognised as the prelude to the approaching gale. No light sails were spread to woo the fickle breeze, but topgallant and royal yards were sent upon deck, and the flying jib-boom housed. As the night set in, the wind increased.

"Now, while on high the freshening gale she feels,
The ship beneath her lofty pressure reels.
Th' auxiliar sails, that court a gentle breeze,
From their high stations sink by slow degrees."

The courses were hauled up, jib stowed, mizzen-topsail furled, spanker lowered, and the fore and main-topsails double reefed. It is at such times, and on such service as this, that the brave daring, the recklessness of danger, the ambition to be foremost when duty calls, no matter where, shine most conspicuous in the character of the thorough-bred and true sailor.

"'Tis his the harder toil to share,
To reef, to furl the sail;
To face the lightning's lurid glare,
And brave the sweeping gale."

Indeed, the true sailor takes pleasure in doing his duty amid real dangers, when he feels that the "superior officer set over him" is competent to judge whether or not that duty is performed in a seaman-like manner.

The gale, for by eight, P. M., it had the strength of one, increased every moment till ten, when the ship was brought to, head to the southward and westward, under close-reefed fore and main-topsails, and courses furled; when, at the same time, the foretopmast-staysail was hauled down, and the fore-storm staysail set.

Soon after midnight the gale had increased to almost a perfect hurricane, and the ship was pressed down by the irresistible blast, until relieved by furling the close-reefed fore-topsail, and setting the main and mizzen-storm staysails. From twelve to

four, A. M., it blew with a violence seldom witnessed, even in this region of tempests. The sea, which the evening before had been comparatively smooth, now rolled in mountains before the storm. Seldom had the electric fluid assumed such a variety of colours in so short a period of time. Though the flashing was incessant, yet in the space of a few seconds were exhibited, in the coruscations of the subtile fluid, all the varying colours of the rainbow; twice did it pass down the fore-conductor, assuming on the second descent a most singular appearance. As the fluid followed the conductor, at each link of the chain, an electric spark was thrown off of the deepest red, while the livid line of light simultaneously marking the direction of the conductor, rendered it a singular phenomenon.

The rain, at intervals, fell in torrents; indeed, the roar of winds, and heavy peals of thunder, the successive and vivid flashes of lightning, laying bare the angry surface of the troubled waters, and presenting to the view, masts, ropes, rigging, and the men toiling upon the yards, and at the next moment all in darkness, imparted to the night a character of wild and terrific grandeur seldom surpassed.

To the *green reefers*, as the younger midshipmen are sometimes jocosely called on board a man-of-war, this was rather a rough introduction into the mysteries of their profession. Indeed, it may be doubted, if any protégé of Neptune, even one of his eldest sons, could view, without concern, the high and soul-stirring sublimity of such a storm at sea; his stately ship, like a huge animal struggling with the elements, now poising on the top of a deeply undulatory wave, now sinking in the trough of the sea, and again rising and bursting through the phosphoric gleamings of the crested billow, and dashing the water from her sides, as the lion shakes the dewdrops from his mane.

As the morning dawned, the gale abated, and moderate breezes from the north succeeded, with a high and irregular sea. The latitude was 36° north, longitude 66° west.

The metamorphosis which a vessel undergoes, after the abatement of a storm, is always a pleasant sight; and hence no sound is heard with more joy, on such occasions, than the vociferation of the boatswain, as "all hands make sail, ahoy!" is repeated by his mates through all parts of the vessel. To this call officers

and men respond with alacrity, as it is the harbinger of fine weather and clear skies. The stately topmasts of pine soon bear their flowing sheets, while the unfolding brails of the heavier sails add apparent dignity and strength to all below. Topgallant sails, royals, and studding sails, spread, as if by magic, their white surface to the breeze, and bright eyes, and cheerful glee, show that the storm has sunk to rest.

Early on the morning of the twenty-first September, St. Antonio, one of the Cape de Verd islands, was in sight, bearing southeast, and about ten miles distant. This is the most western, or rather northwestern island, of the whole group, being in latitude 14° north, longitude 25° 30′ west. The reefs were turned out of the topsails, with the view of keeping off, and, if possible, avoiding the calms which ships are liable to experience when they pass near this lofty island, some of the mountains of which are nearly as high as the Peak of Teneriffe. As a general remark, all vessels not wishing to touch at the Cape de Verds, should keep at least thirty miles to the west of St. Antonio, and thereby avoid the frequent calms which take place within ten or fifteen miles of the land.

The voyage of the Potomac, thus far, had not been very favourable, as her course had not been facilitated by any winds which were entitled to the appellation of *trade*. On the day following, the commodore stood in close with the island of Brava, the most southern of the group, and by far the most fruitful. Two boats were now despatched towards the shore, in charge of Lieutenant Pinkham, to procure, if possible, fruits and vegetables. The principal landing-place is on the northeast part of the island, though hopes were entertained that a landing might be effected on the west side, in the offing of which the Potomac lay.

After rowing several miles to the southeast, along the shore, without finding a single spot against which the sea did not break with violence, the boats were compelled to return to the frigate. Upon the sides of almost perpendicular mountains and cliffs, goats and monkeys were seen; the latter keeping up an incessant chattering, as if alarmed at the near approach of the boat towards their airy and solitary abode. But no human beings were visible, save two only, who were seated on a rock, fishing, in a state of perfect nudity. Thus failing in his intention of procuring

refreshments, the commodore shaped his course for the capital of the Brazilian empire.

In approaching the equator, a rather unusual share of baffling winds and showers of rain were thought to prevail. In latitude of about three, north, on the night of Saturday, the first of October, a brilliant light was seen from the deck, in a northwest direction. Many believed it a vessel on fire; but on more attentive examination, it was found to be a whale-ship, "taking care" of the successful labours of the preceding day.

On the following morning, which was Sunday, the vessels were so near each other, that the commodore allowed a boat to be lowered, to board the whaler. She proved to be the ship Mercury, forty days from New-Bedford, bound to the Pacific; having had the good fortune to take a "hundred barrel" spermaceti, not a common circumstance; as, we believe, that of more than ten thousand a year taken by our ships, only four have been known to produce more than one hundred and twenty barrels.

This vessel, the Mercury, had been distinguished as the swiftest sailer in the South Sea fleet; and had gained no little notoriety in the year 1828, in a trial of speed with the United States frigate Brandywine, both leaving Payta, on the coast of Peru, and beating dead against the southerly tradewinds; in which contest the Mercury came out in advance. A similar trial of speed took place between the whaler and our own goodly ship, as will be seen directly.

At meridian, on the second of October, a sail was reported from aloft, directly ahead, and standing for us. At half past two, we had neared the stranger sufficiently to perceive that she was a clipper brig; and she, on her part, appeared to be satisfied with the view she had of the frigate, as she soon tacked, and stood on the same course as ourselves, which was directly opposite to her track when first discovered. At three, P. M., beat to quarters, and run in the gun-deck guns, closed up the ports, and otherwise disguised the Potomac as a merchantman, as much as possible. It was about a four-knot breeze, and all the sail we could put on the ship to advantage, had been spread from the first of the chase; at dark we lost sight of her, about two points on our weather bow, and distant about five miles. The Mercury was now near us, on our weather quarter. We had gained considerably on the

chase, but not sufficiently to bring her within range of the eye after the night had set in. From that time until daylight, we tacked four times, endeavouring to get to windward, and intercepting what we had made up in our minds was a slaver; the Mercury following our motions, and keeping as near as she could.

At daylight on Monday morning, the third, the Mercury was on our lee-beam, and, as our logbook expresses it, "the brig on our weather quarter." We were on the other tack immediately, which brought us directly in her wake, and we felt assured that she could not escape us. Owing to the light wind, it was twelve o'clock (noon) before we came within hailing distance, when, as she showed no disposition to heave to, our colours were hoisted, and she was ordered by the commodore to do so, when she hoisted English colours, and immediately complied. Our boat was sent to board her; and, in a short time, returned with the information that she was the English brig Brothers, from Liverpool, bound to Pernambuco. Great was our surprise to learn from the captain, that *that* morning was the first of his seeing us! The chase of yesterday had escaped.

After several days of light winds and calms, a fine breeze from the southeast sprang up on Wednesday, the fifth. Our friend the whaler, who was still near us, stood his ground for some time with the Potomac; while the speed of the latter did not exceed seven or eight miles an hour. But as the wind increased, the frigate began to draw ahead; and, from being, at nine o'clock, A. M., within gunshot, at three in the afternoon, he could only be seen, indistinctly, from the mast-head, astern! From this fact, something could be inferred as to the good qualities of the Potomac.

On crossing the equator, there was nothing seen of Neptune or Amphitrite, in the process of inducting those of the crew who had never crossed the line, or been initiated into the mysteries of his marine highness. Commanders differ in opinion as to the propriety of permitting the "*old sea-dog*" to exercise his rough jokes upon those who are about to pass, for the first time, into the southern hemisphere.

We are not of that school who foresee ruin to the navy, and annihilation to commerce, because sailors have cut off their long

queues, and, in a thousand other respects, are different from what they were an age ago; and the antique custom just alluded to, a relic of heathen superstition, without even the merit of classical embellishment to recommend it, may be well dispensed with, as it must often do harm, and cannot, in any possible instance, be productive of good.

In an age like the present, distinguished for the march of improvement, and replete with discovery and advancement in every department of human science and knowledge; when a single day produces results which years could not have formerly effected, it cannot be expected that the sailor alone should remain uninfluenced by the revolutions which every thing else in the moral universe is perpetually undergoing. The changes which have been wrought in his manners and customs, have been most unquestionably for the better.

In illustration of this remark, it may be here mentioned, that, during the passage from New-York, great attention had been paid to drill the men in the exercise of the great guns. Every day, when the weather would permit, these exercises were performed; and, once a week, all went to general quarters, when all the exercises and manœuvring of a regular attack and defence were carried through with the same precision as if the frigate were engaged in a real action with an enemy. A division of one hundred and fifty men, at this time, also, were being drilled to the use of the musket; and they evinced a readiness in the acquisition of this new species of *seamanship*, not to have been expected, from the generally supposed repugnance, on the part of *Jack Tar*, to the use of small arms; or to the acquirement of any accomplishment which more properly appertains to the soldier.

It is not strange, that, in *the olden time*, when sailors were dragged by force into involuntary servitude on board ships-of-war, and performed their allotted duties only at the point of the bayonet, that strong dislike should have been engendered against those who were mere tools in the hands of others, to enforce the observance of regulations to which they had never willingly subscribed. Shipping articles, in those days, were mere mockeries, and the marines were relied on to hold the sailors in bondage. It required time to smooth such asperities in the human breast, and hence, no doubt, arose the prejudice of the sailor to the life, char-

acter, and profession of the soldier. On board of the Potomac, this animosity did not seem to exist; or, if it did exist, its influence was but weak, as sailor and marine appeared to mingle together in peace and good-will, as men who might be required mutually to stand by and support each other.

Nothing material occurred until the morning of Sunday, the sixteenth, when the exhilarating announcement of "Land, ho!" from the mast-head, produced a new excitement through every part of the ship. It proved to be Cape Frio, or Cold Cape, as it is called, which bore west-northwest, forty-five miles distant; and at six, P. M., the same cape bore north by east, twenty-five miles distant. This cape is in latitude 23° 30′, longitude 42° 2′, about twenty leagues east of Rio Janeiro. The ship was hoven to, during the night, with her head to the south-and-east; the weather being cloudy, and the wind fresh. At about midnight, a vessel was seen to the eastward, but not near enough to be spoken.

In the morning, it was found that the current, which uniformly sets to the southward and westward along this part of the coast, together with a high sea, at this time heaving in the same direction, had borne the Potomac to the leeward of the entrance of the harbour of Rio Janeiro. While in the act of wearing ship, in the midst of a squall, Razor Island was discovered; and, immediately afterward, the breakers on Baga Island, while the thickness of the weather hid from view every other part of the coast. The instant these landmarks were recognised, the commodore ordered the ship brought upon the wind, on the starboard tack; and such confidence had he in her qualities to weather the island and enter the harbour, that he directed the mainsail, jib, and spanker to be set, in addition to the single-reefed topsails and foresail. It was a moment of some anxiety; and the Potomac, by occasionally immerging the muzzles of her gun-deck guns in the water, gave evidence of the powerful exertions she was making; though a strong weather-bow current was running, together with a heavy head sea. Still, her wake was as straight, apparently, as a clipper's; and, in an hour, the island was weathered, and, with square yards, she was brought to her anchorage in fine style. The maritime community were not a little surprised to see a frigate enter the harbour on such a morning, and *in a living gale of wind.*

There were lying in the harbour at this time, his Britannic majesty's ship Dublin, a razee of fifty guns, thirty-two-pounders, Lord James Townsend in command; the Druid frigate, Captain Hamilton, and two sloops of war; a small Swedish frigate, and the French commodore, in a double banked frigate. Also, the Brazilian frigate Constitution, the only one in commission, bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Jewett.

From each of these vessels, officers were sent to the Potomac, offering to Commodore Downes, in the name of their commanders, such assistance as he might stand in need of. The Brazilian government, through an officer despatched to the proper authorities, immediately on the Potomac coming to anchor, congratulated the commodore on his safe arrival, and expressed their willingness to return the salute customary to be interchanged between nations at peace with each other. For the seventeen guns of the Potomac, nineteen were returned from the Brazilian fort. This was probably an error; if not, it was highly complimentary to our flag. Be this as it may, instances are not wanting, where the friendly feeling of these people has been made manifest towards the star-spangled banner of the United States. So far as our country had been represented at Rio by the lamented Tudor, the Brazilians could not be at a loss for a motive to pay the highest respect to our national flag. In the successor to this worthy man, we have been fortunate in having secured the services of the Honourable E. A. Brown, a ripe scholar, possessing every requisite qualification for usefulness in such a station.

Mr. Brown visited the Potomac during her stay at Rio, and was received with the salute usually given to the foreign representatives of our country. The hospitality of our consul, Mr. Wright, and of other American citizens resident in Rio, is gratefully recollected by the officers of the Potomac; and Mr. Brown, our chargé d'affaires, seems to have made many friends by his urbanity and gentlemanly deportment. With these, the house of the Messrs. Burkitts was often visited with pleasure, and added not a little to the enjoyment of our officers during their stay at Rio.

The United States ship Lexington, Master-commandant Duncan, had arrived at Rio some time before the Potomac, in sixty-two days from Norfolk. Like the frigate, she had been disap-

pointed in meeting with the northeast trades; and had, also, experienced much calm weather near the equator.

Our claims on the Brazilian government have been adjusted. These claims were founded on a "*few mistakes*" which had occurred during the late war with Buenos Ayres, when the blockading squadron of the La Plata had appropriated to their own use and behoof sundry vessels and cargoes, belonging to sundry good citizens of the United States, who were navigating the high seas upon "their lawful occasions."

The British government was at this time urging its claims to indemnity for spoliations upon her commerce, committed under similar circumstances with those upon our own vessels; but, it would appear, with less success. Both parties were evidently growing warm upon the subject, and, but a short time previously, the commander of the British squadron threatened that he would blockade the port, and make reprisals. Whether the threat was officially communicated to the Brazilian government or not, we do not pretend to know; but the fleet did get under way, and proceed off the harbour; and, after backing and filling for a day or two in a rather menacing manner, returned to its original anchorage.

There were those who were ready, of course, to indulge in a sarcastic smile at this manœuvre of Admiral Baker, which, it appears, had not the desired effect, if it had been done for that purpose. The Cortez was at this time in session; and the claims preferred by the British government seemed to give rise to much excitement between the two parties.

We have stated above, that our claims on the Brazilian government were adjusted; that is, the principle of settlement had been agreed on, though much in detail remained to be done.

CHAPTER III.

Harbour of Rio Janeiro and surrounding Scenery—Appearance of its entrance from the Offing—Its works of Defence—City of Rio, or St. Sebastian—Public Square, Façade, and Fountain—Public Buildings, Houses, and Shops—Paucity of Accommodations for Strangers—Climate, Food, and Health—Arcos de Carioco, or Grand Aqueduct—Discovery and Settlement of Brazil—Injustice to the Natives—Origin of the African Slave Trade—Discovery and settlement of Rio Janeiro—Emigration of the Royal Family—Their Return to Portugal—Civil Revolution in Brazil—Accession of Don Pedro—War with Buenos Ayres, terminated by an unpopular Treaty—Abdication of Don Pedro—Insurrectionary Symptoms—Clerical Abuses—Population of Rio—Condition of the Slaves—Natural Productions—Theatrical *fête* on board the Potomac.

HAD human agency been exercised in planning and constructing, for human use, the harbour of Rio Janeiro, it would be impossible to conceive a more felicitous result. It is a beautiful and capacious basin, imbosomed among elevated mountains, whose conical summits are reflected from the translucent surface of its quiet waters. The entrance is so narrow, and its granite barriers so bold, that it was, doubtless, often passed by early navigators, before it was suspected that such a retired and hidden inlet existed. To the aborigines of the country, it was known by a name corresponding to its character; for they called it "Hidden water," which, in their language, is expressed by the term *Nithero-hy*.

As this part of the Brazilian coast runs nearly east and west, the entrance of the harbour opens to the south, a few miles, of the tropic of Capricorn. It is defended by the Fort of Santa Cruz on the east, opposite to which are others of suitable strength, in vicinity of a high conical hill, called the "Sugar-loaf," which some modern travellers have compared to the "leaning tower of Pisa."

The entrance to this celebrated estuary, when seen from the offing, presents the appearance of a gap, or chasm, in the high ridge of mountains which skirt this part of the coast; and which, doubtless, once dammed up the waters within, until their continually accumulating weight burst the adamantine barrier which

had hitherto held them in confinement, and, spurning farther restraint, forced a passage to the ocean. In the same manner, the Blue Ridge of Virginia was evidently rent in twain by the two united rivers, whose mingled waters now form the Potomac; and some suppose that the highlands of the Hudson once exhibited the same phenomenon. The fragments created by this convulsion of nature at Rio, are supposed to have been thrown into the sea, where they still remain, before the entrance of the harbour, in the form of a bar, on which there is never more than ten fathoms of water, while, just within it, there is not less than eighteen. However this may be, the chasm itself, as it now exists, presents a most picturesque appearance, opening as it does between two lofty mountains—Signal Hill on the right, the Sugarloaf cone on the left. These two remarkable piles of almost naked granite, present a striking contrast with the rest of the broken ridge, to which they now form abutments, as every other prominent part is covered with luxuriant vegetation.

On extending the view a little farther inland, the frowning batteries of Santa Cruz castle, with the Brazilian banner floating above them, are seen on the right, based on a solid rock of granite, thirty feet in height, projecting westwardly from the foot of Signal Hill. Opposite to this, on the left, eastwardly of Sugarloaf cone, another fortress is discovered, of inferior strength; while between the two, but nearest to the latter, is a little island, strongly fortified, known by the appellation of Fort Lucia, which reduces the width of the passage to about three quarters of a mile. The Sugarloaf is said to be nearly seven hundred feet in height, and every accessible spot on that side the entrance is occupied by batteries, lines, and forts, or rather bears the evidence of having thus been occupied.

After passing all these naturally strong-holds, the harbour suddenly expands, and extends itself into a circular, or rather elliptical, inland lake, which is sprinkled over with islands which

"Stand dress'd in living green;"

and surrounded by mountains rising in many ridges behind each other, like a vast natural amphitheatre. The tide rises in the harbour between four and five feet, and there is always sufficient depth of water to float vessels of the largest size.

The natural scenery which surrounds the harbour and city of Rio, has been frequently described, and often highly coloured by travellers. It is, indeed, beautiful to the eye; but, for our own part, we do not think that the meandering streams and gently murmuring rivulets of Brazil, pursue a more tortuous or fanciful course than those of the United States; nor can we perceive that their murmurings are, in the least degree, more "musically plaintive," or excite more tender emotions of the heart, than a creek of the Alleghany, or a small stream at the foot of the Stony Mountains, gurgling over the limestone pebbles, to pay its tributary mite to the majestic Missouri. Yet, among the objects that must arrest the attention on entering this majestic harbour, is the noble sheet of water, filling an oval basin of thirty miles in length and nearly fifteen in breadth, sufficiently capacious to contain all the fleets in the world—protected by a chain of mountains rising from its narrow mouth, and extending back, one above another, until the eye loses them amid white and fleecy clouds, which play in graceful curls around their airy summits. This view is certainly pleasing and exhilarating, and it is diversified, in many places, by cultivated spots, even to the highest elevation; while the valleys beneath are filled with the rich and rare fruits peculiar to the tropics. The shores of this "emerald gemm'd" basin are also indented with numerous inlets, many of which are the mouths of rivulets that dash down the declivities of the mountains, as if eager to mingle with the tranquil waters of this great bay. Almost every eminence around it, as well as many of its islands, is crowned with a fort or a castellated parapet —a church—a convent—or a picturesque ruin.

Although the fortifications already alluded to completely protect, by their positions, the entrance of the harbour, the whole of which is commanded from within, by works long since erected on nearly all the surrounding heights and many of the islands, but now in ruins or ill repair; still, the defence of the place is thought to depend principally on a very strong fort, on the *Ilha dos Cobras*, or Snake Island, directly in front and near the north angle of the city, from which it is separated only by a deep channel of moderate width. This island is a solid rock, of about nine hundred feet in length, three hundred in breadth, and, at the point where the citadel stands, eighteen feet in height. All around, and

close alongside of this strongly-fortified rock, which gradually declines, at one end, to within a few feet of the water, vessels of the largest burden may lie in perfect security. Here, also, are found wharves, dock-yards, magazines, arsenals, naval stores, a sheer-hulk, and many facilities for heaving down and careening vessels. Between Fort Lucia and the citadel is another fort, which commands the anchorage.

The site selected for the town by the early settlers, is, perhaps, the best that could have been chosen out of many excellent ones that everywhere present themselves. The city of Rio, otherwise called St. Sebastian, is situated on the southwest side of the harbour, or basin, about four miles from its entrance, and stands on a quadrangular peninsula, or square tongue of land, extending, on an inclined plane, a short distance into the bay. The town itself, which also exhibits the form of a parallelogram, and rises between four fortified eminences, which flank it at each corner, presents a northeast aspect of the basin, whose waters wash three sides of the square promontory on which it is built.

On a height flanking its eastern angle is a square fort, commanding and protecting stores of light ordnance, when deposited on the point below. Between this and the north angle of the peninsula, is a beautiful quay, built of solid blocks of chiselled granite, and forming an elegant façade in front of the city, and an eligible line for musketry and light cannon, to oppose the landing of an enemy's force, in case they should get possession of the harbour. On the north angle is another conspicuous eminence, on which stands the Benedictine convent, overlooking the island Dos Cobras on its east, from which it is separated only by a deep narrow channel, as before mentioned. On this side of the peninsula, near the water's edge, is a range of storehouses, overlooked by another square fort, flanking the west angle of the city, and commanding the imperial dock-yard beyond it. On the south angle of the town is the fourth eminence alluded to, on which is built the reservoir for receiving from the great aqueduct the water which supplies the city, and of which we shall speak presently. Between the last-mentioned eminence and the waters of the basin which wash the southeast side of the peninsula, is a public garden called the Passeo Publico, which is handsomely laid out in shrubberies, lawns, walks, and parterres.

The city is well built, most of the houses being of stone, and the whole laid out in squares, the streets crossing each other at right angles. The palace, or imperial residence, faces the water; and with the open capacious square in front of it, one entire side of which it occupies, is in full view from the anchorage. This square, which is the first object that catches the attention of strangers, is surrounded on three of its sides with buildings, while the fourth, which is bounded and lined by the stone quay, is open to the water. On the quay itself, near its central flight of stairs, which is the principal landing-place, in front of the square, is a beautiful fountain in the form of an obelisk, constructed, like the pier, of hewn granite; and from each of its four sides is constantly ejected a stream of pure limpid water, for the use of the lower part of the town, and the shipping in the harbour.

On advancing up the square from the landing, the visiter finds it paved with a smooth, solid surface, of the same kind of granite of which the obelisk and quay are constructed, and copiously sprinkled over with quartzose sand, which, together with the glistening *mica* of the Rio granite, is very trying to the eyes under the fervid rays of a tropical and sometimes vertical sun. The palace, which occupies the upper side of the square, though extensive in its dimensions, has nothing particularly magnificent in its appearance. The other public buildings, including the imperial chapel, a cathedral, churches, convents, nunneries, theatre, opera-house, &c., do not exhibit any imposing views of elegant architecture. Though originally built with much cost and labour, no pains have been taken to keep them in repair. The streets are generally straight, but the most of them are narrow and dirty. The houses are commonly two stories high, with little wooden balconies in front of the upper windows, where the ladies sometimes present themselves, but not so frequently as in olden time, to throw flowers and nosegays at the foot passengers, or to listen to the nocturnal serenades of their lovers. But whether in Italy, Portugal, or Rio, latticed windows, without glass, always wear a dull and gloomy aspect to a traveller from England or the United States. The principal streets of Rio have flagged sidewalks, like those of our own cities.

The shops are generally large and commodious, and well supplied with English goods, and various other kinds of merchandise.

Chinese goods can also be purchased here at a reasonable rate. There are many American and English merchants in the city, who, it is said, are doing a lucrative business; the export trade being almost entirely monopolized by them. The jewellers and lapidaries are principally found in Gold-street, which is the general resort of strangers who wish to procure articles in that line.

Although the city of Rio is the capital, and commercial emporium of the Brazilian empire, with a population of less than two hundred thousand souls, including slaves; and although it is constantly visited by merchants, traders, and travellers, from Asia, Europe, and the United States, speckling its harbours with the flags of almost every nation; yet it cannot boast of a hotel, coffee-house, inn, tavern, restaurateur, refectory, boarding-house, or any decent resort, at which strangers can procure refreshment, and a comfortable night's lodging. Comfort, indeed, even in the imperial palace, must be entirely out of the question, unless royalty enjoy some better protection from the attack of mosquitoes than the common republican curtains of network can afford; for if, by any accident, a single intruder find his way beneath the netting, wo betide the helpless sufferer within! Its rascally hum throughout the night, sometimes within a most threatening vicinity of the ear, is even worse than the puncture made in the skin with its sharp proboscis; for the latter will, at the most, but cause an irritating titillation, accompanied with a slight degree of swelling and some inflammation; but its tuneful serenade is a perpetual menace, that cannot fail to drive sleep from the pillow of one who is not drugged with poppies, or worn out with fatigue. These insects are troublesome enough in some portions of our own country, but here we console ourselves with the hope, that they will dearly pay for their temerity on the first appearance of an autumnal frost. But between the tropics they are immortal; or, at least, a new generation is constantly springing up to take the places of their progenitors; and, as with the fruits of the same climate, their existence is perennial.

With regard to the character, manners, and habits of the Portuguese Brazilians, we are not in this place prepared to say much; for they seem determined that the eye of foreign curiosity shall never penetrate the sanctity of the domestic circle; and that strangers shall know but little of them in the private walks and

social relations of life. They are, in fact, as suspicious and jealous of foreigners as their ancestors were before them; and so politely forbidding, generally, are their manners towards visiters, that no traveller, or temporary sojourner, can penetrate the mystery of their domestic economy.

All travellers agree in charging the Brazilians with the want of hospitality to strangers, and many futile reasons have been adduced as the cause of this peculiar trait in their national character. It is said that they were not always so; but having found their hospitality so frequently requited by ingratitude and ridicule on the part of their guests, they have of late years assumed this reserve. This explanation, however, is not satisfactory. The effect seems to be too disproportioned to the cause; and, on looking further for the solution, it is thought that it may be found deeply rooted in their feelings and prejudices, and strongly marking their national character. Yet still, as a people, they are certainly entitled to the appellation of polite; and many of our officers while on shore, and visiting some of their finest gardens, were very civilly treated by the owners, who not only seemed to take a pleasure in showing their visiters all that was interesting, but in treating them to fruits and flowers, which were tastefully arranged in the gardens.

The lower classes, however, the filthiness of whose exteriors is thought to be a correct indication of the pollutions within, are said to be revengeful in the extreme; and assassinations sometimes occur among them. This is often the case in most countries where the protection of the church is paramount to secular power, and where offenders find, or think they find, if not sanction, at least acquittal, in the forms of their religion; and believe that clerical absolution is divine justification. *In its true spirit, we know that they do not.* In Rio, many of their priests are not what they ought to be, and most of them follow but slowly in the moral and scientific improvements of the age. For, often hypocrites themselves, they are prone to practise on the credulity and superstitions of their ignorant followers; and, in the support of their dominion over the minds of the lower orders, they hesitate not to commit acts, which, under laws human and divine, render the laity obnoxious to punishment. But more of this anon.

With respect to a majority of the higher classes, persons of

rank and merchants of affluence, we might appropriately apply part of the epitaph of Lord Lyttleton—

> "Gayly I lived, as ease and nature taught,
> And spent my little life without a thought."

With them, sleeping, eating, and heartless ceremonies, consume the four-and-twenty hours; the same dull and unprofitable routine alternately succeeding with each revolving day, without variety and without pleasure. The unnatural restraint and undue seclusion imposed upon the fair sex, render the ebullitions of their heartfelt vivacity, when suffered to mingle with society, more conspicuous and more fascinating. But even in their public amusements, of which there are not many, the ladies seem to be watched with a jealous care, by husbands, fathers, or brothers; but when they venture to steal a glance at a stranger, their eloquent black eyes speak volumes of interesting matter. There is a theatre and an opera-house here; but we witnessed the performance of neither. The former, it is said, droops from a paucity of talent; and the latter, though more worthy of it, meets with but little encouragement. Concerts and balls occur occasionally, but the climate is not favourable to dancing. The *Passeo Publico* is frequented in the evening by small parties, to enjoy the promenade, the music, and the fireworks. But there can be but little taste for rational amusements among a people proverbially indolent, superstitious, and jealous of each other.

The *Passeo Publico* affords a pleasant promenade, and contains many native plants and flowers of exquisite beauty. At the lower end of this garden is a broad terrace walk, from which the company have a delightful view of the bay and its rising shores, which are everywhere fringed with coppices. On looking south a little promontory is seen projecting into the water, on the castellated brow of which stands a monastery, and immediately beyond it an arm of the harbour, extending westwardly into the land. On extending the view further south, the beautiful eminence of Flamingo appears, covered with verdure; beyond which is another hill, on the declivity of which stands a religious edifice, called Gloria Church, and in the extreme distance are seen the Sugar-loaf and Signal Hill, lifting their aspiring heads to the clouds, and

overlooking the castle Santa Cruz. At the distance of about a mile from the city, another fort is seen, emerging, as it were, from the water, and occupying a position just half way between Fort Lucia and the citadel on *Dos Cobras*. Still further north, on the eastern shore of the basin, appear romantic little villages, hamlets, gardens, orange-groves, and rustic cottages, without number; giving a beautifully picturesque finish to the whole picture.

At the time of the Potomac's arrival at Rio, it being their first summer month, rains were very frequent, and the clouds hung heavy around the summits of the neighbouring mountains, giving to their spiral points, peering above this misty covering, the appearance of immense rocks suspended in the air. The city itself looked dismal and gloomy, as if to be in keeping with the unsocial manners of its inhabitants. The climate here, however, is perhaps as favourable to health, comfort, and even to longevity, as that of any other place between the tropics. Situated under the extreme edge of the celestial belt, they have the sun nearly vertical for a few weeks in December, when the heat is oppressive, particularly during the Christmas holydays, which is their midsummer. At this season a monsoon regularly sets down the coast to the southwest, and refreshing seabreezes seldom fail to visit the inhabitants at about ten o'clock in the morning, invigorating them with new life and spirits.

During all the summer months, say from October to April, they also suffer considerable inconvenience from heavy rains, to which they are seldom subject in the months of May, June, July, August, and September, when the monsoon blows in an opposite or contrary direction. Both climate and soil are favourable to the growth of wheat and other grains of the United States, together with vegetables and fruits of almost every description. Industry and enterprise are all that is necessary to render this region the garden of the world; but these are qualities seldom found beneath a tropical sky, or in any climate where all the necessaries, and many of the luxuries of life, are produced spontaneously, and where lassitude and indolence are constitutional maladies.

The food served up at their meals is not such as would generally please a guest from the United States. the principal part of

their diet consisting of fish, vegetables, fruit, and a dish of *farinha de pao*, or flour of the maniota root. Almost every thing they put in their mouths is first dipped in oil, and then rolled in the flour just named, and made up into little balls in the palm of the hand. Beef, butter, cheese, and milk, are very scarce in Rio, and of very indifferent quality. Of mutton, we saw none that was good. The fertile and extensive plains of the southern provinces abound with innumerable herds of horned cattle, which are slaughtered principally for the sake of their hides, while the carcasses are left as a banquet for the tiger, panther, condor, and eagle, who share it between them. The richness of the soil renders the grasses too luxuriant, rank, and acrid, for the sustenance of sheep.

It is believed that there are very few diseases peculiar to this part of Brazil, except such as necessarily arise in all low latitudes, from bad diet, the neglect of personal cleanliness, and the indulgence of various propensities. During the rainy seasons, however, and for a month or six weeks afterward, dysenteries and intermittent fevers are said to be prevalent. Cutaneous eruptions are common among all classes, particularly those of the lower order, and among the coloured population especially. Leprosy and elephantiasis are among the afflictions of the latter.

But if the diet of the inhabitants of Rio be not always the most favourable to health, they enjoy one blessing which will counterbalance a thousand trivial evils,—a supply of pure and wholesome water. We have already alluded to the reservoir from which the city is supplied with this indispensable article, and which is fed by a splendid stone aqueduct, leading from the mountains, built, it is said, after the manner of similar works in Rome. This work, which is called *Arcos de Cariaco*, extends across a deep valley, resting on a double tier of lofty arches, one above another, and the water is conducted to the reservoir by a succession of stone troughs, laid on the top of this two story bridge, under an arched covering of brickwork. Each tier comprises more than forty arches, and the whole of this great work of utility is highly ornamental to the city, and reflects lasting honour on the name of Vasconcellas, the viceroy under whose administration it was constructed. All the fountains of Rio are supplied from this source; and the name of the public-spirited projector,

Vasconcellas, is recorded on one side of the obelisk before mentioned, with an appropriate inscription in Latin.

The Brazilian empire, of which the city of Rio Janeiro is the capital, lies on the eastern coast of South America, and spreads to the west, until it covers more than thirty degrees of longitude; its eastern extremity being on the thirty-fourth, and its western on the sixty-fifth meridian, west from Greenwich. Its extent from north to south, where it tapers off to a point, is about three thousand miles, being from latitude 4° north, to 34° south, including a debatable region called Banda Oriental, on the north side of the *Rio de la Plata*. The entire territory of Brazil is therefore bounded on the north by Guyana; on the west by Bolivia and Peru; on the south by *Banda Oriental;* and everywhere else by the North and South Atlantic Oceans.

This country was first discovered by accident, in the year 1500, by the Portuguese Admiral Pierre Alvazez Cabral, who was on his way to India, *via* the Cape of Good Hope, with a squadron of thirteen ships, manned by twelve hundred men. In order to avoid the tedious calms and baffling winds which had so much retarded the progress of all his predecessors in running down the western coast of Africa, he made a more circuitous route, and crossed the equator several degrees farther west than any other navigator had done before him. The consequence was, a brisk southeast tradewind carried him directly to the coast of South America, in latitude about sixteen south, where he found a convenient bay, in which he could anchor his squadron with safety. To this inlet, which is some five hundred miles north of Rio Janeiro, he gave the name of Porto Seguro; and, naturally concluding that he had thus discovered a more southern part of the same continent which had but recently been made known by Columbus, he took possession of it in the name of his sovereign, under the appellation of Santa Cruz, or the Holy Cross. The mouth of the Orinoco, in latitude nine north, was the southern limit of the discoveries made by Columbus.

The natives were at first much alarmed at this unexpected visit of the Portuguese, and incontinently fled to their hills and woods. But having secured two of their number, the admiral presented them with mirrors, brass rings, bells, and other trinkets, and then set them at liberty to rejoin their fugitive companions, whose ter-

rors were soon appeased, and their confidence restored. A mutual good understanding now prevailed between the natives and the Portuguese, who found the country to be extensive, fertile, and finely wooded, particularly with that valuable species now known by the name of Brazil wood. Cabral immediately despatched one of his vessels back to Portugal to communicate the news of his discovery, and then proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope, and to his original destination.

Don Emanuel, the King of Portugal, immediately sent out ships to explore the coasts of this new country, and to plant colonies in several places, for the avowed purpose of converting the natives to the Christian faith. These new settlements, however, soon dwindled away, and were finally broken up. The zealous monarch, still anxiously solicitous for the salvation of the heathen, and willing to relieve them of some of the mineral treasures with which it was expected their country abounded, hit upon a new plan of colonization. He decreed that all convicted felons under sentence of death, should be banished thither—all who were obnoxious to the Holy Inquisition—all who were suspected of heresy, sorcery, witchcraft, and, above all, of Judaism;—in short, all the outcasts and dregs of society, were doomed to perpetual exile on the shores of Brazil. To the Jews, indeed, banishment was a welcome sanctuary from the injustice and rapacity they constantly experienced at home; and neither they nor their companions in exile had any reason to complain of the arrangement. To all of them, emigration was emancipation from tyranny and oppression.

As these new settlers treated the natives kindly, they were well received, and soon found their situation much improved. The fame of the new colony, as being productive of excellent sugar, and several other valuable articles, gradually attracted to its coast many adventurers from Portugal and elsewhere, and several settlements were soon formed in its vicinity. So rapidly did it increase under the good management of these banished outlaws, these dregs of humanity, as they were considered, that in less than fifty years from its commencement, the mother country began to yearn with tenderness towards her transatlantic children, and she at length resolved to take them under her own protection, and into her own especial keeping. For this purpose, Thomas de Sousa

was sent over to superintend the colony as governor-general; to make war upon the hospitable and unoffending Indians, in order to reduce them at once to slavery and the true faith; and to compel them to cultivate the ground for the colonists, on such terms as he chose to dictate.

This outrageous course of conduct, as might naturally have been expected, quickly roused the free independent spirit of the natives, whose courage and numbers would have soon swept the intruders from their soil, had it not been for the interference of some Jesuit missionaries, who had already acquired great influence over the Indians near the coast, whom they endeavoured to persuade to accede to terms of reconciliation with the colonists. Some consented, and thus became subservient to their invaders; but the great mass of the original population, having lost confidence in their double-dealing neighbours, refused to hold any further intercourse with such monsters of injustice, but indignantly retired into the interior, resolved, as afterward did the Araucanians on the western side of the same continent, to maintain their independence at all hazards. Thus failing in the nefarious attempt to make slaves of the natives, and being too indolent to perform their own agricultural labours, they turned their eyes towards ill-fated Africa, and were the first to commence that horrible traffic in human flesh, which, for three hundred years since, has been the disgrace of humanity!

The proscribed outlaws who formed the nucleus of this colony, which has since grown to a mighty empire, and is now an independent nation, originally seated themselves at *Porto Seguro*, from whence they gradually extended themselves to *Bahia de Todas Santos*, or the Bay of All Saints, in latitude 13° 13′ south, longitude 38° 24′ west, where they founded the city of St. Salvador. Here, for many years, was the seat of the colonial government, and the emporium of Brazilian commerce; the principal articles of importation being African slaves, twenty thousand of which were, but a few years ago, imported annually into the different ports of Brazil.

Fifteen years after Cabral's first landing in Brazil, during which period the Portuguese navigators had explored a great portion of the Southern American coast north of the La Plata, the harbour of Rio Janeiro was first discovered by Solis. This hap-

pened on the first day of January, being the feast of St. Januarius. In honour of the day, he conferred the saint's name on those waters which had hitherto remained concealed from every eye but those of the natives; who, as before stated, had given to this tranquil basin the significant appellation of *Hidden Water*. A thriving colony, in due course of time, surrounded the safe and capacious harbour, on the banks of which a city was founded, which grew rapidly in wealth and splendour.

Still, however, for a long period, the seat of government and of commerce remained at *Bahia de Todas Santos;* which, though one of the smallest provinces of Brazil, was yet one of the most fertile, populous, and luxuriant; St. Salvador would probably have still been the capital of the empire, but for the fortuitous (we will not say fortunate) discovery of the rich gold and diamond mines within three hundred miles of Rio Janeiro, which gave a decided preponderance to the latter. The viceroy removed thither, and Rio became the seat of government. It now grew more rapidly; and had it not been for the unjust and impolitic restrictions of the mother country, it would have still increased in trade, industry, and opulence, and in time become one of the largest and most wealthy cities of the world. But Portugal thought to retain her colonies by oppressing them. So thought England, thirty years before her. Both of these acted under this impression, and both of them lost the brightest jewels of their crowns.

For a commercial city, a better location can scarcely be imagined; surrounded as it is by a country, whose natural capacities and resources are equal to the highest expectations. The harbour, as we have stated, is among the best on the whole surface of the globe. Vessels are never detained in the offing, as the regular tradewinds facilitate their entrance; while the land breezes of the morning favour their standing out from the anchorage; nor is a pilot needed, as seven fathoms is the shoalest water in the entrance to the harbour. The facilities for watering vessels are great, while provisions of all kinds may be had in abundance. But with all its natural advantages, capabilities, and resources, Rio still drooped under the mistaken policy of the mother country, until one political event gave it a fresh impulse, and a new start on the race-course of commercial prosperity.

The event here alluded to, which proved indirectly and inci-

dentally the very means which enabled Brazil to assume the standing which, at this early period of her political existence, she now holds among the nations of the earth, was the removal of the royal family and court from the capital of Portugal to the shores of America. The people, delighted at any change which might improve the condition of their country, and especially one that raised them from a colony to a kingdom, received the royal emigrants with a respect bordering on adoration. This event took place in the year 1803, and the city of Rio Janeiro was determined on as the seat of government and the location of the royal court.

From this period, Brazil improved with almost unparalleled rapidity; for with the court came numerous wealthy and respectable families, together with numberless merchants and artisans of all descriptions. The face of the whole country changed, and Rio began to assume the appearance of a city; Portugal gradually becoming the colony, and Brazil assuming the functions of a mother country.

Indeed, the necessary consequence of the removal of the court from Portugal, was that of the whole importance of the country going with it; while the disturbances of Europe also contributed to advance this new state of things in Brazil, whose ports were open to receive emigrants and imports from every part of the world. Rio was made a free port, and the whole coast was opened to foreign commerce. Vessels of all nations flocked to her ports; mercantile houses were established; trade went on briskly; and a few more years of such a wise and liberal policy must have made the country rich indeed.

But disturbances broke out. The Brazilians, dissatisfied, became jealous of the *strangers*, as they now regarded the royal family. Quarrels ensued, difficulties were created, and the old and weak monarch, Don John, who had left Europe to seek quiet in his colonies, was now compelled reluctantly to return. And thus, in the year 1823, the king embarked for Lisbon with all his family, except Don Pedro, his son, who was left as regent. The latter, however, was soon recalled by his father, which determined the Brazilians to shake off the yoke of Portugal altogether. To the wishes of his father, Don Pedro had promised implicit obedience. On several occasions, however, he had been suspected of creating disturbances, although he always had the

address to remove these impressions, and again to establish himself in favour.

He now, however, went with the people, and declared himself in favour of the disaffected Brazilians. The yoke of provincialism was shaken off; Brazil was declared free and independent. A new form of government was established, under the title of "Empire of Brazil," of which Don Pedro was declared emperor and perpetual defender; the country became quiet; commerce flourished; emigration increased; good faith was restored; and every thing seemed to promise a bright and prosperous future.

Unfortunately, this state of things was not allowed to continue. A war broke out about this time, between Brazil and Buenos Ayres. The question in dispute was that tract of country bordering on the La Plata, and known by the name of *Banda Oriental*. A war of three years was the consequence, which reduced and deranged the finances of the country, and added nothing to the credit of the Brazilian arms; but, on the contrary, had the tendency to betray her weakness, and the folly of her ruler. Finally, the war was terminated by a treaty, declaring the *Banda Oriental* an independent province for the term of five years, after which the inhabitants should be left free to unite with either of the contending powers.

This termination of the war displeased the Brazilians, and doubtless gave impulse to the dislike which at this time began to manifest itself towards the emperor. But no one could have supposed that, in the short space of two years, Don Pedro would be compelled to abdicate his throne in favour of his infant son. Such, however, was the case. The ministry became unpopular, and the emperor was requested to change it. This he refused to do; when the bold language was used, that "the ministry must be changed, or himself leave the throne."

It was now evident that the imperial days of Brazil were numbered; and as he daily saw the royal authority falling into disrepute, he determined to abdicate the throne in favour of his infant son, only five years of age. This happened in the year 1831; and he immediately embarked in an English seventy-four, bearing with him the whole resources of the treasury, and all the moveable wealth of the country, together with the hatred and curses of his former subjects.

For several months after his departure, the country was in a most unsettled state. Commerce came to a stand; confidence was again destroyed; revolts took place daily; and quiet and security seemed banished from the land. The regency was put into the hands of General Lima and the Marquis of Barbecina, while great efforts were made for the restoration of peace and tranquillity. A new form of government was again discussed; and, after some time, public affairs seemed gradually to assume a more favourable appearance.

Still, however, at the period of the Potomac's arrival at Rio, the Brazilian government could not be said to be in a settled or tranquil condition, and many disorders in the state seemed to threaten other and still greater changes. But a short time had elapsed since a number of convicts joined with a party of disbanded soldiers, to the number of about three hundred, the greater part of whom were negroes. This rabble had the temerity to fire upon the city, from a small island of which they had obtained possession, and directed their shots from six and nine pounders towards the palace square, to the manifest annoyance of those loyal subjects of the empire who were promenading very leisurely this beautiful area. A volunteer corps was soon formed, consisting principally of citizens, by whom the insurgents' works were stormed, and the greater part of them made prisoners.

A national guard of citizens, of about five thousand men, has been recently formed. They have an appropriate uniform, and nothing was more common than to see respectable citizens doing the duty of vigilant sentinels at the numerous posts throughout the city—marching and countermarching, and suffering a fatigue which evinced how much they were ready to encounter before they would again submit to the yoke which Don Pedro had so very obligingly taken under his arm, and with which he had departed.

Liberal principles are certainly on a rapid advance in Brazil; and bigoted opinions, both in politics and religion, which have been handed down from their forefathers, and which are inseparable from despotism, are being fast exploded from among the laity. The clergy, as before intimated, are far behind the age they live in, as respects moral or scientific improvement. They were originally sent over here for the avowed object of converting the native In-

dians to the Christian faith; and for this purpose they have been plentifully provided with churches, convents, and colleges, all amply endowed by the government of the mother country from coffers which were supplied from the colony itself; the bowels of whose territory were teeming with treasures, which they were forbid to touch on pain of death. But whatever might have been the zeal and fidelity of their predecessors, a portion of the members of the clerical body now resident at Rio, evidently prefer the ease and luxury of a monastic life, to the labours and privations attending the office of a missionary. If a native should come to them and pay for a prayer or a shrift, he would no doubt be accommodated. But they have no idea of carrying out such precious goods to scatter gratis in the wilderness!

In alluding to the subject in a former part of this chapter, we intimated that they often winked at transgressions of the lower orders, most of whom are said to be very revengeful. As an illustration of that remark, we shall here record the following incident which occurred at Rio, and was related to us by an eye-witness of the facts. A murder was committed under circumstances peculiarly aggravating. The *assassin*, closely pursued by the relatives of the deceased and the officers of justice, sought shelter from the threatening arm of the civil law beneath what proved, at least in this instance, the more powerful arm of the ecclesiastical law. Having attained the sanctuary which is ever found beneath the vaulted roof of a religious edifice, the murderer, his hands still reeking with blood, kneeled and most piously invoked the protection of the saint to whom the church had been dedicated. As a matter of superstition, the pursuit was abandoned for the moment; which allowed the culprit time to make his escape, after paying the priest, the immediate representative and accounting agent of the saint to whom the church belonged, the amount exacted for his protection, and the preservation of his life.

Indeed, the influence which such *drones* in the community exercise over the poorer orders of the flock, is almost incredible. Their deceptions and religious exactions, and the ingenious methods frequently adopted to carry on their systems of extortion, are often amusing, and always instructive, as affording to the curious sufficient data, within a very short compass, from which to draw a

fair estimate of the true moral and religious condition of this portion of the community.

We cannot refrain from recounting one of these scenes, which took place in the same city. Walking with a friend, in rather a remote part of the town, our attention was attracted by the approach of two clerical personages. One of them was seated on a fine charger, that would not have disgraced the rich valleys of Andalusia, and the other on a sleek mule! And yet they were both mendicants, as could readily be perceived from the baskets of the one, and the alforjas (saddle-bags) of the other. As they approached leisurely along, keeping a "bright lookout" on either side, we asked an old woman, who was seated near the door of her humble *rancho*, who they were? "Signiors," said she, "they are of the church of St. Augustine, dispensing grace to poor sinners." They had by this time passed us at a short distance, and we began to despair of witnessing any of this singular dispensation. Just as they approached the termination of the street, we saw a woman, about the middle age, rush from her hovel, nearly opposite to where we were, standing and calling out to them vehemently, "*Stop! stop! and give me a little grace!*"

The horse and mule were brought to a stand, while we followed close to the woman, who now approached the man on horseback, hurrying along with her a child of perhaps ten years of age, sallow, and evidently in extremely bad health. We now saw that within the basket was a waxen image of the Virgin, having in her arms another waxen image of the infant Saviour.

The poor woman insisted upon having some grace, "without money and without price," for the benefit of her sick child, in consideration of not having a single copper, and having never failed to pay the priest, for whom he was selling grace, punctually for confessing her. He was, however, inexorable; and would have gone off had the poor woman not implored him to wait for another moment, to see if she could procure any thing with which to buy a little grace for her sick child; and stepping into a neighbouring hut, returned with a single egg. When the egg was deposited in the basket, in despite of frowning, we took a look within, where were to be seen, carefully deposited in their proper places, some fowls ready for the spit, eggs, vegetables, &c. All was fish, it appeared, which came to this net. The

child was raised up, and imprinted upon the feet of the saint a feeble kiss; and the saintly one moved on, seeking farther "whom he might devour."

We felt for a moment as though we could have cut off the fellow's ears, together with those of his employer; and he looked at us as if he could have willingly served us in the same manner.

There may be those who will deem the relation of this incident an attack on the Roman Catholic religion; but, gentle reader, it is not so intended; no, not even as we find that religion in the Brazilian empire. We have travelled some in Catholic countries, and shall have something to say on the moral and religious condition of these countries in another place, perhaps in another volume. We shall state abuses where we have seen them, fearlessly, independently; but, if we shall trace the causes of these abuses to sources different from many writers, it is because we have seen differently. Yet in these days, even the abuses of religion cannot always be adverted to with safety, or its professors named, unless it be indiscriminately to praise. Of this timeserving timidity we have none; believing that there is much truth in the appropriate language of the poet who has said—

> "All hail, religion! maid divine,
> Pardon a muse so mean as mine,
> Who, in his rough, imperfect line,
> Thus dares to name thee;
> To stigmatize false friends of thine,
> Can ne'er defame thee."

On no subject have we heard such contrariety of opinions, as in relation to the population of Rio; the various estimates not agreeing with each other by one hundred thousand. We will also give our opinion. The city of Rio has been divided into seven parishes; and it has, of late, been ascertained with considerable accuracy that each of these sections contains, on an average, twenty thousand inhabitants, giving an aggregate of one hundred and forty thousand souls; and allowing for slaves whose masters did not give them in, from fear of taxation or some other motive, we may say, with the utmost confidence, that Rio does not contain less than the number just stated, nor more than one hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants.

Whatever may be the condition of the slaves in the interior provinces of Brazil, they do not seem in general to be cruelly treated in Rio, and we saw but few instances in which they seemed to be overworked. In fact, from our own observations we are inclined to believe, that the Brazilian slaves, generally speaking, need not wish to exchange places with those of any other country in the world. The master requires of them only four days' labour in the week; on the other two workingdays they must labour for themselves, to earn their own food and raiment for the week; and so little do the latter cost, that in the course of a few years they frequently lay by a sufficient sum to purchase their own freedom. The human frame feels fewer wants, and consequently is not exposed to so many evils, in a warm as in a cold climate. The general abundance of fruits within the tropics, and the limited necessity for clothes and winter quarters, tend greatly to ameliorate the condition of slaves in warm countries like Brazil. In and about Rio, they appear to be cheerful and happy.

Previous to taking leave of Brazil for the present (as our second visit to Rio will be found in a subsequent part of this narrative), it may be expected that we should say something of the natural productions of this part of South America. In doing so, we shall at this time confine ourselves to such only as came under our own immediate observation. Almost every traveller has so enlarged upon this theme, that there is little of novelty to be exhibited.

Among the most useful vegetable productions which a beneficent Providence has wisely caused to abound in every tropical region, are the banana, the plantain, the cocoanut, and the bread-fruit-tree. The three last named are, perhaps, more peculiar to the islands of the Pacific than to either continent; but the first is unquestionably the most useful and important production of Brazil. A single banana daily, has been known to sustain the life of an individual for months. The fruit is from ten to twelve inches in length, and about two in diameter; at first green, and afterward of a pale yellow. They are generally cut for use before they are fully ripe; the green envelope is then peeled off, and the fruit roasted, forming an excellent substitute for bread. The negroes live almost entirely upon them, and they likewise serve to fatten all domestic animals. Every part of the tree,

which grows to the height of from fifteen to twenty feet, is converted to some useful purpose; fans, for instance, being made of the leaves. There are two kinds of this fruit cultivated at Rio; one small and sweet, the other somewhat larger, and of coarser grains. The tree bears in a few months after being planted; and, as before intimated, the quantity of nutriment in the fruit is very considerable.

Next to this, in quality, quantity, and importance, is the Brazilian orange, of which there are several varieties; and the orchards or groves in which they are cultivated are replete with beauty and redolent of fragrance. Pineapples, in their season, are extremely plentiful. The custard-apple, the guava, the fruit of the passion-flower, and the rich pulpy tamarind, are also very abundant, and of delicious flavour. The cashewnut, so well known in Jamaica and Barbadoes, abounds in Brazil, and yields a juice which is easily converted into a pleasant wine. The cocoanut-tree, which flourishes luxuriantly on the very margin of the sea, often exceeds the height of fifty feet, with leaves or branches from twelve to fourteen feet in length. Its fruit is delicious, and too well known to require a description. Besides these just enumerated, are melons of all kinds, mangoes, and many different species of northern fruits, which are cultivated with much success. Cabbages, yams, sweet potatoes, brinjals, peas, and cucumbers, are plentiful, and grow very rapidly.

In addition to these, wheat, barley, guinea-corn, millet, rice, coffee, sugar, manhiot, pepper, honey, wax, tobacco, cotton, and hemp, may be raised in any quantity, and of superior quality. Of die-stuffs, there are logwood, redwood, fustic, indigo, cochineal, and a variety of others; and of drugs, Peruvian bark, jalap, ipecacuanha, the Palma Christi, &c. In short, medical and odoriferous shrubs are without number. Timber of the finest quality, suitable for civil or naval architecture, is apparently inexhaustible. Satinwood, rosewood, and several other precious sorts, suitable for ornamental cabinet-work, are found in all the forests. Flowers of the most beautiful teints and delicious fragrance, surround the traveller on every side, whether he be on the open plain or the mountain—in the secluded vale, or beneath the umbrageous canopy of the forest. In one word, the vegetable riches of Brazil are, perhaps, unequalled in any section of the

globe; and though they cannot, of course, claim the same intrinsic value, they are infinitely more various, more beautiful to the eye, and of more real utility to the nation, than the glittering productions of boasted mines.—

> "Let her the golden mine despise,
> For deep in earth it better lies,
> Than when, by hands profan'd, from nature's store,
> To human use compell'd, flames forth the sacred ore."

Of natural productions in the animal kingdom, Brazil can doubtless boast her share, though of far less variety than is found on the opposite continent. Their horses are mostly brought from the south, descendants of the wild herds which roam in a state of unrestrained freedom over the extensive pampas or prairies of Argentine and Patagonia. The original stock, it is said, was brought from Europe, at an early period of the discovery, together with that of the black cattle which now overrun the more southern regions of the continent. Among the wild animals, the largest is probably the *tapir*, or land hippopotamus; but the most formidable is the jaguar, or South American tiger, which seldom, however, approaches the haunts of man. Sloths and wild dogs are numerous, besides several species of quadrupeds that burrow in the earth. Among the latter is the *seven-banded* armadillo, a curious little animal, well known in all our museums, and other depositories of natural history; having the snout of a pig, the tail of a lizard, and the feet of a hedgehog. He is armed with a coat of impenetrable scales, burrows in the earth during the daytime, and sometimes grows to the length of three feet. The Brazilians use it as an article of food, the flesh being white, tender, and well tasted. Bats are numerous, of a large size, and very sanguinary. The blood of cattle is their favourite food, on which, at night, they take the liberty to banquet, without invitation or license.

Of the feathered tribe, Brazil can count great numbers, and many varieties. The great imperial condor of Peru is sometimes seen descending on her plains, to prey upon the fragments of the jaguar's meal, or to bear away some living quadruped to his aerial retreat on the highest pinnacle of the Andes. The royal eagle, and the bandit vulture, make similar and more frequent incursions; while fowls and birds of various descriptions

pursue their instinctive habits as nature dictates. The smaller tribes are numerous, and are more distinguished for brilliancy of plumage than for sweetness of melody. Many varieties of parrots and paroquets are found in the woods, and the orange gardens are peopled with hummingbirds.

Of reptiles and insects peculiar to Brazil, the enumeration would be endless. Venomous snakes, together with toads and spiders of enormous magnitude, exist in formidable numbers; as also do scorpions, centipedes, scalopendras, &c. But the greatest pest of all is the ant, whose numbers are literally infinite, and whose depredations are so serious, that villages and hamlets have been nearly undermined by them. Mosquitoes, as we have seen and felt, are also numerous, and intolerably annoying; but the butterflies are beautiful beyond description, and of great variety.

With these brief, excursive, and somewhat desultory remarks, we will now return to the Potomac, on whose busy decks every preparation was on foot for resuming her course to the "far east." Wood, water, and other requisites for so long a voyage, were daily being received on board, where every thing presented diligence, activity, and order.

Nearly a fortnight had elapsed since the Potomac first came to anchor in the harbour of Rio, when her officers, in return for the civilities which they had received from a number of ladies and gentlemen on shore, determined to get up a *fête* for their entertainment on board the frigate. During her passage from New-York, some encouragement had been given to the men in favour of forming a small Thespian corps, which might afford occasional amusement during the long cruise of circumnavigating the globe. To many it might appear difficult to procure proper materials for such a company among a crew of hardy sailors. But such is not the fact. On board of a man-of-war of the size of the Potomac, there are perhaps more men of different avocations, than in any village of even twice the number of inhabitants. Indeed, when we consider that the crew of such a ship is mostly composed of persons who, from desperate circumstances, a roving inclination, or from a desire to *see the world*, as they term it, enlist in such an expedition, it is not to be wondered that they comprise men of almost every attainment. The profession of an actor is always one of doubtful success. Even with the most gifted

genius, years of toil and repeated efforts are necessary to attain eminence. In the many attempts some must fail, and are thrown out of the vocation by dissipation, and find themselves from necessity on board a man-of-war. On board the Potomac there were one or two rather above mediocrity; who, being well qualified to take the management, as a matter of course, entered into the subject with great spirit.

On Saturday, the twenty-ninth of October, the theatre was rigged on the quarterdeck, and invitations were sent on shore, to the ladies and gentlemen with whom the officers had become acquainted; and, among these, several natives of the country. The piece selected for the evening had been frequently rehearsed; and, as the performers improved and acquired confidence in every new attempt, it was hoped that the evening's amusement would pass off well. At eight o'clock, the deck was thronged with the officers of the Warren and Lexington, the former having just arrived. It was indeed pleasant to meet thus, on a foreign station, so many acquaintances and former shipmates; and memory, active in the reminiscences of other days and bygone times, brought up incidents again to be talked over and enjoyed anew.

But our brightest anticipations are often subject to disappointment, and the sunny smile of beauty was doomed to be lacking on this occasion. The weather suddenly changed, the heavens became overcast, and the prospect of the attendance of the ladies from on shore every moment grew more faint. The performance was finally opened without them; but still it contributed greatly to the amusement of all who were present.

Matters, however, were not allowed to terminate thus. Another evening was set apart for the purpose; the theatre was again opened; and all who had not been able to attend on the preceding evening, were now present. The performance went off with spirit; a dance followed, and the ladies and gentlemen from the city seemed much pleased with their visit on board, and the entertainments prepared for the occasion. But the time had now come for the Potomac to depart, and pursue the objects of her destination.

> "Her massive anchors, near this Eden land,
> For twenty days had bit the golden sand;
> But duty calls, new perils to endure
> And the hoarse boatswain pipes—'*All hands, unmoor!*"

CHAPTER IV.

Departure from Rio Janeiro—Glorious Sunset at Sea—A white Squall—A Man Overboard—A narrow Escape—Cape of Good Hope—Arrival of the Potomac at Cape-Town—Table Bay, with Sailing Directions—First Discovery of the Cape by Diaz—Origin of the Colony—Description of the Town—State of the Press, Literature, and Education—Climate, Clouds, and Vapours.

On Saturday, the fifth of November, the stores of the Potomac having been completely replenished, and time not permitting longer delay, orders were given to get under way early in the morning. The anchor was weighed at daylight; but as the breeze continued light and baffling, the harbour was not cleared until late in the forenoon.

In addition to the boats of the Potomac, which were sent ahead to tow the ship, others from the several men-of-war in the harbour were sent to proffer their assistance; and among these, one from his Britannic Majesty's frigate Druid. Her commander, Captain Hamilton, has been long known in naval life, in which he ranks high for nautical skill, and for his urbanity of manners and gentlemanly deportment.

The bows of the Potomac were now laid close to the wind, to the east; and conjecture, even among the crew, as to her destination, seemed at an end. The Cape of Good Hope, Sumatra, East Indies, and round the world, to South America, were in the mouth of every one; while the prospect of passing through new scenes, and encountering new adventures, a little out of the beaten track, gave rise to feelings which seemed to pervade and animate all on board.

A passage from Rio Janeiro to the Cape of Good Hope, however, over a track of ocean which has for centuries been the common highway of nations, cannot be expected to abound with novelty or interest. The logbook tells of continued headwinds —irregular head and cross seas—and, south of latitude 29°, of falling in with whale-ships, and every day encountering the right, or black whale, so called in contradistinction to the spermaceti whale, which is so much more highly prized, on account of its

yielding the valuable article from which its name is derived. But, so changeable are the scenes of a sailor's life, so fickle and treacherous the elements above and beneath him, that even this passage was not without its soul-touching and heart-thrilling incidents, embracing in their extremes, and in the highest possible degree, the essential qualities of the *beautiful* and the *sublime*.

There are but few, perhaps, who have not experienced and *felt* the charms of evening, as the last golden beams of the setting sun cast a milder glow of mellowing light and shade on all around. It is not romance—there is a high-wrought sympathy—a pure and holy feeling, which often passes over the mind in contemplation of such a scene. We had enjoyed it on shore; but never dreamed that the ocean-tossed mariner was favoured with aught so lovely. It was an evening when the troubled waters of the ocean had not wholly subsided from the effects produced by a heavy blow of several days. The sun was slowly declining in the west, making his passage through numerous silvery and golden clouds, which threw upon a bank of other dark vapours which were still hovering in the east, an appearance not unlike billows of fire, undulating like the sea beneath them.

> "The sun's bright orb, declining all serene,
> Now glanced obliquely o'er the watery scene:
> Its heaving surface, lovely to behold,
> Glows in the west, a sea of living gold."
>
> FALCONER.

To the north and to the south rose masses of beautiful clouds of snowy whiteness, whose upper edges were tinged with gold; these changing into every form above, while the dark red tinge upon the water, or sparkling sea beneath, presented, altogether, a picture so beautiful, that language has not power to describe it; nor could the pencil command sufficiently varied colours, though dipped in the tints of the rainbow, and touched by the hand of a Raphael, to delineate the scene, or impart its beauties to the glowing canvass. None will call this language too strong except such as have not seen, and of course cannot appreciate, the grandeur of ocean's landscape, upon which the oldest and roughest sailor cannot look without a brighter countenance, and a silent but heartfelt acknowledgment of that Being "who stretcheth out the firmament, and holdeth the ocean in the hollow of his hand!"

In approaching the Cape of Good Hope, but more frequently to the south and east of that promontory, navigators have often to encounter storms from the northward, which rage with great violence. With these winds, the sea always runs high, and one of the most dangerous features in the character of such gales, is the sudden, and often instantaneous, change which occurs from the wind breaking out, with equal or even augmented fury, from another and nearly opposite quarter. The experienced navigator of these seas, therefore, always keeps a bright lookout during the prevalence of such gales, to the southwest. However strong the squall may be raging, however rough the sea may be rolling, or copiously the rain may be falling, yet, a *bright spot* in the west, or southwest, is a sure indication of a sudden change of wind.

It was on Tuesday, the fifteenth of November, in latitude 34° south, and longitude 30° east. The morning opened with strong gales from the northwest, which increased in violence until the afternoon. Sail after sail was taken in, or reefed, until the Potomac wore little else than a storm dress. The sea was exceedingly high, rough, and unpleasant; and the ship rolled and laboured heavily. The *white spot* was seen in the south, but experience alone could tell the power it contained. In an instant the gale from the north "let go its hold;" the little canvass that remained spread flapped loosely on the yards; and, ere there was time for thought or action, a gale from the southwest struck the vessel with such power, and with a change so sudden, that it required the utmost exertion of professional skill to prepare her to meet the fierce encounter.

> "It comes resistless, and with foaming sweep
> Upturns the whit'ning surface of the deep;
> In such a tempest, borne to deeds of death,
> The wayward sisters scour the blasted heath."
>
> FALCONER.

The high and combing waves, running quick from the northeast, thus met and arrested in their course by violent gusts from the southwest, created upon the whole extent of the ocean's surface, at least as far as the eye could reach, sheets of flying foam, as the water was carried from the cap of each rolling billow in masses to leeward. This sudden encounter of the

winds and the waves caused the latter to mount up into vast and moving pyramids of angry foam.

It is in such a moment as this that the profession of a sailor becomes really sublime! It is a contest for mastery between the elements and the intellectual daring of man! At such a moment all hands are called; and, fore and aft—from the fore, main, and mizzentops—each officer and sailor stands in deathlike silence, to receive and execute whatever orders the commander in a low and subdued tone, through the officer of the deck, may see fit to give. He is the master-spirit whose coolness, experience, and intellectual energies alone can control the demon of the tempest.

> "True to his trust, when sacred duty calls,
> No howling storm the master's soul appals."
>
> FALCONER.

On the present occasion, every requisite order had been given, and each of them had been executed with a prompt and fearless obedience. The gallant Potomac, recovering from the unexpected shock she had received in the sudden change of the wind, and raising herself with a graceful majesty from the sullen and involuntary obeisance which she had paid to the blast, began to obey the impulse of her helm, when the appalling and terrific cry of "a man overboard!" resounded fore and aft.

The usual orders in such an emergency are—"Hard down the helm! Cut away the life-buoy! and stand by to lower the life-boat!" which is always suspended from the ship's quarters, with suitable and appropriate lashings. But the commodore very properly hesitated to give such orders on the present occasion; for it was but too evident that no boat could live, for a single moment, among the turbulent billows which were beating round and climbing up the sides of the frigate. The feeling that pervades one at such a crisis is painfully intense;—we know of no excitement on shore that can possibly be compared with it. It is in such emergencies that the thorough-bred sailor exhibits traits of character which should cover a multitude of sins. The fury of the storm—the tempest-tost ocean—the certainty of death before them, could not restrain the generous impetuosity of the crew. They had gathered *en masse* on the ship's quarter, with hands upon the ratlins, ready to leap into the boats on either side, to rescue a shipmate from destruction, or share with him a watery grave.

The suspense, which had now become insufferable, was soon relieved by the cheerful exclamation from the larboard gangway, of "there he is! there he is!" and the man was borne aft as one snatched from the very portals of death. It appears that he had been sent into the forechains, to clear the foresheet, as the sudden change of wind came on; and the ship rolling at the time very deep, he was washed from thence into the sea. Fortunately, he had done his work so well, by overhauling the sheet, that a bite had fallen near the water; so that when the ship rolled again towards him he succeeded in seizing it, and but a moment elapsed before the welcome exclamation of "here he is! here he is!" relieved the feelings of all.

On the sixth of December, land was seen; and, before night, made out to be Table Mountain. On the following day, after a passage of thirty-one days from Rio, the Potomac came safely to anchor at Cape Town, near the southern extremity of the African continent, which stretches out into the sea, as if to interrupt all further progress to the east. The breeze, which had promised an anchorage on the evening of the preceding day, had died away with the setting sun; and during the night, the restless clouds flitting swiftly in different directions, indicated that the spirit of the tempest still resided in the neighbourhood of the cape. On the same afternoon salutes were exchanged between the Potomac and the fort on shore, and all hands seemed much delighted with their arrival once more in port.

The peninsula of the Cape of Good Hope is a mountainous ridge, stretching nearly north and south for fifty or sixty miles, and connected on the east side, and near its northern extremity, with the main body of Africa, by a flat, sandy isthmus about ten miles broad, having Table Bay on the north of it, and False Bay on the south. The southern extremity of this peninsula, extending into the sea, with False Bay on the east, and the ocean on the south and west, is properly the "Cape of Good Hope," and is nearly the most southern point of Africa. We say *nearly*, because after doubling the cape from the Atlantic, the coast is found to incline southeasterly for about one hundred miles, when it suddenly changes to a northeasterly direction. The most southerly point of Africa is, therefore, a projection of the coast called Cape Agullus, extending a few leagues further into the Indian Ocean

than the Cape of Good Hope itself, being in latitude 34° 40′ south, longitude 18° 26′ east; whereas the latter is in latitude 34° 20′ south, longitude 20° 20′ east. At this point, the chain of mountains which forms the peninsula, though rugged, is lower than it is at the northern end, where it is terminated by Table Mountain and two others, which form an amphitheatre overlooking Table Bay, and opening at the north like the bay itself. The ridges of the mountains extending from the cape to the termination of the peninsula on the north vary in shape, but the most frequent forms incline more or less to sharp conical points. The three mountains that terminate the peninsula on the north are, the Table Mountain in the middle; the Lion's Head, sometimes called the Sugarloaf, on the west side; and the Devil's Peak on the east. The Lion's Head, which is about 2160 feet above the level of the sea, is separated from Table Mountain by a valley that descends to the depth of 1500 or 2000 feet below the summit of Table Mountain, which is itself 3582 feet above the level of the sea. On the west of the Lion's Head there is a lower eminence, named the Lion's Rump, 1142 feet high, from which the ground gradually declines to the sea. The amphitheatre formed by these three mountains is about five or six miles in diameter, in the centre of which is placed Cape Town, before which the gallant Potomac now lay safely moored, sheltered from every annoying blast that might, at this season of the year, threaten to disturb the placidity of her repose. Between May and October, this remark would not be applicable.

On the arrival of vessels in Table Bay, as in most other places, a proper anchorage is pointed out for them by the captain of the port. When discharging their cargoes, they are to be moored as near the jetty as safety will permit. Vessels touching for refreshments are allowed to ride at single anchor, with a long scope of ninety fathoms of chain, as they run less risk of parting or fouling. It is recommended that ships be kept as snug as possible, to counteract the effect of periodical winds, which at times blow with considerable violence. Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon the local authorities for the wise measures they have adopted to counteract the occasional violence of the winds, sudden and destructive in their effects. Certain signals have been adopted by the postoffice, from which vessels in port may receive timely

warning of the approach of winds, as indicated by the barometer; and long and careful observations and experience have left no room to doubt the correctness of these observations.

Though these regulations, in a commercial point of view, cannot be of much moment to us, yet they are interesting; and as our vessels are in all seas and climes, chance may render them valuable to our own flag.

While in Table Bay, all vessels are strongly enjoined to observe the following signals from the postoffice, founded on unerring barometrical observations:—

"Union Jack, over white pierced blue,—*Veer to a whole cable.*

"Union Jack, over blue white, blue,—*Strike lower yards and topmasts, and rig in jibboom.*"

Through the same office, it is arranged, that vessels can make their wants known in rough and stormy weather; when any assistance required will be strictly attended to, so far as is practicable. A vessel not supplied with Maryott's code of signals, may communicate in the following manner with her ensign:—

"1st. Ensign in the foretopmast rigging,—*I am in want of a cable.*

"2d. Ensign in the maintopmast rigging,—*I am in want of an anchor.*

"3d. Ensign in fore rigging,—*I have parted a bower cable.*

"4th. Ensign in main rigging,—*I am in want of cable and anchor.*

"5th. White, where best seen,—*I am in want of a boat.*"

To enter Table Bay at night, from the north, and meaning to pass north of Robben Island, a ship should keep the light eastward of south nine degrees east, or about south-by-east, until she gets soundings under twenty fathoms, at a little more than a mile from the lighthouse. She may then steer E. S. E., or E. by S., not to come under ten fathoms, until the light bears W. S. W. She may then steer for the anchorage, and anchor as soon as the lights are shutting in behind the Lion's Tail. This track leads almost a mile clear of danger on Green Point; but a ship need not approach so near, if she have, by seeing Robben Island, ascertained by its bearings that she is clear of rocks, in which case she may round it at a greater distance from Green Point if desirable, but the soundings in that case will not be a safe guide.

In coming from the southwest, a ship should not get less than forty fathoms before the light bears southeast, or east-southeast, nor less than twenty fathoms before it bears south-by-east; when the preceding directions may be followed. From the north, inside of Robben Island, the light should be kept about southwest-by-south, until the ship has passed that island, in doing which she may have in some cases from six to eight fathoms; and when on that course the water deepens to eleven or twelve fathoms, she may steer for the anchorage by the plan as before stated.

On beating around Green Point, a ship should never shoal her water under eleven or twelve fathoms, until she has brought the light to bear west-southwest, as before directed.

In beating between Robben Island and the main, to enter Table Bay, the soundings may be taken from the island, as it shoals very regularly. In standing towards the main, it appears prudent to look at the first cast of the lead after the water shoals, and in all cases it is taken for granted that a vessel will keep her lead agoing. By day, or when the shore or surf can be seen, or indeed under any circumstances, the plan ought to be a sufficient guide.

Europe was totally unacquainted with this country, and even ignorant of its existence, anterior to the year 1493, when it was discovered by Bartholomew Diaz, a Portuguese navigator, who, under the immediate auspices of his sovereign, John II., had extended the Portuguese discoveries along the whole western coast of Africa. When near the southern extremity of the continent, he was driven out of sight of land, and hurried by a violent storm far into the Indian Ocean. The Portuguese sailors now gave themselves up as lost, while for thirteen days they were buffeted about by the relentless tempest. After being partially acclimated to the sultry gales of Africa, they found the damp cold blast of the Antarctic seas almost intolerably severe. When the storm abated, ignorant of their real situation, they steered eastward to regain the coast from which they had been driven, but nothing but the unbounded ocean was to be seen. Surprised and bewildered, they steered to the north, and finally made a point of Africa, considerably to the eastward of that which we now call the Cape of Good Hope. As numerous herds were seen feeding on the shore, Diaz called his new discovery "the Bay of Cows." He then steered westward until he came to a small island, on which he planted a

pillar, as he had previously done on the western coast of the same continent, for an ensign of the Portuguese dominion.

A general murmur, however, amounting to a mutinous movement, now arose among his exhausted and dispirited crew. They urged that they had already discovered enough of land for one voyage, that their vessel was shattered, and their provisions drawing to a close; in a word, they positively insisted on returning home. Diaz called a council of his officers, who all concurred in the wishes of the men; so that the enterprising and indefatigable navigator was here compelled to relinquish a still brighter chaplet than he had already acquired; one which was in full view, and almost within his reach. He yielded, it is said, with deep reluctance, and parted with the island where he had planted his last ensign, "as a father parts from an exiled son." In regaining the Atlantic, they for the first time doubled, in full view, the long sought-for cape or promontory, to which Diaz, tortured by his feelings of mortification and chagrin, gave the name of "*Cobas totas Tormentas*"—"the Cape of all Torments;" but his joyful sovereign, on his return to Portugal, inspired with a well-grounded hope that the long sought-for passage to India was at length discovered, changed the appellation to that which it now bears, the "Cape of Good Hope." In 1497 this hope was fully realized by Vasco de Gama, another Portuguese discoverer, who doubled the cape, and explored his way to India, landing at Colicut on the twenty-second of May in the following year.

A pathway for all nations was now opened to the "land of promise," whose precious merchandise soon began to be poured into the lap of every European country with profuse abundance. But notwithstanding their constant passing and repassing the Cape of Good Hope, its admirable locality for furnishing refreshments, and the inviting aspect of the country, none conceived the idea of planting a civilized colony among its sable native residents. But in 1650, one hundred and fifty-seven years after its first discovery, Van Riebeck, a surgeon of one of the Dutch East India Company's ships, pointed out to the directors the great advantages which would be derived from establishing a settlement on the southern extremity of Africa, and they listened to the suggestion. In two years afterward his views were carried into effect, and he himself appointed governor of the new colony. From that time,

to the year 1795, it remained in the hands of the Dutch, gradually improving. In the meantime, the English possessions in the east had greatly increased; and John Bull had not passed so often round the cape without casting a wishful eye on this thriving establishment, which he thought might answer so well to refresh his vessels at. In 1795, the state of Europe and the fortunes of war gave him the power; and as he is an old gentleman who is not remarkable for being over fastidious in respecting the rights of his neighbours, and having just suffered the loss of his best transatlantic dependances, he proceeded to take possession of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope; and it has, with the exception of a few years (during which the Dutch held it under the treaty of Amiens), remained in the hands of the British, much to the discontent of the descendants of the old governor, *Pietr Van Roode Van Oudtshoorn*.

Cape Town itself is beautifully situated on a plain, and is overshadowed by a stupendous rock or mountain.* The streets are spacious, and intersect each other at right angles with great exactness. The houses are mostly of stone, and whitewashed without, which gives them a neat and cleanly appearance; there are few built over two stories, on account of the winds, which blow sometimes excessively strong. The residence of the governor, and the public buildings, are suitable to the purposes for which they are used, but possess nothing which deserves particular description. The public square presents a neat appearance, and is kept in fine order; and there are some pleasant promenades in the environs, tastefully overshadowed with spreading branches of oak.

The progress of literature at Cape Town is very promising, and the cause of education has numerous and powerful adherents. A newspaper, called the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, has been established for several years, and is said to be well supported, notwithstanding all the obstacles thrown in its way by the jealousy and cupidity of the Dutch residents. It has uniformly and strenuously advocated the cause of ameliorating the condition

* The rocks of which this peninsula is composed are few in number and of simple structure. They are granite, gneiss, clay-slate, graywacke, quartz-rock, sandstone, and dolerite. Of these the most abundant are granite and sandstone: the next in frequency are graywacke and clay-slate; and the least frequent are gneiss and dolerite. In some places, the sandstone is traversed by veins of red iron ore.

of the slaves, as respects their food, clothing, hours of labour punishment, marriages, &c. This was wormwood to the Dutch, who consider their slaves in the same light as some teamsters do their horses:—"If there be any work *in* the animal," say they, "we must bring *out* our money's worth by the lash of the whip." They therefore convened a meeting, and passed resolutions to denounce the *Commercial Advertiser*, as unworthy their patronage and support; and, as a joint-stock company, to establish an opposition paper, called the *Zuid Afrikain*, which maintains a policy diametrically opposed to that advocated by the other. Whether this competition of clashing interests is calculated to produce beneficial effects, is a question that time will determine. There is also another periodical published here, called the *Literary Gazette*, which is said to be entitled to no inconsiderable share of praise for the liberality of its doctrines, and the literary merit of its original articles.

The public library is an honour to the colony, having, in the course of five or six years, increased in books and subscribers until it has attained to a degree of prosperity unrivalled in any colonial annals. Its shelves present a brilliant display of the best works on all subjects and in divers languages. The librarian, who is also secretary to the institution, and the editor of the *Literary Gazette*, is distinguished for his affable deportment, urbanity of manners, and polite attention to visiters. A museum has also been established, which is rich in specimens of natural history, especially in those branches of it which are so numerous in Southern Africa. A very large and interesting menagerie of wild beasts likewise, as we were informed, once existed in this place, and was a great object of attraction to strangers; but it has since dwindled away to a "beggarly account of empty" cages, there being not at present half a dozen subjects in the enclosure.

Two infant schools have been established here, which appear to be conducted on excellent principles, and meet a very general support. Schools and academies for the higher branches are also in a flourishing condition. But the institution which merits the most attention, is the *South African College*, which embraces all the advantages of an English seminary and university,—admitting pupils with the slightest possible preparation, and instructing them in the highest branches of science, and the widest range of liter-

ature, at a trifling cost. Most of the professors are stated to be men of the first scientific attainments; and many of the pupils have evinced a vigour of understanding and an extent of acquirements which convey indubitable testimony of the value of the institution.

This college was founded on the first of October, 1829, having been in existence but a little more than two years when the Potomac arrived at the cape, at which period the number of pupils amounted to one hundred and fifty. The branches taught here, as we understand, are Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Dutch, English, writing, drawing, French, logic, rhetoric, mathematics, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, the principles of geography, and astronomy. The qualifications of a student for admission are, reading, writing, and a knowledge of the first rules of arithmetic. No distinction exists as to rank or religion. The building contains a number of spacious and airy apartments, extremely well adapted to the purpose of tuition.

The climate of the cape is healthy, judging either from the temperature, or from the ruddy countenances of its inhabitants. From a meteorological journal kept for a number of years at the cape, the mean temperature of the year is 67⅓° Fahrenheit; while the mean of the coldest month is 57°, and that of the hottest 79°. This temperature seems to vary but little in the other districts of the colony; that of Stellenbosch gives the mean of one year 66°, extremes 87° and 50°; while that of Zwartland appears to be 66⅕°, extremes 89° and 54°. At Zulbagh, situated in the valley of the great chain of mountains which divide the western from the eastern provinces of the colony, the mean temperature of the year is 66⅔°, that of the coldest month 55½°, of the hottest 80½°, extremes 95° and 52°; mean of their winter 56½°, of their summer months 79°, least heat in summer 60°. Here, as in the south of Europe, and most warm climates of a temperate zone, the wind commonly blows cold in summer, at the same time that the sun shines with great power; and this is the circumstance which distinguishes a warm from a hot climate.

At the foot of the cape mountains, and within the range of their influence, the heat of the atmosphere over the valleys and the plains is mitigated by a cool wind descending from the mountains, and the coldness of the blast is tempered by the reflected heat of

the earth's surface. Hence a moderate temperature, where the wind has free progress, is the result in summer at the Cape of Good Hope. During the warm season, although the southeast monsoon predominates, westerly winds are not unfrequent, and they are always moist; when southeasterly winds blow, they bring from the shallow sea, over La Guillas' bank, humidity, which is condensed upon the summits of the mountains; it is seen rolling down the western cliffs in volumes of thick vapour, and the elevation at which this is dissipated, as it descends, answers precisely to the hygrometric state of the air.

Few have visited the cape without having cause to admire the peculiarity of the clouds and vapours. The mountain being colder than the plain below, condenses and renders visible the passing vapour, whenever the dryness of the wind is less than the difference of temperature between its summit and base. Owing to radiation, the influence of the mountain's summit extends to a column of air near it, and a cloud at rest is accordingly seen suspended high above, which, from its white fleecy appearance, is called the *Table-cloth.* The heat of the plain has a like influence on the atmosphere over it, and affects the temperature immediately above. The vapour there, as it quits the mountain, passes into a warmer region, when it is dissolved, and thus it traverses, transparent and invisible, to be again condensed and made apparent on approaching another mountain. This is a simple explanation of the appearances which are so commonly seen during the continuance of the southeast wind at the cape.

Volumes of vapour are seen rolling over the summit and down the sides of Hanglip, Hottentots, Holland, and the rest of the chain of high mountains; while above the valleys and over the isthmus scarcely a passing cloud is seen. But the vapour is thickly condensed on the peninsular group of mountains, rolls over their summits, descends to a certain distance down the cliff, and is dissipated and becomes transparent as it passes onwards. Clouds at rest, while the wind is blowing with violence, are frequently to be seen over Table Bay, and likewise over Cape Downs, precisely similar to clouds suspended over peaks. Generally during a southeast wind, the sky is clear on Hanglip and Table Mountains.

But, now and then, a small silvery cloud suddenly appears

above the sea, on the shore; grows, changes shape without change of place (although the wind, meantime, continues to blow most violently), wastes, and vanishes. Dr. Arnott, in his elements of physics or natural philosophy, thus accounts for the singular beauty and density of the clouds which frequently envelop Table Mountain:—"The reason of the phenomena is, that the air constituting the wind from the southeast having passed over the vast Southern Ocean, comes charged with as much invisible moisture as the temperature can sustain. In rising up the sides of the mountain it is rising in the atmosphere, and is therefore gradually escaping from a part of the former pressure; and on attaining the summit, it has dilated so much, and has consequently become so much colder, that it has let go part of its moisture: and it no sooner falls over the edge of the mountain, and again descends in the atmosphere, where it is pressed, and condensed, and heated as before, than it is re-dissolved and disappears, the magnificent apparition dwelling only on the mountain top."

H. C. De Meillon Del.

CAPE TOWN AND TABLE MOUNTAIN

CHAPTER V.

Cape of Good Hope—Progress of the Colony—Cape District—Districts of Stellenbosch, Worcester, Swellendam, George, Uitenhage, Albany, Somerset, and Graaf Rainet—Population Table—Imports and Exports—Judiciary Establishment—Post-office—Humane and Religious Institutions—Revenue, Military, &c.—The Caffres—Captain Stout's Character of them—The Hottentots—Progress of Education among them.

THE British colonial establishment at the Cape of Good Hope is rapidly improving, and is unquestionably destined, at no very late period, to become of much importance to the mother country, and collaterally, to the commercial world. The settlements are rapidly extending towards the interior, there being no less than ten districts at this time composing the colony.

The *Cape District* has been much extended of late, embracing the Residency of Simon's Town. The north point of the district extends to Verlone Valley, one hundred and ninety miles from Cape Point, but in no part does the district exceed thirty miles in breadth. This district is divided into eleven divisions, one of which is Constantia, so celebrated for its wines. There are no streams which serve for irrigation, and the crops depend almost wholly on the periodical rains. In this district there are several fine turnpike-roads, the tolls on which, in the year 1830, amounted to 1863*l.*, while the repairs during the same period amounted to 1400*l.* In this district is Saldanha Bay, in 33° 8′ south latitude, which is one of the finest in the whole colony, and will in time become the anchorage to the seat of justice for another district. Captain Morrell was in this bay in 1829, in the schooner Antarctic, and is quite full in his description.

There are thirty thousand acres cultivated, seven hundred and forty thousand waste, and two thousand acres planted with vines, giving two millions six hundred and one thousand six hundred and fifty plants, yielding one thousand four hundred and sixty leaguers,*

* A leaguer of wine is one hundred and fifty-two gallons

or two hundred and twenty-two thousand and seventy-two gallons of wine.

The district of Stellenbosch contains four thousand six hundred square miles, and is situated in the western division of the Cape of Good Hope, and about twenty-five miles from Table Bay The chief produce of Stellenbosch is wine, and the average quantity made is twelve thousand five hundred leaguers, and six hundred leaguers of brandy, per annum; grain and fruits are abundant, when the season is favourable to farmers, though the district is not adapted for grazing.

The district of Worcester, also, on the western part of the cape, is one of the most extensive in the colony, being two hundred and sixty miles long, and, in one place, one hundred and thirty in width. It is divided into no less than twenty divisions; the six first produce wine, grain, and cattle, and the remainder are only grazing farms. The cedar is found only in this district, and is procured from the mountains with great labour.

The district of Swellendam once belonged to Stellenbosch, and was separated from it in the year 1745. It is estimated to contain nearly nine thousand square miles. The chief products are butter, tallow, soap, aloes, cattle, and a small quantity of grain and wine. The horses of this section of the country are celebrated for draught and saddle, and some of the finest wool of the colony has been produced at Joetendal's Valley. But the capacities of this district seem best adapted to grain; and, by proper industry and labourers, immense quantities might be produced for exportation. At this time, it is said, there are not less than eighteen thousand five hundred acres under cultivation; one hundred only in vines, one million four hundred and sixteen thousand in pasturage, and four millions two hundred and forty-eight thousand five hundred and twenty-nine uncultivated. At a village called Caledon, there are two warm medicinal springs, and their heat is 92°. These baths have been found useful in chronic rheumatism, diseases of the skin, and scorbutic ulcers.

On the southeastern coast of the colony is situated the district of George, adapted only to the raising of grain and cattle. Near the mouth of Courits and Small Brak rivers are a few small salt lakes, though not very productive in this useful article. Spanish sheep succeed well, and Small Brak river abounds in the greatest

variety of choice fish, near its confluence with Mossel Bay; next to Simon's, this is the best and safest bay on the east coast of the colony, and is suited to vessels of all descriptions. A whale-fishery is carried on in this place with tolerable success. A few small divisions of this district are productive in wheat of the best quality; also wine, brandy, and tobacco, are cultivated to a limited extent; there are fine groves of timber in the mountains, and many of the border settlers are employed in getting it out. There are ten thousand acres under cultivation, embracing all kinds of productions. This district is large, embracing one million four hundred and twenty-four thousand one hundred and thirty-three acres.

The district of Uitenhage is situated on the east coast of South Africa, and is skirted on the south by the Southern Ocean. It has two bays and several fine rivers, and is about five hundred miles from Cape Town. Algoa Bay is the principal port, and its trade is rapidly increasing; vessels from the east, in the winter season, often stop in this bay, though Port Elizabeth may be considered the principal on the east part of the colony. Uitenhage, the capital of the district, is one of the most flourishing towns of the colony, and was formerly the headquarters of the frontier; but the Caffres having made frequent incursions into the district, it was found necessary to remove the troops to Graham's Town, upwards of a hundred miles further in advance.

The town of Uitenhage affords a number of spacious buildings, public and private; agricultural societies, reading-rooms, and a turf-club are established, and managed with spirit. A seminary was established in 1822, and has at present one hundred and thirty pupils. There are lead mines near this place, though not worked. About seven miles northeast of Uitenhage are immense beds of seashells and seashellfish, particularly oysters; these beds are about ten miles from the sea, and many hundred feet above its level.

The local advantages of the district consist in its supply of water, and great capabilities for raising black cattle. A large portion of the butter, soap, and tallow exported from Algoa Bay, is from this district, whose main resources will always arise from its grazing qualities. The value of a fat ox is about two pounds sterling, and the amount of the black and breeding cattle in the

district is estimated at sixty-four thousand two hundred and fifty-two. In June, 1829, eighteen whales were killed in Algoa Bay, the value of which was estimated at near four thousand pounds sterling; and, in the year 1830, fifteen were taken of proportionate value.

The appearance of the district of Albany is highly pleasing, and is romantically diversified by gentle undulations, by precipitous woody ravines or kloofs, by stupendous ports or passes through the mountains, and by clumps of elegant evergreens; while the whole face of the country, with slight exceptions, is adorned by a covering of verdant pasturage, and the soil is generally of an excellent quality. It is bounded on the east by the Great Fish river, on the south by the Southern Ocean; it is sixty-six miles in extent, and from thirty to forty-six in breadth; producing wheat, barley, oats, Indian corn, potatoes, peas, beans, and lentils. The animals, in 1829, amounted to one thousand seven hundred and ninety horses, three thousand and seventy horned cattle, sixty-seven thousand four hundred cape sheep, ten thousand Spanish sheep, and fourteen thousand nine hundred and fifty goats. In no part of the colony have the inhabitants manifested more zeal in the establishment of schools, than in this district. This laudable spirit is not only manifest in the establishment of common schools for the children of the settlers, of Sunday schools for the indigent, and an academy for the higher branches; but its benevolence extends to the improvement of the intellectual condition of the Caffres—the poor, degraded, and long-misrepresented Hottentot. The missionaries have laboured incessantly to improve the moral degradation and horrid barbarity of these savages, and the result has been found most encouraging. Schools have been established among them, and the number of children of the Caffres now under instruction, amounts to more than six hundred; and it is said, but for the want of teachers, the number might have been greatly increased. They are taught in the Caffre and English languages, and many of them speak the latter with considerable fluency.

The exports of this district for the year 1830, in hides, horns, sheep-skins, tallow, butter, soap, gums, ivory, ostrich feathers, and salted beef and pork, amounted to about one hundred and fifty thousand dollars; which, for the number of inhabitants in a set-

tlement of ten years' standing, certainly bespeaks great prosperity.

In the neighbouring district of Graaf Rainet, the number of inhabitants is fourteen thousand five hundred. The climate is equal in salubrity to any part of the colony; and, like Albany, is most favourable to grazing. In the year 1830, it had three thousand nine hundred and forty-one saddle and wagon horses; five thousand four hundred and forty-four breeding mares; eleven thousand five hundred and ninety-three oxen; fifty-two thousand one hundred and fifteen breeding cattle; three thousand Spanish sheep; nine hundred and seven thousand two hundred and sixty-seven colonial sheep; and fifteen thousand goats.

Such are the features presented by the several districts composing the present colony of the Cape of Good Hope. We have given this sketch somewhat more in detail, because the subjects appeared to possess much interest, and will at least be new to the generality of American readers. The delay of the Potomac at the Cape did not allow these remarks to be made from personal observation; but it did allow time to see much evidence of the prosperity here spoken of, and of acquiring the materials from which the picture has been drawn.

By casting an eye over the map of the world, it will be seen that the Cape of Good Hope occupies a commanding position. From Brazil and Buenos Ayres, the distance may be run in a month; while to the Dutch colonies of Surinam, Berbice, and Essequibo, it will not occupy more than six weeks. To the Red Sea, Coromandel, and Malabar, the voyage may be performed in two months.

Halfway from Europe to India, it forms a fine refreshing point for vessels engaged in the commerce of the east. During the year 1829, no less than two hundred and fifty-one vessels had entered the ports of the colony, the greater portion in Table Bay; amounting to seventy-three thousand two hundred and sixteen tons of shipping, and giving employment to five thousand and sixty-two seamen. The trade from the colony itself to England is important, considering that it does not contain more than one hundred and forty thousand free inhabitants. The following table shows how this population is distributed among the several districts:—

POPULATION OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, 1829–30.

DISTRICT.	Free persons, whether black or white.		SLAVES.		TOTAL.		Births.	Marriages.	Deaths.
Cape Town...	6,326	6,777	2,963	2,875	9,289	9,652	639	120	403
Cape District.	3,246	2,688	2,632	1,400	5,878	4,088	109	13	137
Stellenbosch..	4,403	3,966	5,067	3,313	9,470	7,279	357	62	324
Worcester.....	5,319	5,054	2,306	1,971	7,625	7,025	353	45	256
Swellendam...	5,534	5,309	1,602	1,370	7,136	6,679	360	53	184
George.....	2,976	2,669	1,064	996	4,040	3,665	144	57	97
Uitenhage.....	3,595	3,199	633	548	4,228	3,747	183	7	125
Albany.....	3,501	2,652	53	48	3,554	2,700	339	40	79
Somerset.....	4,449	4,292	771	605	5,220	4,897	439	94	98
Graaf Rainet.	5,674	4,820	1,221	628	6,895	5,448	553	86	149
	45,023	41,426	18,312	13,754	63,335	55,180	3,476	607	1,852

Total,	118,515
Add for the army, about	2,500
Grand total,	121,015

NOTE.—This total must be considerably below the actual population of the colony, as it shows a smaller aggregate than the statistical details of the several districts exhibit. Several well-informed men estimate the population of the colony at about 140,000.

Great Britain requires the colony to pay all the expenses of its establishment, except the army and navy. For the purposes of revenue, 3¼ per cent. is levied by the colony on all British goods, and ten per cent. on all foreign goods, though introduced in British bottoms; and ten per cent. on goods imported from the east. On the subject of commerce, figures are always most valuable; and from the following table it will be seen that the commerce of the cape has assumed an importance not to be expected from the productions of the colony and number of its inhabitants.

1824,	Imports	£346,615		
	Exports	218,587	Excess of imports	£128,028
1825,	Imports	295,792		
	Exports	240,035	Excess of imports	55,757
1826,	Imports	269,424		
	Exports	173,023	Excess of imports	96,401
1827,	Imports	286,052		
	Exports	211,499	Excess of imports	74,553
1828,	Imports	260,962		
	Exports	253,903	Excess of imports	7,059
1829,	Imports	356,523		
	Exports	260,375	Excess of imports	77,524
Not colonial, do.		18,264		

Here we have a commercial view of the trade carried on to South Africa, and the evidence of no small share of enterprise on the part of its resident merchants, in order to sustain, so well as they appear to do, the balance of trade against the heavy importations from the mother country. The affairs of the colony seem to be well managed by his excellency general, the honourable Sir G. L. Cole, governor of the colony, president of the council, and commander-in-chief of the forces.

In each district there is a civil commissioner, magistrate, protector of slaves, and other subordinate officers, for the preservation of peace, and the discharge of all the subordinate duties of the civil government. The duties of the protector are various, and are intended to ameliorate the condition of the slave, as much as is compatible. He is bound to inquire into all abuses, to redress all wrongs, to restrain the strong, protect the weak; in a word, to be what his office would indicate, the protector of slaves. There is but one in the colony, but he has his agents in all the districts where they are needed.

In the judicial establishment there is a supreme court, with a chief-justice and three associate judges, who hold four terms in the year, in March, June, September, and December. Besides, the associate judges hold their separate courts at appointed periods, for hearing minor causes.

In the year 1827, a charter was granted by the king of England, conceding to the colony the right of trial by jury in criminal cases; and the council have taken the proper measures to carry this arrangement into execution, by issuing an ordinance declaring the qualification of jurors, nine being the number agreed upon, and, under certain circumstances, six are to constitute a legal tribunal. Attached to the supreme court is the office of high sheriff of the colony, which office was created in the year 1828. His duty is to carry into execution all the sentences and decrees of the supreme or circuit courts; and, for this purpose, he is authorized to appoint deputies in all the districts.

The energy of the colonial government pervades every part of the settlement; and the communications kept up with remote districts are regular through the postoffice establishment, which has no less than twenty branches distributed throughout the colony.

The number of humane and religious institutions, which may

be placed under the head of the church establishment, would seem to be greatly disproportioned to the number and even the wealth of the inhabitants. The true spirit of toleration prevails in the colony among the members of the Church of England, Dutch Reformed, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Wesleyan, Lutheran, &c. It is pleasant to see the harmony and good feeling which pervade these societies, and their co-operation in doing good; under their separate or united direction, are Bible and School Commissions, Orphans' Houses, Philanthropic Society, Bible African Union, Infant School, African Mission Society, Branch of London ditto, with numerous schools and teachers, and missions among the Hottentots, Caffres, and neighbouring tribes.

While on the subject of societies, there is one which deserves particular attention,—the Cape of Good Hope *Philanthropic Society, for aiding deserving slaves and slave children to purchase their freedom.* This society, with his excellency the governor at its head, and his lady as principal patroness, appears to deem the emancipation of female slave children as the best method of employing its limited funds for the present.

The children manumitted are to be apprenticed, under judicious regulations, until they are sixteen years of age. The society, in all its acts, declares its intention of proceeding without injury to the property, or interference in any respect with the claims, of the proprietor; a precaution founded in justice, which can never be too scrupulously observed by those who attempt to ameliorate, or even touch upon the subject of slavery.

It has been said that the colony defrays the expenses of its own establishment, except the army and navy. Its revenue cannot be accurately known from any published returns, but may be estimated at one hundred and twenty thousand pounds. About seventy-five per cent. of this amount is expended in salaries, and the remainder in the civil and military pension list, in support of the judiciary, hospitals, postoffice expenditure, and a thousand other objects in the civil administration.

The military establishment is chiefly intended for the defence of the colony from the incursions of the hostile tribes of the frontier. Included in this force is a fine mounted rifle corps, and the 72d regiment of Highlanders, whose national dress of tartan plaid, Scotch bonnet, and waving plume, gives them a highly

beautiful and martial air. The seventy-fifth regiment, called the Duke of Albany's own guard, was also on the station, and is a good looking corps. The appearance of all the troops is remarkably fine, and their movements in the morning and evening drills, in the public square, show them to be in a high state of discipline.

In our remarks on the district of Albany, an allusion was made to the laudable efforts, now in successful operation, to introduce the light of education among the children of the native Caffres and Hottentots. This is a subject of so much interest to the philosopher and the philanthropist, that we shall be excused for recalling to it the particular attention of the reader.

That portion of South Africa which has long been known under the general appellation of Caffraria, lies between latitude 30° and 34°, south, on the eastern coast; it is bounded by Great Fish river on the southeast, which separates it from the country of the Hottentots, and by Natal Bay on the north. Its western boundaries are not yet ascertained. The Caffres are tall and well proportioned, and in general evince great courage in attacking lions and other wild beasts. Their skin is jet black, their teeth whiter than polished ivory, and their eyes large and intelligent. The dress of both sexes is nearly the same, consisting almost entirely of the hides of cattle, which, by a peculiar mode of preparing, are rendered as soft and pliant as cloth. They are very industrious, and fond of agricultural pursuits, particularly the breeding of cattle, in which the valuable part of their worldly wealth consists. Their huts are more elevated, and far more commodious, than those of the Hottentots.

But oppression and wrongs have driven them to predatory acts of retaliation, which amount to robbery, and have involved them in numerous conflicts with the colonists, steeping their native soil in blood, which only enriches it for the benefit of the ever-encroaching whites. The pioneers of all colonial settlements in a foreign land are generally composed of adventurers; hardy, courageous, and enterprising, indeed, but destitute of those gentler virtues which constitute the refinement and happiness of older and more permanent communities. Hence it has happened, that in almost every instance, the kind reception and hospitality of the natives have been requited by acts of rapine, cruelty, and oppression, on the part of the colonists, which are naturally followed by some

dreadful reaction. Such was too often the case, even with the pious and enlightened founders of our own nation; and acts originating in a similar mistaken policy have stained the annals of the Cape colony. The true character of the natives in both countries has been but little understood, and much misrepresented.

Captain Benjamin Stout, a relative of our elder Adams, the second president of the United States, was shipwrecked in the year 1796, on the southeastern coast of Africa, near the river Infanta, in the country of Caffraria; and he was perhaps the first writer who described these people according to their real character. In a letter to his illustrious relative, then chief magistrate of the nation, he speaks of them in the following terms:—

"Cast, with sixty of my people, on the shores of Caffraria, after combating the horrors of a tempest, which, I believe, has but few parallels in the history of naval misfortune, I found in the natives a hospitality, and received from them a protection, which, on many of the shores that belong to the polished nations of Europe, I might have sought for in vain. These unfortunate inhabitants of Caffraria, who have been so often and so wickedly denominated savages that delight and revel in human slaughter, I found possessed of all those compassionate feelings that alone give a lustre to and adorn humanity; living in a state of perpetual alarm from the persecuting and avaricious disposition of the colonists, and instructed by their fathers to consider a white man as a being who never hesitates to murder when plunder is in view, still a justifiable revenge yielded to the virtuous impulse of compassion, and our necessities were generously relieved, without even the prospect of recompense. When thrown, by the raging of the elements, on the sandy shores of their country, we were all unarmed, not having saved from the wreck a single article, either for our defence, clothing, or subsistence. In this situation we were completely at the mercy of the natives; but, instead of remembering and revenging the wrongs they and their predecessors had endured from the savage white, they made a fire to dry and refresh us; they slaughtered a bullock, which they gave us for our subsistence; they conducted us to a spring of the most limpid and wholesome water; and, when we were enabled to travel, furnished us with guides through the deserts of their country. Such was the conduct of a people who have been described as

barbarians, possessing no other semblance of the human character than what they derive from their formation."

The captain then, with a feeling truly national, recommends that measures be taken for planting a colony of Americans among these people. This project, however, being foreign to the policy of our new government, was, of course, never acted upon. But, after our late war with England, in the year 1819, the British ministry held out such flattering inducements to those who felt willing to abandon their country and their home, and become residents in the wild but delightful region of southern Africa, that large numbers in the following winter embarked for the Cape of Good Hope, for the express purpose of settling in Caffraria. Among the number were several families of various religious denominations, who were warmly in favour of extending the advantages of education to the rising generation of the natives. Among these, some of the Methodist persuasion took the most conspicuous part. Their numbers were sufficiently large to entitle them to the promised annual stipend of seventy-five pounds sterling, for the support of a clergyman. Application was accordingly made, previous to embarking, to the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in London, for a suitable person to fulfil the duties of that station, and the Reverend William Show was appointed to accompany the emigrants in that capacity. It was thus that the district of Albany first became a missionary station, the beneficial influence of which arrangement is now felt and acknowledged with gratitude by hundreds of enlightened and partially civilized natives.

The Caffres were always a warlike people, whereas their neighbours, the Hottentots, in general, and those near the Cape in particular, are described as a mild, simple, affectionate, and inoffensive race; but as extremely indolent in their habits, and limited in their intellectual faculties. But, wherever any sort of effort has been made to cultivate their powers, and give them a feeling of hope and liberty in their occupations, they have proved active, intelligent, and useful. They are of common stature, but not so short as the whites in general, while their hands and feet are remarkably small. Their skin is of a yellowish-brown hue, resembling that of a white man severely affected with the jaundice. Their appearance, however, indicates health and contentment:

they are excellent swimmers, and bathe three or four times a day. The females have a mode of braiding or plaiting their woolly hair, and adorn themselves with necklaces of shells. Both sexes generally go bareheaded, and without shoes. There are other tribes of Hottentots at a greater distance from the cape, whose appearance indicates the last degree of wretchedness. But very few attempts, we believe, have been made to civilize or even to humanize them. Our present concern is with those in the immediate vicinity of the Cape colony (we mean the children). Both Hottentots and Caffres enjoy the privileges of the school in Albany district, where, notwithstanding all those complicated obstacles which invariably attend the first settlers in a new country, there are no less than nine chapels; seven of which are Methodist, one Congregational, and one Baptist, in particular parts of the district, all erected by voluntary contributions. Another was contemplated to be erected in Graham's Town some time in the course of 1831. Most of these places of worship have Sunday schools connected with them, affording to the rising generation, black as well as white, regular instruction in the rudiments of learning, as well as the first plain principles of practical religion.

In treating of this interesting subject, the *Graham's Town Journal*, a weekly paper of much merit, says, "Government has also done much to foster and promote the progress of education, by the appointment of schoolmasters at different stations, with suitable allowances; providing eligible school-rooms, and furnishing them with the necessary materials for conducting the several schools on the Lancasterian system. These schools, though unquestionably productive of much good, are not so popular, nor so well suited to the circumstances of the people, as Sunday and evening schools, which have been established, and are supported by private individuals. The children of the poorer inhabitants are compelled to tend cattle, or afford other assistance, from a very early age; and so indispensable are their services, that it is only on Sundays, or after the close of their daily labour, that they are disengaged, or that time can possibly be spared for the acquirement of more useful knowledge. The total number under instruction in the district cannot, at a moderate computation, be less than one thousand, which gives the unexampled ratio of rather more than one to every seven of the entire population.

"The progress made by many of the children at Sunday schools is generally encouraging, and in some instances extraordinary. At the late annual public examination of the scholars, such manifest indications of improvement are often exhibited, and such intellectual acuteness displayed, as afford the greatest encouragement to the patrons of the several institutions; and it is almost impossible to form too high an estimate of the vast benefit which must be derived by the next generation from the diffusion, through so many different channels, of religious and other knowledge among the youth of this district. Several of the Sunday schools have juvenile libraries, from which the more advanced scholars obtain the loan of various publications, not only of a moral and religious tendency, but also on general subjects. The good effect of these institutions has been remarkable: many who were formerly scholars, are now gratuitous teachers; and numbers have become exemplary characters, merely in consequence of the instruction they received, and the habits they imbibed, while attending these schools."

An infant school was established at Graham's Town a few months only subsequent to the visit of the Potomac, the rapid progress of which we learn has been truly astonishing; a temperance society, and also a savings' bank, are in "the full tide of successful experiment." A press has likewise been established, from which is issued the journal above named.

Immediately adjoining Albany, to the northwest, lies a tract of country which was, about four years before our frigate made her appearance at Cape Town, allotted to the scattered Hottentots within the colony. It is located near the confluence of the Manhazana and Kat rivers, and is, in fact, an extensive valley or glen, surrounded on all sides by mountains, except where it opens to the colony on the south. The number of Hottentots who are here collected from different parts of the country, is about five thousand. Very little encouragement was offered them, with the exception of the location itself. No actual assistance, indeed, was ever promised them, nor have they received any, with the single exception of fire-arms for self-defence; no preparations were made for their reception, and neither rations, implements, nor money were provided for them. But they carried their greatest and only treasures with them, viz., industry, temperance, and perseverance;

and their success has been every way equal to their diligence and good conduct, neither of which has ever been surpassed. The former desert, under their management, in the short space of three years, has become a delightful garden, and "blossoms like the rose."

During the season previous to the arrival of the Potomac, there were produced in this settlement four hundred and fifty muids of wheat, fifteen hundred muids of barley, and four hundred muids of Indian corn, besides large quantities of Kaffer corn, potatoes, pumpkins, sweet cane, and other provisions. Independently of the labour required in the cultivation of the soil, instances of uncommon exertion are manifested in the construction of canals, which convey water to irrigate their fields and gardens. In some places these have been carried through the solid rock; in others it has been necessary to cut to the depth of twelve feet to preserve the level, while their entire length, throughout all the locations, is upwards of twenty thousand yards.

There are two missionaries in this settlement, both of whose chapels are always filled, and several schools crowded with orderly and intelligent children. There is not a single magistrate, lawyer, or physician in the village; and, as a natural consequence, they have had no strifes, divisions, discontents, or diseases among them. And yet, with this picture of rural happiness before their eyes, there were men in the colony who, from mere motives of cupidity, were base enough to join in a conspiracy for attacking and destroying this peaceful little settlement. While the Potomac was lying at Cape Town, near the close of the year 1831, this diabolical plan was in agitation. The following account of it was published in the Cape Literary Gazette the very day before the frigate sailed.

"The overt facts of this conspiracy are briefly these: About the close of 1831, rumours were industriously circulated, by persons unknown, among the Dutch African boors of the eastern frontier, to the effect that the Hottentots of Kat river were preparing to attack them on New-Year's day. The boors promptly assembled in arms under their veld-cornets; and these local functionaries, instead of communicating the information to the government, immediately led their rude militia to attack the Hottentots. Fortunately, the frontier commandant, Colonel Somerset,

got information of their designs, and marched with rapidity to Kat river. He reached the settlement before them, on New-Year's day. It was Sunday, and he found the Hottentots quietly congregated, unarmed, in their different places of worship. In one place there was a congregation of about five hundred souls, one hundred and nine of whom had just taken the sacrament. He informed the people of the rumours that had been spread against them; assured them of his perfect conviction of their entire innocence; and, taking with him three of their veld-cornets, Groepe, Valentyn, and Stoppels (religious and quiet men, all well known to the author), he rode to meet the troop of colonial militia, who had by this time approached within view of the settlement. By energetic remonstrances and threats, he prevailed on these violent and vindictive men to return quietly to their homes; and on the 11th of January, 1832, a strong proclamation was issued by the governor, reprehending in the severest terms the mischievous and irrational conduct of the colonists and their local officers. Had Colonel Somerset acted with less promptitude and energy, this Hottentot settlement would, in all human probability, have been deluged with innocent blood, and a bitter feud begun between the white and coloured classes, which might have lasted for generations."

Brighter prospects are evidently opening for this long oppressed and benighted region of the globe. "Long indeed has Africa been neglected, and suffered to remain the devoted victim of cruelty and oppression; we cannot, therefore, but hail many recent and highly important events, which go far to prove that her 'day of visitation' has arrived. Now is stirred up the philanthropist to plead her cause, and unweariedly to exert himself in behalf of her fettered millions; the traveller and man of science to explore her unknown deserts; the missionary to establish himself in the most pestilential of her climes; and the Christian colonist to fix his habitation in the very neighbourhood of her warlike tribes."

> "Let proud oppression's pallid sons go weep!
> Let Afric, with her hundred thrones, rejoice!"

CHAPTER VI.

Particulars of the Seizure of the Ship Friendship by the Malays, and the Massacre of part of her Crew—Retaking of the Ship, and her Return to Salem—The Potomac's hospitable Reception at the Cape of Good Hope—Interchange of Civilities—Proceeds on her Cruise—Plan of Operations—St. Paul's Island—Arrival on the Coast of Sumatra—Dangerous Navigation.

As the Potomac was to proceed from Cape Town direct to the coast of Sumatra, and in order that the policy of our government in sending her thither may be fully understood, it will now be proper (and cannot fail to be interesting) in this place to give a plain statement of the treachery and cruelty of the Malays, which called down upon their heads a severe, though unavoidable and just punishment.

It appears that the ship Friendship, of Salem (Massachusetts), Captain Charles M. Endicott, arrived upon the coast of Sumatra in September, 1830, for the purpose of purchasing a cargo of pepper. Finding the old crop nearly disposed of, he was compelled to wait the coming in of the new one, which generally begins to arrive from the interior about the last of April. In the meantime, Captain Endicott visited some of the other pepper ports on the adjacent coast, and succeeded in obtaining about two thousand *piculs* (the picul of Sumatra being about 133⅓ pounds), with which he returned to his former anchorage, off the town of Quallah-Battoo.

In the latter part of January, 1831, he made a contract with the rajahs and principal merchants of the place for the completion of his cargo, at a stated price per *picul*, which they agreed to furnish in fifteen days, all to be of the old crop.

From this period up to the time of the assault upon the ship, the Malays had never betrayed the least signs of treachery. But Captain Endicott was too well acquainted with the reckless and treacherous character of these people, to be lulled into security; the usual vigilance was observed, and no boat was allowed to

come near the ship at night; nor even in the daytime were any except in small numbers, allowed to come on board, and not even then, until they had divested themselves of their arms. The arms of a Malay usually consist of a *kris*, or dagger, secured to the left side by the fold of a long sash wrapped several times around the loins, and a knife, the blade of which and handle are generally about eighteen inches long. The blades of these knives are kept extremely sharp.

On the morning of the fatal ninth of February following his arrival, Captain Endicott went on shore, as usual, in one of his boats, taking with him Mr. John Barry, of Salem, second officer, and four of the crew, to assist in weighing and despatching the pepper. The pepper, as soon as weighed, was placed in the large boats of the Malays, and by them rowed off to the ship, and passed on board, when the bags were started and returned, as is done till all is thus embarked.

In the afternoon of the day abovementioned, one of the boats, having been loaded near the banks of the river, from which the place takes its name (river of Stones, or Stone river), and about one fourth of a mile from its mouth, was despatched with her Malay crew for the ship. Observing that the boat did not proceed directly to the ship, but made a halt near the mouth of the river, and near the opposite shore, two of the four men were despatched to observe her motions, and see that the Malays were not stealing pepper from the boat, a trick of which they are frequently guilty. Before, however, these men had arrived near enough to perceive what had actually been going on, the boat was pushing off towards the ship; when they returned and reported accordingly, that they had seen nothing suspicious, and that the boat had her usual complement of men. Captain Endicott was not satisfied, as he thought that he perceived in the boat, while rowing off, a rather unusual number of Malays.

The facts were these: In pursuance of a preconcerted plan, made days before by the rajahs, and the very men who had engaged to furnish the cargo, and which a majority of the inhabitants were privy to, the boat had stopped at the mouth of the river to exchange crews, the hired boatmen leaving her, and the *assassins*, eleven in number, who were to be liberally paid if successful in their enterprise, carried the boat alongside of the ship, and be-

gan passing up the pepper to two of the crew upon a stage made fast to the outside.

As but a few hands could work at a time in the pepper-boat, numbers of the Malays came on board; and, on being questioned by Mr. Knight, the first officer, who was in the gangway, taking an account of the pepper, as to their business, their reply was, that they had come to see the vessel. Mr. Knight ordered them into their boat again, and some of them obeyed; but only to return immediately to assist in the work of death, which was now commenced by attacking Mr. Knight and the rest of the crew on board. The crew of the vessel being so scattered, it was impossible to concentrate their force so as to make a successful resistance. Some fell on the forecastle, one in the gangway, and Mr. Knight fell upon the quarterdeck, severely wounded by a stab in the back, while in the act of snatching from the bulwarks a boarding-pike, with which to defend himself.

The two men on the stage having vainly attempted to get on board to the assistance of their comrades, were compelled to leap into the sea. One of them, Charles Converse, of Salem, being very severely wounded, succeeded in swimming to the bobstays, to which he clung until taken on board by the Malays; and, from some cause, he was not afterward molested. His companion, John Davis, being unable to swim, drifted with the tide near the *boat tackle*, or *davit falls*, the blocks being overhauled down near the water; one of these he laid hold of, which the Malays perceiving, dropped their boat astern, and despatched him! The cook sprang into a canoe alongside, and in attempting to push off, she capsized; and, being unable to swim, he got on the bottom, and paddled ashore with his hands, where he was made prisoner. Gregory, an Italian, sought shelter in the foretopgallant-crosstrees, where he was fired at several times by the Malays, with the muskets of the Friendship, which were always kept loaded and ready for use, while on the coast.

Joseph Powell, John Muzzy, William ————, and a Swede, leaped into the sea, and swam to a point of land near a mile distant, to the northward of the town; and, unperceived by the Malays on shore, pursued their course to the northward, towards Cape Felix, intending to go to the port of Annalaboo, about forty-five miles distant. Having walked all night, they found them-

selves on the following morning near the promontory, and still twenty-five miles distant from Annalaboo.

Leaving these unfortunate men in consultation on what was best to be done for their safety, for the present, let us return to the banks of the river, where were left Captain Endicott, Mr. Barry, and the four seamen. A brig having been standing in from sea, Captain Endicott requested Mr. Barry to go to the beach and ascertain, if possible, what colours she had. Having arrived at the beach, and happening to cast his eyes towards the Friendship, he saw the persons already named jumping into the sea. The truth now, with all its horrors, flashed upon his mind, that the vessel was attacked; and this seemed to account for the unusual number of Malays which had been observed, during the afternoon, hovering around. Believing that the whole town was privy to this inhuman outrage, as a majority of them unquestionably were, Mr. Barry, with a prudence which showed his presence of mind, walked leisurely back, and, with apparent unconcern, passed through among the armed crowd; and, unperceived by them, or, at least, not understood, and in a low tone of voice, said to Captain Endicott, "There is trouble on board, sir!" Captain Endicott, following the same prudent manner, and without evincing the least excitement, directed Mr. Barry and the four men to get into the boat; and, having followed them, the boat was about to put off into the stream, when a rajah, a man of considerable wealth, sprang into the boat.

This rajah, named Po Adam, was the proprietor of a fort and considerable property at a place called Pulo Kio, but three miles distant from the mouth of the river Quallah-Battoo. More business had been done by this rajah during the eight years past than by any other on the pepper coast;—he had uniformly professed himself friendly to the Americans, and he has generally received the character of being honest. At all events, in this instance he gave the most unequivocal evidence of his friendship, and evinced, by his conduct, the most unqualified disapprobation and abhorrence at the villany of his countrymen. Speaking a little English, as he sprang into the boat he exclaimed, "Captain, you get trouble; Malay kill you, he kill Po Adam too!"

Part of the plan was, that if the piratical wretches succeeded in taking the ship, notice was to be given of their triumph, by hang-

ing or suspending their sashes from the rigging, at which time those on shore were to be massacred. The boat had scarcely gained her length from the bank of the river, when the wished-for signal was seen, and answered by a savage shout of exultation from the shore, the Malays at the same time making a rush into the water to seize the boat! In this they were unsuccessful, as the boat was now in the middle of the stream, which was about one hundred yards wide, and was gliding swiftly, with the help of the current and hard rowing, towards the sea. But the alarm of the probability of the boat's escape having been communicated by the shouting savages who were collected in great numbers about the mouth of the river, and enjoying the spectacle of the victorious signals hanging about the rigging of the captured ship, a large canoe, or *sampan*, was instantly manned by the Malays, and in the next moment was in the mouth of the river, to intercept the retreating party. This, however, had not been anticipated in their matured plan of attack. The captain and those with him were to have been murdered on shore; and the instant manning of this boat only showed the general co-operation, and the eagerness with which they pursued their murderous purposes. The little party saw that escape by flight was impossible, and determined either to intimidate their assailants in the *sampan*, or to sell their lives as dearly as possible. At the same instant they steered directly for the hostile boat, while Mr. Barry, in the bows, flourished in a menacing manner at them the cutlass of Po Adam, in fact the only weapon of defence in the boat. It had the desired effect; and the Malays, alarmed at this bold bearing of their intended victims, retreated at once to the shore.

Captain Endicott now continued to row towards his ship, to reconnoitre; and intensely painful indeed must have been his feelings to see her in the hands of the Malays. As soon as they approached near enough, the pirates commenced a fire from the ship with muskets, which Captain Endicott disregarded, until he saw them clearing away one of his six-pounders, which he knew to be shotted with round and grape, when he deemed it prudent to seek a place of safety. They then rowed for the little town of Soo-soo, distant, to the southward, about nine miles from Quallah-Battoo. Here a fine stream of fresh water throws itself rapidly into the sea, on the banks of which is a small village, to which

village, however, the captain did not proceed, fearing lest its inhabitants might be in some way leagued with those of Quallah-Battoo. Po Adam's estate and fort, which he keeps well armed, lay nearly equidistant from these two places. It being now dark, and a keg of fresh water having been procured from the stream, it was determined to row to Muckie, another town of considerable importance in trade, and situated twenty-five miles further south. During this fatiguing pull, Po Adam took his turn at the oar with the rest. They arrived, early on the morning of the tenth of February, at Muckie, where they found the ship James Monroe, of New-York, brig Governor Endicott, of Salem, and brig Palmer, of Boston.

After a short consultation, it was determined on the part of the captains of these vessels to get immediately under way, and proceed to Quallah-Battoo, with the intention of retaking the Friendship. The cheerfulness and promptitude with which the commanders, and officers, and crews espoused the cause of their countrymen, do them great honour; for, in little more than an hour after Captain Endicott had communicated the distressing intelligence, the little fleet was under way, standing to the northward under a crowd of sail.

By four o'clock on the same day, they gained an anchorage off Quallah-Battoo, though not sufficiently near to attempt a recapture. The Malays, in the meantime, had removed on shore every moveable article belonging to the vessel, including specie, besides several cases of opium, amounting, in all, to upwards of thirty thousand dollars. This was done on the night of the ninth; and, on the morning of the tenth, they contrived to heave in the chain cable, and get the anchor up to the bows; and the ship was drifting finely towards the beach, when the cable, not being stopped abaft the bitts, began suddenly to run out with great velocity; but a bight having by accident been thrown forward of the windlass, a riding turn was the consequence, and the anchor, in its descent, was suddenly checked, about fifteen fathoms from the hawse. A squall soon after coming on, the vessel drifted obliquely towards the shore, and grounded upon a coral reef, near half a mile to the southward of the town.

On the eleventh, having obtained a convenient anchorage, a message was sent by a friendly Malay, who came on board at

Soo-soo, demanding the restoration of the ship. The rajah replied that he would not give her up, but that they were welcome to take her, if they could! A fire was now opened from the vessels on the Friendship, whose decks were crowded with Malays, who promptly returned the fire, as did also the forts on shore. This mode of warfare appeared undecisive, and it was determined to decide the contest by a close action. A number of boats being manned and armed, with about thirty officers and men, a movement was made to carry the Friendship by boarding. The Malays did not wait the approach of this well-armed and determined attack, but all deserted the vessel to her lawful owners; when she was taken possession of, and soon warped out into deep water.

The poor fellows whom we left at Cape Felix soon came to a determination to turn back, pass Quallah-Battoo in the night, if possible, and proceed to Muckie; on Wednesday, the eleventh, at midnight, they found themselves in the neighbourhood of Quallah-Battoo, and, taking a canoe, they passed safely to Pulo Kio. At daylight in the morning, Po Adam discovered them from his fort, and took them in. They were in a wretched and suffering condition, having swum ashore with but few clothes, and were severely blistered by the sun. In the course of the day they joined their ship. The wounded men, together with the Italian, Gregory, who gave himself up from the crosstrees, were afterward ransomed for ten dollars each. The killed were Mr. Knight, George Chester, and John Davis. The voyage was of course abandoned, and the Friendship returned to Salem.

Who cannot see, from the perusal of these incidents, that this piracy was the deliberate act of the rajahs, principal traders, and inhabitants of Quallah-Battoo? The manner of changing the boat's crew at the mouth of the river; the signals concerted between the assassins and the chiefs and populace on shore; the ready attack made by the *sampan* to cut off the retreat of Captain Endicott; the corresponding shouts and exultations when the flags or signals of success were seen from the vessel; the *robbing* the Friendship; the refusal of the rajah to deliver her up, and the attempt to defend her, by firing from the forts on shore, all stamp their proceedings with the character of outlaws, meriting the most summary chastisement.

Under such circumstances, were the inhabitants of Quallah-Battoo to be considered and treated as a part of a body politic, when it is notorious that the inhabitants of Sumatra are divided into as many petty sovereignties as there are large rivers or ports in the island? Are they united together for the purpose of promoting each other's welfare, mutual safety, and advantage, by joint efforts of their own strength? Have they a common government, common rules, to which they hold themselves responsible, and whose authority they obey? Have they been careful to avoid the violation of their duties, in order that they may, consistently with moral justice, demand the observance of those rules at the hands of other nations and people visiting and trading on their coast?

It will be seen, in the following pages, that they have scarcely one of these essential requisites to constitute them a sovereignty, and entitle them to any of the formalities observed between nations. Indeed, at Soo-soo, but a few miles from Quallah-Battoo, there are other independent chiefs, who are often at war with their perfidious neighbours, in relation to whose character Horsburgh, in his valuable East India Directory, says, "Small ships frequent Quallah-Battoo, to procure pepper and other articles of trade; but it is prudent to be always guarded against the perfidy of the natives, who have been several times successful in assaulting and taking possession of ships which came to trade with them." In one word, had the perpetrators of the outrage on the Friendship any plea to exempt them from the summary chastisement due to those whose crimes have placed them without the pale of the civil law? A milder method was, however, adopted, and would have been carried into effect, had their consciousness of guilt permitted them to listen to conditions, as will be seen in the sequel.

To be fully prepared for either alternative, Commodore Downes, in compliance with his instructions, had been diligently assiduous to gain all the information it was possible to acquire, both at Rio and Cape Town, respecting their national character, strength, and military resources. At the latter place in particular, he obtained such intelligence as left no doubt on his mind of the piratical character of the Quallah-Battooans, and the probable necessity of strong measures in procuring indemnification for the outrages committed on the Friendship. He was also assured at the Cape, by British officers high in command, both in the army and navy;

officers, too, who had themselves been much in India, and among the islands, and on the pepper coast, that the natives against whom he was sent to act were by no means to be despised as enemies; that they were notorious for their treachery; and, in their own manner of fighting, were not at all deficient in courage. Thus furnished and armed with the necessary knowledge for conducting this untried enterprise, the commodore felt anxious to reach the spot, and settle the account at once—peaceably if he could—forcibly if necessary.

In the meantime, the few days spent at Cape Town had been rendered exceedingly pleasant by the interchange of civilities between the officers of the Potomac and the inhabitants. Soon after the ceremonies and visits which would be deemed usual on such occasions, the commodore was invited to dine at the country seat of his excellency Sir Lowry Cole, a few miles from the town; the excursion, occupying about an hour's ride, was over a fine Macadamized turnpike.

The governor's palace, though not magnificent, was spacious and convenient, and every thing about it indicated good taste. On the same day, the commodore and his officers had been invited to partake of a dinner by the colonel and officers of the seventy-second regiment of Scotch Highlanders, then stationed at Cape Town, and forming a part of the regular force of the colony. But, as the governor was about to depart on a visit of inspection to some of the interior stations, the colonel's dinner was politely postponed until the day following. Both were served up in a style of excellence that evinced the finest taste. Indeed, the inhabitants generally seemed to emulate each other in extending the rights of hospitality to their republican visiters, which they evinced by their proffered civilities, and frequent visits on board the frigate. Numerous excursions were made on shore by the officers of the frigate, some as far as the farms of Constantia, so celebrated for the fine qualities of their wine. This exquisite article is made from a grape which is only found to flourish in a few localities, and the wine of which cannot be procured at the vintage for less than five dollars per gallon. In short, so delightfully had the time passed, and so much were all pleased with Cape Town, that it was with no little reluctance they took leave of that place on the twelfth of December.

A heavy sea, with strong currents, and unfavourable winds, did not permit the Potomac to double the cape until the fourteenth; when, on the afternoon of that day, the wind, which had been blowing fresh from the south-southwest, requiring double-reefed topsails, veered to the west, and afforded a pleasant run for the distance of one hundred and fifty miles. This respite from elemental opposition, however, was of short duration, as the wind soon hauled round to the southward and eastward, so that but little headway was made for the space of eight or nine days.

The time had now arrived when it was necessary to make provisions for the attack, if hostilities should be found necessary on reaching the coast of Sumatra. Dispositions were therefore made of a portion of the crew, by forming them into divisions of sixty, each to be placed under the immediate command of one of the several lieutenants detailed to accompany the expedition on shore. The marines were to act under their own officers.

The object of equipping so large a force was, to be prepared for a vigorous attack, *if such were found necessary;* but more especially to be able to effect the object of the disembarcation, by surrounding the forts, and preventing the escape of the principal rajahs, who had notoriously been the instigators and principal actors in the capture of the Friendship, and the murder of her crew. This seemed to be the only plan that promised the least hopes of success, by which the rajahs could be brought to punishment, if not compelled to make indemnification for the loss sustained by the Friendship.

Other plans were thought of, but they seemed liable to many and serious objections. By means of threats or promises, a portion of the pirated property might possibly be recovered, but would this give any security for the future? Would the Malays be deterred from committing like abuses, when they saw that the only punishment which followed their depredations, was that of yielding a moiety of the property plundered? The object of a just war, or hostility, is to avenge or prevent injury; to punish the offender, with the view of providing for our future safety; to obtain justice by force, when it cannot be attained by other and milder means. The sword drawn in a good cause, and used only for the purposes of self-preservation, may itself become an instrument of humanity.

In one respect, we are not without our sympathy for the Malays. We know the wrongs they have suffered, in common with the other natives of India, and we may speak of these wrongs in another place; but whatever injustice they may have received, it has not been from our hands. We have made no conquests, dethroned no sultans, oppressed and enslaved no inhabitants of the eastern world. We have to do with the Malays as we find them, without stopping to inquire how they became so; or what, under more favourable circumstances, they might have been.

The information already obtained seemed to leave no doubt, that neither the character of the people on the coast of Sumatra, particularly at Quallah-Battoo, nor the government under which they nominally lived, and under whose sanction piracies had frequently been committed on commerce, promised the least hopes of success from a mere formal demand for restitution, unless that demand was accompanied, at the same time, by a force sufficient to carry it into effect. If a mawkish sensibility, a timid and shrinking fear of responsibility, should say that this was a departure from the usages of nations, in seeking indemnification from each other, let it be remembered, that the question at issue was not one of a mere commercial character, where a treaty had been violated, or a seizure made on illegal grounds, by a government possessing the requisites of sovereignty; but a rapacious, a piratical attack, on the lives as well as the property of our citizens, under the most aggravated circumstances, and that, too, by the chiefs of a people who have openly trampled justice under foot; despised and violated the rights of others whenever they found an opportunity; acknowledging no superior; at least, for whose acts no other, or superior chiefs, would hold themselves responsible.

Under these circumstances, feeling the full weight of responsibility, and justly fearing the ruinous consequences which would inevitably follow an unsuccessful demonstration of our force in a part of the world where it had never been displayed, and among a people who hitherto had treated the very idea of our strength with derision, the commodore felt compelled to prepare for efficient measures; and, under any circumstances, to bring the guilty to punishment, and to leave an impression of our sense of justice, power, and readiness to punish aggressors, that should extend and pervade every inhabitant of the whole pepper coast.

From this period, the decks of the Potomac almost daily presented the novel spectacle of two hundred and fifty men under arms, learning the use of the musket; to march and countermarch, load, prime, and take aim, who probably never before, in all their lives, had handled a piece of less calibre than a thirty-two-pounder. These exercises, and the object to which they led, seemed now to engross the minds and feelings of the whole crew; so that the ordinary tediousness of headwinds and cross seas was but partially felt. In these exercises the *marines* on board were of great service, and served as a nucleus upon which to form and drill the other divisions.

On the afternoon of Friday, the fifth of January, the island of St. Paul was seen, bearing by compass east-half-south. On the morning of the following day, the wind hauling ahead, the island could not be reached by several tacks; a boat was then sent on shore to procure some fish, of which there is a great abundance, and of the finest quality, in the waters surrounding this "barren little isle of the ocean."

The island of St. Paul, which was first discovered by the Dutch navigator Vlaming, in 1697, is in the Indian Ocean, latitude 38° 42′ south, longitude 76° 54′ east. Its dimensions are variously estimated by navigators; some giving it only four miles in length, and two and a half in breadth, while others allow it a length of eight or ten miles, with a breadth of five. The truth, probably, lies between the two. When bearing northeast from the observer, the island presents an elevated and somewhat level aspect, sloping down to the sea at each extremity. It is evidently of volcanic origin, as cones, with regular-formed craters, are to be found in several parts of it. The soil, being formed of decomposed lava, is a rich mould, that produces grass, but no trees. It contains several hot springs, in some of which fish could be cooked fit for the table. These, together with the constant rising of vapour and steam, plainly indicate the existence of internal fires.

This island is inaccessible except on its eastern side, where is an indentation, cove, or basin, formed by the sea's forcing a lateral breach through that side of the principal crater; through which the tide flows in and out, at the rate of three miles an hour, rising and falling eight or nine feet, at the full and change of the moon. The shape of this basin is that of an ellipsis, about a mile and a

half in circumference, opening eastwardly, with a prominent headland on each side of the entrance, abreast of which vessels may find anchorage in from twenty to twenty-three fathoms; bottom of black sand. The depth of water in the centre of the crater is about thirty fathoms. From the northeast point of this island, a low rocky reef "makes out" about half a mile into the sea, on which the kelp may be seen growing to a great length, and rising to the surface of the water. From the north and west points of the island, breakers project about a quarter of a mile into the sea. From its western extremity, also, a reef makes out some distance, on which the sea breaks. Here, in an east wind, a sealing vessel was lost, and usually ships are not safe with the wind from that quarter.

The waters around this island abound with fish, among which is a species of the cod, bream, striped perch, red perch, and rock cod, with crawfish in myriads; dogfish and sharks are also found here in formidable numbers, together with whales, grampuses, porpoises, sealions, and seals. Indeed, so abundant are the fish, that almost every year the island is visited to procure and salt them, for the market of the island of Mauritius. As respects climate, sealers who have resided long upon this desolate spot say, that the weather is very fine in summer, but stormy in the winter, when the rains descend in torrents upon the island, and its surface is often swept with resistless tornadoes and whirlwinds. Numerous birds, such as the albatross, penguin, puffin, seaswallow, large black peterel, blue peterel, gray peterel, stormy peterel, and Mother Carey's chickens, abound on the island, and eggs are plenty.

The variation of the needle here, in 1747, was 17° 55′ west; in 1764, it was 18° 45′ west; and in 1789, it was 19° 45′ west.

In sight of this island, to the north, is Amsterdam island, which is not high, but contains more vegetation, and also fresh water. The Dutch navigators, who first discovered these islands, gave their favourite name of Amsterdam to the northern, and that of St. Paul to the southern. Captain Cook designated them in the same manner. But later navigators, it appears, have transversed these cognomens, and christened each anew. We adhere to the original appellation, and recognise St Paul's as the southern island.

When the British embassy to China, in 1792, with his excellency Earl Macartney as ambassador, touched at this island, they were not a little astonished to find it inhabited at the time by a small party, whom, on first sight, they supposed must be some unfortunate shipwrecked sailors. Such, however, was not the case. Though on so small an island, located in so vast a waste of waters, their exile was voluntary, nay, cheerful and lucrative—for they were busily engaged in the common prosecution of a voyage. It appears that they had come last from the Isle of France, being part of the crew of a sealing vessel, the joint property of Americans and Frenchmen, and landed on St. Paul's for the purpose of remaining long enough to procure a cargo of twenty-five thousand sealskins for the Canton market. At the time the embassy touched at the island, they had resided there about four months; and had already collected eight thousand skins, and were in hopes that in ten months more their whole cargo would be completed.

This vessel, it seems, had been fitted out in the Isle of France, in the Indian Ocean, and had now gone to Nootka Sound, on the northwest coast of America, with the view of buying some sea-otterskins for the same market, intending to touch at St. Paul's on her return, for the skins collected during her absence. Thus it was intended to ply alternately between Nootka Sound, St. Paul's, and Canton, so long as the owners found the business lucrative.

While our boat was absent at St. Paul's island, a strange sail was seen to the northward. A gun was immediately fired, and signal made for the return of the fishing party, who, in a short time, were alongside, with a plentiful supply of fish. The boat was instantly run up, and all sail set to come up with and speak the stranger, who proved to be the French brig Naide, Captain De Allens, from Nantz, and bound to Batavia.

From this date to the seventeenth, nothing occurred at all deserving note. The wind had been variable, and the passage regular. After some squalls and flying clouds, the weather gradually cleared up, giving every indication of our being in the regular tradewinds. This expectation, however, was not finally realized; as the winds continued, for many days, exceedingly variable, rendering the passage more tedious than we could have

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wished; so that Hog Island, on the coast of Sumatra, was not made until January the twenty-ninth. The wind was light and baffling; indeed, perplexing would be a better term; and, after succeeding in doubling the small islands called Cocoas, off the northwest extremity of Hog Island, the long-looked-for coast of Sumatra hove in sight. This land can be seen at a great distance, sometimes as far as thirty leagues at sea. The range of mountains extending from one end of this immense island to the other, are some of them very high, and vary in distance from the southwestern shore, from fifteen to twenty-five miles.

The approach to the coast of Sumatra by a vessel of the Potomac's dimensions, is attended with much danger; and the responsibility of such a command, when unaided and unattended by a consort, to ensure safety to life in case of accident, must ever be accompanied with feelings of anxiety painfully intense.

Coral reefs are numerous; and in light weather, when the sea is smooth, there are no breakers to indicate their position, which renders it indispensable for a ship with a heavy draught of water to proceed with the greatest caution. The leads, which were kept constantly going, indicated the most irregular soundings, varying more than one hundred fathoms in the course of a few rods.

It is to be remembered that the northwest monsoon, sometimes called the little monsoon, which some authors say blows from November to May, does not always do so; and though the prevailing winds within one or two hundred miles of the coast of Sumatra may be from the northwest, yet there are many intervals of calms, thick, cloudy weather, and sometimes heavy squalls, which, though generally of short duration, may frequently be entitled to the appellation of gales. The rise and fall of the tides appears to be governed by no laws, except those of the winds; indeed, the currents in these seas will be found to depend, principally, on the prevailing winds.

More than one hundred and fifty miles from this coast, a current had been found to run from west to northwest, and varying very much in velocity. On approaching the coast it became very irregular, sometimes from north-northwest, and then changing more to the westward, the intervals being quite uncertain. From these causes it will be perceived, that the Potomac's ap-

proach to this coast must have required the utmost vigilance to avoid the reefs, so common and so little explored.

Hog Island was made on the lee bow, about forty miles distant; yet so light and so variable was the wind, with occasional calms, that, in despite of every effort, but little headway could be made; and it was ascertained by observation, as well as from the bearing of the land, that the vessel was drifted not less than twenty miles in twenty-four hours, to the southward and westward, by quite a contrary current from the one named before. At this time the wind hauled ahead to the northeast, and it was not for seven days after making Hog Island, that the Potomac was brought to her anchorage off Quallah-Battoo.

In relation to the approach to this place, Lieutenant Pinkham, in his notes, says; "From what I myself felt, with others of my watch officers upon the occasion, I think I can judge somewhat of the intense anxiety felt by the commodore upon approaching a coast so little known; the lead constantly indicating the most alarming changes. I remember upon one occasion, the ship not moving at a rate of more than half a mile an hour, the lead suddenly indicated a change from thirty-five to twenty fathoms; another cast was immediately made, and before the ship had proceeded more than once her length, no bottom could be found with a hundred and ten fathom line!"

The commodore was often heard to speak of this part of his cruise in the east as having been one of great solicitude and sleepless nights; and well might he thus speak, when it is recollected the value of the cargo intrusted to his care, of not less than five hundred souls, that must have perished had the Potomac struck upon, as she must have passed near to, some of these hidden and dangerous *coral reefs*.

By vigilance, however (in such seas the sailor's only chart), perseverance, and the blessings of Divine Providence, the Potomac had now reached in safety her first anchorage in the east; when the plan of operations on Quallah-Battoo was to be put into immediate execution.

CHAPTER VII.

The Potomac, disguised as a Merchantman, anchors off Quallah-Battoo—A reconnoitring party of Americans deterred from landing by the hostile movements of the Malays—But little hopes of obtaining Indemnification by peaceable measures—Preparations for Enforcing our just demands—Humane Instructions of the Commodore—Landing of the Crew, with strict orders not to commence Hostilities, unless attacked by the Malays—The latter fire on the Americans, who immediately advance to the Attack, and storm and dismantle all the Forts but one—The Victorious Party return on board—Loss in the Attack—Funeral Service for the Slain—Official Documents.

In order that the Malays might not comprehend the real designs and character of the Potomac, the stump topgallant masts were got up, the maindeck guns run in and ranged fore and aft, the half ports shut in, and the white streak so altered as to show only ten ports on a side. The frigate was thus made to assume the appearance of a merchant ship of great burden and capacity, like many of the East India traders. When all was prepared, the commodore, on the fifth of February, stood in, and came to anchor about five miles from the land.

From a manuscript chart, which had previously been taken by Captain Endicott, a tolerably correct idea could be formed of the local situations of the forts. The commodore, however, deemed it important that still more accurate information should be procured, if practicable, of their true positions; at least, that those intended to lead the several divisions should, previous to their landing with the forces which were intended for the settlement of accounts with these people, be fully aware of what they had to encounter, in effecting this object.

Voluntary justice on the part of the Malays, for the piratical act of which we complained, was not to be looked for, and was entirely out of the question. It was the act of a whole community, with at least the connivance of their rulers the rajahs. The only plan, therefore, that promised success in compelling them to do us justice, was that of securing the persons of some of

their principal rajahs, and retaining them as hostages until the actual perpetrators of this atrocious act of piracy were brought to condign punishment, and ample restitution of property made to the owners of the ship Friendship, and her unfortunate officers and crew. When similar acts of aggression are perpetrated by the primitive proprietors of the American soil—when a robbery or murder has been committed by one or more individuals of a tribe on our western frontiers—the nearest local authority immediately makes a demand that the culprits be forthwith given up to abide the penalties of our own laws; and, if refused, the demand is quickly enforced by the arm of military power; and chiefs, like Black Hawk, have been retained in custody as hostages for the future good behaviour of their tribes. Ought the bloodthirsty inhabitants of Sumatra to be treated with any more lenity than the much wronged and oppressed aborigines of our own country? Let justice and humanity answer the question.

In order, then, to secure the persons of the rajahs without bloodshed, it was desirable, as before intimated, to gain more accurate information than the commodore possessed, respecting the exact position of the several fortresses in which these oriental princes were to be found. To effect this object, the commodore directed that the following system of espionage be adopted:—a boat was prepared to visit the shore, and Lieutenant Shubrick, in citizen's dress, was to represent the captain of the Potomac as a merchantman; while Lieutenant Edson was to represent the supercargo, anxious to procure a supply of pepper. Lieutenants Pinkham, Hoff, Ingersoll, and Acting-sailing-master Totten, dressed as sailors, rowed the boat; and it was intended that they should stroll about the village ground, and pick up what information they could in relation to the state of defence of the Malay forts, while the mock captain and supercargo should open negotiations in relation to a cargo of pepper. These officers having received the necessary instructions from Mr. Barry, as to the plan of opening negotiations with the rajahs, the boat put off from the ship.

The Potomac had anchored in twenty fathoms, soft bottom, the town bearing north five miles distant. The boat had not proceeded beyond hail of the frigate, when the bottom was perceived under her; which induced Lieutenant Shubrick to hail the

ship, and communicate the fact. A boat was immediately sent to sound, and found a coral reef, of two or three acres in extent, with but five fathoms of water upon the shoalest part.

In the meantime, as the other boat approached the beach, the Malays began to collect in considerable force. There was much surf on the shore at the time; and of the number collected around the boat, not less than two hundred were armed; some with *krisses* and knives, and others with blunderbusses. It seemed evident that they had some suspicion of the character and object of their visiters; and appeared so formidable in numbers and weapons, that the party deemed it imprudent to land; which caution was approved by the commodore, who had watched with great anxiety the boat's approach to the beach, with the great number of Malays which were seen gathered round the spot where it was expected she would land. The party, of course, returned to the frigate.

From all that had thus far been witnessed, there was nothing that seemed to require the least alteration in the mind of the commodore, as to the correctness of the plans he had previously matured; on the contrary, every thing seemed to confirm and strengthen them. The physical force of the Malays was by no means inconsiderable; and their fastnesses in the jungle rendered them exceedingly formidable. Prompt measures, and such as were calculated, if possible, to effect a surprise, were evidently indicated as the only course compatible with humanity and sound policy. As soon as it was dark the boats were hoisted out, and during the night every preparation was made for landing.

The several divisions were now, to a man, impatient to be under way. Indeed, the spirit of the enterprise pervaded the whole ship's company to such a degree, that even the sick-list was reduced lower than it had previously or has since been known; so eager was every one to be ranked among the combatants. Men who could not be detailed for this service were found stowed away and concealed in the boats, with the hope of joining their companions on shore. The very uncertainty of the character, or final result of the enterprise, seemed to give it a new and irresistible charm in the eyes of every genuine sailor.

The rules of the service not permitting the commodore to leave the ship in person, the command of the expedition devolved

upon Lieutenant Shubrick, to whom the commodore had very fully imparted his instructions, and explained his views in general, for the whole management of the enterprise. Foreseeing, however, that the plan of operations on shore would inevitably lead to a separation of the several divisions, the commodore took occasion, while the whole party stood under arms on the spar-deck, to explain to the officers at the head of their respective divisions, as well as to the men, the nature and objects of the service upon which they were about to engage, and for which they had been ordered by their government to this distant part of the world; and that, however few in numbers, or humble the enterprise, that much good or evil to the future safety of American interest, and the lives of their countrymen engaged in commercial pursuits in these seas, might depend on their good conduct that night.

He then explained to them that their first object on landing should be to surround the several forts, *so as to intercept the flight of the rajahs, as the first and all important preliminary step towards opening a successful parley, and final investigation in relation to the Friendship*, the outrages committed upon which vessel had alone led to their present visit to this island; and that in no instance, and on no account whatever, were they to commence hostilities, *nor fire a gun upon the Malays, unless the attack first came from them*; in which case, they were not only to defend themselves, but should rush at once to the assault; and at every hazard carry the forts which had thus refused to hold conference. Should the conflict become warm, he trusted they would bear in mind that humanity to the vanquished was ever more honourable to the victor than valour; and, above all, he charged them to lessen, by every means in their power, the sufferings and alarm of the *unarmed* and *defenceless*.

He next reminded them, and earnestly urged the fact on their attention, that but little was known respecting the localities of the place where they were about to land, and still less of the strength of the forts they were to invest, the number and arms of the enemy, or the resistance they might make. He charged them not to forget that the honour of their country, so far as committed to their keeping, as well as their own honour and safety, might, and most probably would, depend upon their steadiness, and the alacrity

with which they supported each other in the impetuosity of their attack, *should such become the unpleasant alternative.* In a word, they were to look to Lieutenant Shubrick as their leader; and to execute, with implicit obedience, his orders in the general movements, as well as the commands of officers in charge of the several divisions, while separated from each other.

Orders were now given to pass over the side of the ship, and take their places, as arranged, in the several boats. These orders were obeyed with a half suppressed and willing ardour which gave confidence as to the result of the enterprise, as well as an earnest of what still might be expected from American seamen when their country shall require their services on a more important theatre, and on a larger scale. One of the sections of each division was armed with pistols and boarding-pikes, the rest with muskets. The boats in which the whole embarked were, the launch, four cutters, and the life-boat.

The six-pounder, familiarly known to the officers and men by the cognomen of "*Betsey Baker,*" was placed in the launch, to which a small stage had been fitted, and towed astern, for the purpose of facilitating the landing of the gun and the men, in case the surf should be found so high as to endanger the arms and ammunition. Every thing being now ready, and the men at their oars, the little flotilla left the frigate, led by Lieutenant Shubrick in the whale-boat, to indicate the place of landing. The other boats, with the largest ahead, followed in line, all with muffled oars, and silent as the grave.

It was now about two o'clock, A. M., on the morning of Monday, the sixth of February. The night was still—the stars bright —but no moon. Not a word was spoken above the low, suppressed whisper, as the boats glided swiftly on towards the shore. The place of landing having been selected previously to leaving the ship, no difficulty was found in steering the boats to the designated spot, which was not far from the fort of the powerful rajah, Muley Mahomet. This place is almost a mile to the north of the town, and was selected as promising the most convenient spot for the men to land on, and *form* in their respective divisions; and as being in some measure protected from a view of the town by a projecting point of land.

On approaching the shore, two lights were seen moving in dif-

ferent parts of the town; but they soon disappeared. A moment more, and the order, "Oars," was given. The boats immediately "backed in," when the launch let go her kedge; and, as the surf was high, rigged out her stage, over which the division in her passed on shore, without difficulty or accident—scarcely wetting a single piece. The six-pounder, by the same means, was also landed in safety. By this time, the other boats had also commenced disembarking their respective divisions; and, in fifteen minutes, all were safely landed, formed, and in order of march; each man having found his place, according to the position he occupied while being drilled on the decks of the Potomac. The marines formed in front, facing to the south; the other divisions in like manner, the right of each being near the water's edge; the left but a few yards from the groves of cocoanut-trees and jungle.

While this little force stood thus under arms on the beach, before receiving orders to advance, what an interesting spectacle must they have presented to an American eye! Who could behold, without feelings of the deepest interest, so small a body of men, thus paraded on a foreign and hostile shore, armed, and eager to march whithersoever led, in the stern demand for justice, on account of wrongs suffered by their unoffending and unprotected countrymen! Rough, hardy sailors, as most of them were, they presented a picture that was by no means deficient in those exquisite touches which constitute the "moral sublime."

The morning star had shone some time above the horizon, and the streaks of light began to make their appearance. The matches were now lighted, and all was expectation and eagerness. At the moment, some hesitation was felt as to the exact course to take; a Malay, who had probably been placed as a sentinel, was observed to run some distance ahead, from the beach towards the jungle, and the instant was seized to move forward.

The town of Quallah-Battoo does not contain less than two thousand inhabitants, and nearly five hundred fighting men. It is situated on a small bight about two miles long; a small stream, passing through the rear of the town, divides it into two very unequal portions, the main part being on the northwest side, where the divisions landed. It is regularly laid out into streets, interspersed with jungle and cocoanut-trees, and contains five forts,

owned and commanded by different rajahs or chiefs. The natives and their leaders rely exclusively on these forts and their citadels for defence at all times, when engaged in their numerous petty wars with each other, or when expecting an attack from an enemy without; and long have they believed that within these walls no enemy, however formidable, could ever be able to reach them.

Through Mr. Barry, an outline of the situation of the forts had been obtained, and the attack accordingly planned as follows, by the commodore, previously to the divisions' leaving the ship: Lieutenant Hoff, who commanded the second division, was to invest the fort belonging to Muley Mahomet (or Poloa-en-Yamet), situated at the northwest extremity of the town, and about sixty yards from the water's edge. Lieutenants Edson and Terrett, at the head of the marines, were ordered to proceed to the investment of the fort belonging to Tuko de Lama, about five hundred yards in the rear of Mahomet's fort, while about six hundred yards to the right of these stood the fort of Catchey Duraman, directly in the rear of the town, to which Lieutenant Pinkham was ordered with the first division; while Lieutenant Ingersoll, commanding the third division, with "Betsey Baker" in the rear, and in front the boats under Passed-midshipman Godon, should invest the main fort, commanded by the powerful rajah Chedula, situated within thirty yards of the beach, and directly in front of the town. The fifth fort is situated to the east of the rest, and across the stream alluded to, and is surrounded by an inaccessible jungle.

These forts, and particularly the citadels, were generally bedded deep in the jungle, which prevents them from sudden surprise and abrupt attacks, and gives to the defenders the means of holding out longer and to better advantage. As the small column proceeded onwards, the boats kept up with them to the point of land where the town and the nearest forts were in clear view, when the party moved to the left and entered the path cut through the jungle. As yet, no movement had been seen on the part of the natives; but a moment more, and a shot from the fort of Muley Mahomet announced their vigilance and readiness to receive their morning visiters.

Lieutenant Hoff's division now filed off to this point of attack,

while the main body still moved onward, up a little steep; when Lieutenants Pinkham and Edson both marched off to their respective forts; while the third division and Betsey Baker, accompanied by Lieutenant Shubrick, still passed through the town. In a few moments the attack became general, the Malays in no instance allowing time for *parley;* but received each division with an unexpectedly spirited fire from their small cannon, muskets, and blunderbusses. Lieutenant Hoff, as the nearest division, was the first engaged, and a spirited fire was kept up, while a part of his division attempted to break down a heavy gate which appeared to form the only or principal barrier to coming within close quarters. This being forced, a part of the division entered, but still found themselves distant from the *citadel* within, on account of a barrier of close jungle which surrounded it. Here, however, the men were partially protected from the fire of the Malays, which was now idly directed. At this time Lieutenant Hoff called to them to desist, by a few words he had learned for the purpose from Mr. Barry, and the attack should cease; but they only answered with shouts, and redoubling their exertions, by hurling javelins and firing down upon them. Two men were wounded.

This put a stop to all further conference, and the men were ordered to prepare for storming, which they did by throwing up a platform of brush and other loose materials found lying on the beach, but a short distance from the fort. Having literally built themselves up to a level with the top of the wall, an effort was made to reach its summit, where they were met by the Malays, hand to hand, when several of the assailing party were severely wounded; but Mahomet and the principal leaders having fallen, but feeble resistance was made by the rest, and the fort was instantly carried.

Lieutenants Edson and Terrett, with the marines, with equal success, had forced their way into the fort destined for their attack. The Malays met them with firmness, but could not stand before the superior discipline of the marines, whose ardour seemed fully to compensate for their want of numbers. Lieutenant Terrett, with a guard, being left in charge of the fort, Lieutenant Edson, with the remainder of his men, proceeded through the town to join Lieutenant Shubrick, and receive his further orders.

In the meantime Mr. Barry, who had been sent to point out

the fort destined to the attack of the first division, not being able to discover it, from recent alterations made in the general dispositions of the place, Lieutenant Pinkham turned his division to the right, and joined in the attack of the third division on the fort of Chedulah. The gateway having been forced, with great difficulty, by the pioneers, parts of the two divisions entered, under a brisk fire from a high platform situated at the southwestern extremity of the fort, and enclosed with lofty palisades. To this spot the enemy had retreated, followed by the divisions, which were now partly screened by the walls of the fort, and the brisk and well-directed fire kept up by Betsey Baker, under the direction of Passed-midshipman Totten.

Finding this spot no longer tenable, the Malays retreated to within the walls of the fort, which was now being attacked in front by the boats. The outer walls were fired, and the flames, spreading with great rapidity, soon communicated to the inner apartments, and in a few minutes an explosion took place, from a large quantity of powder, which fortunately did no injury to the attacking party; when another effort was made, headed by Lieutenant Ingersoll, for the main fortress. In this assault, William P. Smith, seaman, was killed; Midshipman Taylor and three men wounded, one dangerously.

The firing from the fort now began to slacken; the Malays not being able to stand the cross-fire from the boats and the two divisions; but still they held out. The men from the boats were now called on shore; Lieutenant Edson had arrived, and Lieutenant Hoff at the same moment came up with a part of his division, having left the remainder with an officer in charge of his fort. A general attack was ordered, and the fort was instantly taken by assault, the Malays making precipitate retreat through their secret avenues into the jungle. The guns were dismounted, spiked, and thrown from the walls; the small arms taken and sent to the boats.

At this time the Malays, collecting in numbers, began to rally at the back of the town, and to advance. The fort of Duraman had commenced firing upon the small body of marines under Lieutenant Terrett, left in charge of the fort they had captured. This was the fort the first division had been unable to find; but being now discovered, Lieutenants Pinkham and Edson, with parts of their divisions, were ordered to attack it; while the remainder

forced the Malays, with some loss, to fall back into their jungle. The fort was instantly taken, with the loss of one man killed, and three more severely wounded.

Nothing now remained to be done. The Malays had been beaten at all points, and forced to retreat; their forts dismantled, and the outworks consumed, from which the fire had spread to many other buildings in the town. The surf was rising rapidly, when from two kent-bugles the air of Yankee-doodle was sounded, which, as previously agreed on, brought all the scattered divisions to headquarters, when they commenced embarking, under cover of a guard of marines.

The services performed by the guard did them great credit. By this we mean nothing exclusive. Where all performed their duty so promptly, so fearlessly, and with so much effect, it would be equally invidious and unjust to draw distinctions or make comparisons. The whole manner of attack had been conceived in judgment, and executed with a sailor's natural impetuosity; but had the assault been less skilfully or successfully made, or the re-embarking divisions pressed by an advancing enemy in their rear, the marines, still unbroken in line, would probably have rendered a service, and given an argument of their importance, as a constituent of our navy, that might not be easily refuted.

Every attention had been paid to the wounded by Assistant-surgeons Foltz and Pawling, who were at all points, as their professional services were needed.

As the boats pulled off from the shore, a shot, from the still unsubdued fort across the stream, struck close to the launch, *ricochetting* over several of the boats, but without doing any injury; and at ten, A. M., the whole party had arrived on board, receiving the commendations of their commander, whose mind had been kept so long in the most painful suspense. From the commencement, he had witnessed the constant firing of small arms, the frequent discharge of cannon, the explosion of the forts, the movement of men to and fro, without being able to distinguish who they were, or what fortune was attending them, until thus so happily relieved, by beholding his crew once more within the strong walls of the Potomac, and that so few had suffered during the morning's excursion. In the afternoon, the burial service

was witnessed by all hands, over the bodies of their deceased shipmates, who had fallen before the forts on shore.

The following are the official reports from Commodore Downes to the secretary of the navy, in relation to this transaction.

"United States frigate Potomac,
"off Soo-soo, Coast of Sumatra, February 17th, 1832.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acquaint you with the arrival of the Potomac on this coast upon the fifth inst.; I anchored off Quallah-Battoo, distant about three miles; my object in so doing being to prevent discovery of the character of the ship, which I had taken care previously to disguise, and so effectually, that a number of fishermen who came on board after I had anchored, did not discover that she was other than a merchant ship, until they came over the side. They were detained on board till after the capture of Quallah-Battoo.

"Finding no vessels on the coast, I could obtain no information in addition to that already possessed respecting the nature of the government, the piratical character of the population, or the flagrant circumstances of the injury done to the Friendship.

"No demand of satisfaction was made previous to my attack, because I was satisfied, from what knowledge I had already of the character of the people, that no such demand would be answered, except by refusals, and that such refusals would proceed from want of ability, as well as from inclination, it being a habit generally among this people to spend their money as soon as obtained.

"Soon after anchoring, Lieutenants Shubrick, Pinkham, Hoff, Ingersoll, and Edson of marines, together with Passed-midshipman Totten, went on shore in the whale-boat, for the purpose of learning the situation of the town and forts; but every thing being built in close concealment, they were unable to arrive at any satisfactory result, except as to one of the forts erected immediately at the place of landing.

"No precautions were taken to cut off the opportunity of escape from any inhabitants of the town, the nature of the place rendering it absolutely impossible, situated as it is, in the midst

of wood and jungle, impenetrable, except by private passages, known only to the natives.

"As soon as it became sufficiently dark to prevent our movements from discovery by the people on shore, the boats were hoisted out, and every preparation made for landing, which was effected about daybreak of the sixth inst. The party under the command of Lieutenant Shubrick consisted of two hundred and fifty men.

"I adopted this mode of enforcing our demands, in hopes of getting possession of the rajahs, by surrounding and surprising the forts in which they usually reside, and thus, most probably, inducing the payment of money for their ransom. I regret to say, however, that in consequence of their desperate fighting, neither giving nor receiving quarter, no prisoners were made, nor was any property found belonging to the Friendship, save the medicine chest.

"Lieutenant Shubrick has my warmest acknowledgments for the able and gallant manner in which he conducted the expedition, and I enclose herewith that gentleman's report, wherein he gives a detailed account of the attack, together with other particulars. [*See Appendix.*]

"The midshipmen who were on shore and engaged in the action, but named by Lieutenant Shubrick, were William May, in the first division under Lieutenant Pinkham; Messrs. Alonzo B. Davis, James G. Stanley, and Charles W. Morris, of the second division, commanded by Lieutenant Hoff; and of the third division under command of Lieutenant Ingersoll, Messrs. Charles Hunter, Eugene Boyle, and James L. Parker, with Midshipman George T. Sinclair in the launch.

"Their gallantry and good conduct in the action are spoken of as deserving the highest praise. In consequence of the fort situated south of the river having fired upon our men while attacking Quallah-Battoo, I ran in with the ship and fired about three broadsides into it, when a white flag was hoisted; upon this I ceased firing, soon after got under way, and stood for this anchorage, where I am taking on board wood and water.

"While lying here, a flag of truce has been sent off from Quallah-Battoo; and I was informed by the bearer of the same, that a great many had been killed on shore, and that all the prop-

erty had been destroyed. He begged that I would grant them peace. I stated to him that I had been sent to demand restitution of the property taken from the Friendship, and to insist on the punishment of those persons who were concerned in the outrage committed on the individuals of that ship.

"Finding it impossible to effect either object, I said to him, that I was satisfied with what had already been done, and I granted them the peace for which they begged. I at the same time assured him, that if forbearance should not be exercised hereafter from committing piracies and murders upon American citizens, other ships of war would be despatched to inflict upon them further punishment.

"Several rajahs, from towns in the vicinity, have visited my ship, and others who are distant have sent deputations to me. All of them have declared their friendly disposition towards the Americans, and their desire to obtain our friendship. Corresponding assurances were given on my part, and they left the ship apparently well satisfied.

"Having wood and water, and refreshed my crew, I shall leave here to-morrow for Batavia.

"I have the honour to be, very respectfully,

"Your obdient servant,

(Signed) "JOHN DOWNES.

"The Honourable Levi Woodbury, Secretary of the Navy."

Though deviating from the chronological course of events, still it seems more proper, in this place, to insert the following correspondence :—

"Navy Department, July 16th, 1832.

"SIR,

"Your letters, dated twenty-sixth of August, sixteenth of September, twentieth, twenty-ninth, and thirty-first of October, and eleventh of December, 1831 ; seventeenth of February, and eleventh and twelfth of March, 1832, have all been received.

"The president regrets that you were not able, before attacking the Malays at Quallah-Battoo, to obtain there, or near, fuller information of the particulars of their outrage on the Friendship, and of the character and political relations of the aggressors.

"It was desirable, also, that a previous demand should have been made for restitution and indemnification; as, whether necessary or not on principles of national law, it would have furnished the most favourable opportunity for success in obtaining redress, and would have tended to remove any complaint in any quarter, on account of the nature and consequences of the attack.

"On every circumstance, influencing your judgment to dispense with these, he wishes the fullest information, since it may hereafter become material.

"At the same time, the president wishes me to express his highest commendation for the coolness, firmness, and skill, evinced by yourself, officers, and men, in the whole attack; and hopes that the best consequences to our trade and national character will result from it, in that region of the world.

"Respectfully, your obedient servant,

"LEVI WOODBURY.

"Commodore John Downes,
"Commanding U. S. Squadron, Pacific Ocean."

"U. S. Frigate Potomac, Callao, 13th Feb., 1833.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, bearing date the sixteenth of July, 1832; containing the wish of the president, that I would communicate all the circumstances which influenced my judgment in directing the manner of attack on the town of Quallah-Battoo.

"I was directed in my instructions, on arriving at the island of Sumatra, to obtain from the intelligent shipmasters, supercargoes, and others engaged in American trade in that neighbourhood, such information as they possessed in relation to the nature of the government there, the piratical character of the population, and the flagrant circumstances of the injuries before-mentioned.

"The above were the only sources of information to which I was referred in my instructions, and in reference to which I stated, in my communication to the department dated February seventeenth, 1832, that finding no vessel on the coast, I could obtain no information in addition to that already possessed respecting the nature of the government, &c. &c.

"There were other sources of information, however, to which

I had access; but, not coming within the range of those pointed out in my instructions, I did not deem it necessary to refer to them in my official report above alluded to; at present, however, it may be proper to do so.

"At Rio de Janeiro, I obtained such information relative to the character of the people of Quallah-Battoo as went strongly to impress me with the opinion, that a demand made on the rajahs, previous to my getting them into my power, or to taking any steps towards cutting off the retreat of the participators in the outrage committed on the Friendship, must have led to an utter defeat of the expedition.

"At the Cape of Good Hope I made known the object of my visit to the island of Sumatra, to the officers highest in rank, both in the army and in the navy. These officers had resided a long time in India, and several of them had been on the coast of Sumatra, and were well acquainted with the Malay character.

"By the representations of these gentlemen, the natives were cruel and treacherous on all parts of the coast, and by no means to be trusted; they represented Quallah-Battoo as independent of, and not subject to, any regular government; and as to indemnification, it seemed quite out of the question; as the inhabitants could, on the slightest alarm, or from motives of policy, retire and conceal themselves, and what tangible treasure they possessed, beyond the reach of our guns, and beyond the possibility of pursuit; as the whole country bordering the seashore, and a few miles inland, is covered by a close, and, except to themselves, an impenetrable jungle.

"I was advised to proceed with the greatest caution, as they assured me that the character of the Malays of Sumatra was generally but little understood; that they were cunning and brave, and by no means to be despised as enemies.

"In confirmation of all this, they communicated to me the particulars of the British expedition, which had been sent against a tribe on the west coast of Sumatra, but a short distance south of Quallah-Battoo. The squadron approached the anchorage, the object and force of the expedition were known to the natives, and they as soon retired, leaving the place to be taken and burned by the disembarking force without opposition. The attacking party, holding their enemies in too much contempt, did not take

the necessary precaution to prevent surprise; and the consequence was, that the Malays sallied from their secret places, and cut off and destroyed the English divisions to a man.

"In addition to this, I learned that the natives had made several recent attempts to cut off vessels, and that the Quallah-Battooans, in particular, were notoriously the greatest pirates on the coast of Sumatra; that they even extended their depredations to the coast of Java, where they were never known to spare man, woman, or child, which had unfortunately fallen into their hands.

"Such was the character of these people, as derived from sources entitled to my highest confidence; such it was represented to me, at a subsequent period, while in Batavia; and such the whole of my own personal observations have confirmed it to be.

"In addition to my instructions, these were the lights I had to guide me in my operations, on the still imperfectly known coast of Sumatra, and its still less perfectly known inhabitants. I felt the full weight of my responsibility, and even a painful anxiety to merit the approbation and meet the reasonable expectations of my country. I could not believe, for a moment, that my government despatched a vessel of such dimensions, to a point so distant, and through seas so dangerous, without attaching to her movements expectations of national importance.

"The knowledge I had acquired of the character of the people against whom I had to operate, left me no room to doubt, that a movement prompt and efficient in its character could alone carry with it the least possible hopes of success; to approach that coast, and to make that movement, was a task neither light nor easy of execution; what I had to do I knew must be done quickly. The coast was to be made, the town approached, and the character of the vessel concealed; a landing effected through a dangerous surf, and the place surrounded, before the Malays could penetrate our true character, or know the object of our visit.

"The intelligence brought by the party sent to reconnoitre, showed but too clearly what must have been the result of a disembarcation in the day. It must have ended in one of two ways; either the natives would have fled, leaving their empty huts, which, if destroyed, could have been in short time rebuilt; or they would from forts, and from their jungles, have severely annoyed, if not totally defeated, our light divisions. In either case

we must have been virtually defeated, and an impression left on the inhabitants that we had not the power to punish them for outrages committed on our commerce.

"In such a case the defeat would have been more complete, as there was no higher authority or government to which we could make our appeal, and from which we could expect indemnification. Indeed, within a short distance, there were other tribes and chiefs separate and independent of those of Quallah-Battoo.

"While making arrangements to open a communication with the chiefs, and to make a formal demand of indemnification, I felt it to be my imperative duty to take such steps at the same time as would cut off the retreat of those who had participated in the piracy of the Friendship; and while in the execution of the only feasible plan by which these objects could be effected, our divisions were fired on, and our strength put at defiance; the action was thus unavoidably commenced; and, as to its result, I need only refer you to my previous communication.

"I ascertained, after the attack, that the whole inhabitants of Quallah-Battoo were concerned in the plunder of the Friendship, and that the character of the transaction agreed substantially with that furnished by the department, marked A and B. The specie and opium had been divided between the four principal rajahs; and all the other articles taken from the ship were distributed among the people of Quallah-Battoo.

"All the intercourse I had with the natives while lying at Soosoo, confirmed me in the correctness of the course adopted; and also that the chastisement inflicted on Quallah-Battoo, though severe, was unavoidable and just; and that it will be the means of giving a permanent security to our commerce for a long time to come.

"I am, sir, with the greatest respect,

"Your obedient servant,

(Signed) "JOHN DOWNES.

"The Honourable Levi Woodbury, Secretary of the Navy."

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ACTION OF QUALLAH BATTOO AS SEEN FROM THE POTOMAC AT ANCHOR IN THE OFFING: J. DOWNES ESQ. COMMANDER. FEB. 5. 1832.

CHAPTER VIII.

Bombardment of Tuca de Lama—The Malays ask a Truce—Alarm of the inhabitants of Soo-soo—The friendly Rajah, Po Adam, relieves their apprehensions—Embassy of submission from the Malays of Quallah-Battoo—The Commodore's admonition to them, interpreted by Po Adam—The Potomac anchors at Soo-soo to procure water—Precautions against a surprise—Po Adam's friendship for the Americans, and consequent losses—His character, dress, and personal appearance—His allegiance to the King of Acheen—Outrage of the king's brother—Po Adam's retaliation—His wives—Astonishment of the Malays on inspecting the force of the Potomac—Interchange of presents—Ceremony of killing a buffalo.

THAT nothing should be left undone to leave an indelible impression on the minds of these people, of the power of the United States to inflict punishment for aggressions committed on her commerce, in seas however distant, the ship was got under way the following morning, and brought to, with a spring on her cable, within less than a mile of the shore, when the larboard side was brought to bear nearly upon the site of the town.

The object of the commodore, in this movement, was not to open an indiscriminate or destructive fire upon the town and inhabitants of Quallah-Battoo, but to show them the irresistible power of thirty-two pound shot, and to reduce the fort of Tuca de Lama, which could not be reached on account of the jungle and stream of water, on the morning before; and from which a fire had been opened and continued during the embarcation of the men into their boats, on their return to the ship.

The policy of this measure cannot be too highly appreciated, when it is remembered that these people, while practising their piracies, or watching every favourable opportunity to capture ships trading with them, were frequently told by our captains that outbreakings or violence on their part would most assuredly cause the government of America to send out an adequate force to punish them; and that there was always a disposable one, ready to perform such service. At this idea they always tossed their heads in a contemptuous manner, exclaiming with a loud laugh, "Ameri-

can ship big gun! no have got big gun American ship." One of the rajahs, when Mr. Barry was endeavouring to convince him that the people, and the great rajah of his country, possessed large ships, loaded with nothing but guns, powder, and shot, and having hundreds of men on board, for the purpose of redressing the wrongs done to his people abroad, laughed in his face most heartily, and replied, that he had spoken a falsehood. Mr. Barry insisted that what he had stated was true; when the rajah again replied, that it could not be so. If we had ships which he could not take with his sampans and proas, "why had they never been on the coast?" The prevalence of this belief is not to be wondered at. American trade on that coast had been carried on for nearly forty years, without the shadow of protection from the arm of government; while other nations, whose trade did not amount to one tenth of our own, had sent armed vessels to look after it.

From the manner in which the Potomac was disguised, and her previous distance from the shore, the natives could not, until her firing had actually commenced, have formed the most distant idea of the tremendous effect of thirty-two pound shot, when discharged from a gun of that calibre.

The fort of Tuca de Lama was very soon deserted, while the shot was cutting it to pieces, and tearing up whole cocoa-trees around it by the roots.

In performing this service, there was a fine opportunity of observing the great proficiency the crews of the guns had made in that highly important part of their profession, loading and firing. Though the cannonade was brisk and constant for more than half an hour, not the most trifling accident occurred, and the shots were directed against De Lama's fort with great precision. When silence had been commanded, and the firing ceased, the Malays embraced the opportunity to exhibit, in conspicuous places along the shore, white flags; that colour being considered among them a signal for peace.

The commodore was pleased to see this movement on their part; and, believing that they would not very soon deny "that the Americans had big ships and large guns," directed an answering flag of white to be hoisted at the mainmast head, and the batteries to be secured.

It appears that the rajahs of Quallah-Battoo had some diffi-

culty of a serious nature with the people of Soo-soo or Pulo Kio, and that both parties were ready to commence hostilities at the slightest provocation; and we have since learned that it was principally owing to this cause, that the forts were in so good a state of defence, and had so many well-armed Malays to defend them, at the time of the attack by the divisions from the Potomac.

In a former chapter it has been mentioned that Soo-soo was but a few miles to the southward and eastward of Quallah-Battoo and the establishments and fort of the friendly rajah, Po Adam, at the head of a small cove called Pulo Kio, or Woody Island; the little promontory resembling an island when viewed from the sea.

These people, dreading lest they might be considered as having been participators in the late offence of their neighbours, would probably have fled to their forts and their jungles, had not Po Adam assured them that his prediction, the fulfilment of which they had so long doubted, was now in truth coming to pass; that the great rajah of America had now sent a big ship to punish those who had robbed and murdered his people.

So much influence over their minds and feelings did he exercise, that they witnessed the cannonade without the slightest apprehension of the guns being turned in their direction; indeed, many of them came out some distance in their proas around a point, in order to have a better view of the bombardment of De Lama's fort.

In the course of the afternoon, a boat came off from the shore bearing a flag of truce to the commodore, beseeching him, in all the practised forms of submission common to the east, that he would grant them peace, and cease to fire his big guns. He seemed to be fully aware of the object of his visit, and of the enormity of their offence, as they not only asked to be forgiven for past errors and offences, but most solemnly promised, in the name of the people who had sent them, that no further outrages should ever be committed by them on our commerce.

In bidding them be more at their ease, and giving them assurance that hostilities had now ceased, the commodore directed them to say to the remaining rajahs and people of Quallah-Battoo, and all others with whom they had any intercourse on the whole coast, that the object of his government in sending him to their shores

had now been consummated in the punishment of the guilty, who had committed their piracies on the Friendship; that they must now be cautious of the misconceptions they had formed of the naval power of his country, and how reckless and inconsiderate they must be ever again to provoke that power. Though he had taken their town, it was instantly restored to them; as it formed no part of the policy of his government to make conquest, and form establishments in foreign ports. That his countrymen would still continue to visit their ports, and trade with them, as they had done before; and that, while they conducted themselves with justice and humanity, they need be under no apprehension of future attacks from the big ships of his country; but in case they should, either here, or at any other port on the coast, be guilty of cutting off another of the merchant ships of his country, they might rest perfectly assured that punishment, though for a time delayed, would fall upon them at a moment perhaps when they least expected it.

Po Adam was the interpreter during this interview, which was conducted with the greatest solemnity, and seemed to sink deeply into the minds of these ambassadors of peace. It is hoped the effect may be for good. Their astonishment on getting a view of the ship's batteries, masts, and rigging, seemed very great; and no doubt, the account they bore to their companions on shore of the wonderful engines of destruction they had seen, will have a salutary influence in preventing outbreakings among them; as fear is the only restraint to a people who acknowledge no moral obligations.

By way of a peace-offering, they had brought off a number of cocoanuts, a quantity of sugarcane, and fruits of various kinds; which, being received by the commodore, they were dismissed to return on shore.

At six A.M., on the morning of the eighth, the Potomac was under way from the place where she had come to anchor on the evening before, and stood for Soo-soo, with a light wind from the northward and eastward. This distance, like other portions of the coast, was run entirely by the guidance of the lead; the numerous and dangerous coral reefs making this precaution necessary for a vessel drawing so great a depth of water. At eight A.M., the anchor was let go in twenty-seven fathoms, Quallah-

Battoo bearing north-by-west-half-west; Pulo Kio, northeast-by-north; and Soo-soo, northeast-by-east-half-east.

Lieutenant Wilson was immediately despatched on shore in the launch, attended by a suitable guard, to make arrangements for watering the ship; bearing with him a flag of truce. He found corresponding white flags flying in several places along the shore; and having met with no difficulties in making arrangements for getting off water, before noon he returned on board.

At the place of watering, the river is enclosed between two abrupt banks of sand; the northwest side answering the double purpose of confining the river to its bed, and of forming the little bay of Soo-soo upon the other. The launch and third cutter were the boats put in requisition for this service; the superior officers, in turn, taking charge of them, protected at all times by an armed guard, besides the launch, bearing in her a six-pounder, which the sailors declared was own cousin to Betsey Baker, that had behaved so well a morning or two before, at Quallah, and to which they had given the name of Miss Polly Hopkins. The boats, as there was some surf upon the beach, more particularly when the seabreeze sets in, were necessarily moored, with a grapnel seaward and a rope upon the shore. The distance from the shore of the bay across to the river is about thirty yards. Elevated upon some casks, the hose-tube was placed securely, and the hose led to the boats, which were moored outside the surf; a few hands being left in the boats to attend to the filling. The party on shore waded into the river, carrying the water in buckets and pouring it into the hose-tube, which being elevated five or six feet in the distance of twenty yards, the water glided rapidly into the casks in the boats.

While this duty was going on, the Malays collected in large numbers on the banks of the river, armed, as usual, with *krisses* and long knives, and watching with much apparent curiosity this method of watering.

It was soon ascertained that many of these spectators were from Quallah-Battoo; and as the natives of Sumatra are so famed for cunning, fickleness, and treachery, it was thought they might possibly, under present excitement, seek any favourable opportunity that might offer to renew hostilities with any unguarded portion of the watering party. This, however, was not probable,

as they must have observed the party well armed for defence; for, besides a guard of marines, there was Miss Polly Hopkins keeping a steady eye upon the multitude, under the immediate direction of a midshipman.

Po Adam, the friendly rajah, was, during this time, nearly a constant visiter on board; distinguished at all times for an independent bearing and manly deportment. He seemed not the least elevated on account of his present reception on board the frigate; though he could not conceal, and indeed often expressed, the satisfaction he felt at her arrival, "authorized by what he had long considered to be a powerful nation, a part of whose duty he, Po Adam, felt assured, was to do justice to his motives; and that his acts with regard to the Friendship had been approved by the government and people from whom she came. His fort at Kio is strong, and well manned by his vassals and hired adherents, who, for a small stipend in money, some dried fish and rice, with an occasional quid of opium, were always to stand by and defend him."

Po Adam, in stature, is rather below the middle size, and though his forehead is rather retiring, his eyes bespeak a mind ever awake to all that is passing around him. One feature in the face of this intelligent and high-minded rajah is very peculiar, as being so materially different from that of the generality of his countrymen; and that is, a finely formed aquiline nose; a feature which most of his countrymen have so clumsily wrought upon their faces, that any beauties they may otherwise possess, are, in most instances, thrown into the shade. Though his mouth is rather wide, his lips are thin, teeth strong and regular, and of shining ebony blackness, produced by a constant chewing of the betele-nut; a practice to which all his countrymen are inveterately addicted, and of which they are very fond, on account of the slight exhilarating effect it produces. Their principal stimulus (never using spirits) is opium, an article of trade which has entered largely into the transactions of the coast in the purchase of pepper. Like the rest of his countrymen, he always went barefoot, and his dress consisted merely of a pair of short white cotton trowsers, put on over a pair of drawers; a shirt without a collar, made of the same texture; and a long, rich silk sash around his loins, which not only supplied the place of suspenders, but also that of a belt

for an enormous *kris*, the blade of which was of the finest polished steel, and the handle and scabbard of the finest gold, bespangled with diamonds.

This intelligent, and, in all respects, remarkable rajah, seemed to pride himself that he was a native of the city of Acheen. The king of this city considers many of the tribes and inhabitants of the island, particularly of the west coast, tributary to him, and liege subjects of his crown; but this pretension and this power, as will be seen hereafter, are but the shadow without the substance. No one respects his power, nor holds himself tributary when he can, by any means, even by force, resist the collection of revenue, which is occasionally demanded and enforced in proportion to the power of the crown; the principal revenue or tribute to the crown being, however, by one means or another, collected from the pepper coast. The king has several vessels of war carrying guns of small calibre, which are sent along the coast every year to receive the per centage on the sales of pepper. The system of administering the revenue laws may be inferred from the following circumstance of an interesting character, which we received from an authentic source.

During the month of August, following the capture of the Friendship, the brother of the King of Acheen visited, among other places, the port of Quallah-Battoo, for the annual collection of dues; intending, of course, to demand of Po Adam his tax, when matters should be settled with the Rajah of Quallah. The vice-king, however, had scarcely arrived, when the rajah and people of that place hastened to inform him of the part Po Adam had taken in the late affair of the captured ship; stating, that had it not been for his interference, they would have had it in their power to have presented their sovereign, the King of Acheen, with a fine vessel, taken from the Americans. The vice-king, for so he was called, was there in command of a schooner of one hundred tons, carrying twelve six-pounders, and a crew of sixty men. He appeared greatly incensed at the loss his brother had sustained, and threatened immediate vengeance on Adam, as the author of this disappointment. He seized the moment when Adam was absent as an agent for a French brig, seeking a cargo of pepper (he would hardly have dared so much had this gallant rajah been at home; but now there was no danger), and proceeded, with his

vessel, to Pulo Kio; came to an anchor within pistol-shot of Adam's fort, and inquired of the persons left in charge, amounting to not more than ten or twelve effective men, if they intended any resistance; and having been answered in the negative, this chivalrous representative of his royal brother landed without opposition, and commenced an indiscriminate plunder of goods and chattels of all kinds that came within his reach. Indeed, he stripped the fort and dwelling of Adam of every thing valuable; the whole amounting to not less than four thousand dollars. From such conduct on the part of the vice-king, may be judged with what hopes of success a demand might have been made of the King of Acheen himself, for indemnification for the robbery of the Friendship; with what hopes that the assassins of her crew might have been brought to punishment.

On the return of Po Adam, which happened a few days after this event, he lost no time in useless repining, but at once set about putting his fort in the best possible order of defence, and quietly awaited the return of the schooner. This happened in the course of a few weeks, when she was allowed peaceably to come to anchor within musket-shot of his fort. Adam had every thing prepared, and not having the fear of royalty before his eyes, opened a fire from four iron six-pounders, the only guns which had been left him. This attack was so unexpected, that the vice-king instantly deserted his vessel, and fled in his boat, and the remainder of his officers and men followed his example; some took to their boats, while others jumped overboard and swam to the shore. Adam continued his fire until all hands were clear of her, and then going on board and cutting her cable, allowed her to drift on a coral reef not far from the shore, where she was stripped of many articles, and afterward went to pieces on the rocks. He seemed to be under no apprehension that the King of Acheen would ever molest him for the opposition he had so successfully made to resist his authority.

It being remarked to him one day, that in consequence of the friendly manifestations he had evinced towards the Americans, the rajah of the adjacent ports might be induced to combine in a crusade for the purpose of destroying him, his reply was in broken English; "Suppose he come, me make fight; suppose he kill Po Adam now, one no can die morrow morning."

In common with the custom of the country, among those who can afford it, it appears Adam had indulged in a plurality of wives; but had it not been for Mr. Barry, who knew the fact, he would have impressed all present with the belief that he had but one. Within a twelvemonth past one of his wives had died, and instead of contracting other alliances, he pretended that the only one now remaining lived with him in the fort. When questioned how this could be possible, as he had frequently been seen putting up little packages with great care, and sending them to a female in Acheen by the coasting vessels—this was bringing the subject too close for Adam to escape, and he frankly acknowledged that such was the fact, and that he had another wife in the Imperial City. He laughingly admitted that it was a very impolite and bad custom, and that if one or two more were to die, he would most assuredly adopt the American system, and have but one.

The reason, philosophy, and religion of Po Adam on this subject, differed nothing from his whole sect, judging the plurality of wives a matter to be decided entirely by the rank of the person and his means to maintain them. Many of their marriage customs, laws, and festivities are curious, and worthy of being recurred to in another chapter. For instance: "If a younger sister be first married, the husband pays six dollars, *add at pelilloo*, for passing over the elder." Thus it would appear, that the customs of occasionally selecting the younger, as practised in Christian countries, is discouraged among the Sumatrans by a protecting duty in favour of the elder.

Upon the whole, taking all things into consideration, there seems to be much to interest one in the character of Po Adam; and when we reflect, that besides his recent losses, he had not less than two thousand dollars worth of property on board the Friendship when captured, it would seem a matter of some regret that our government had not made him a present, though it had only been a gilded toy, as a testimony of their approbation of his conduct.

It was thought he felt this, though he expressed no dissatisfaction, and seemed much pleased with his reception and treatment on board the Potomac. He received, however, a number of presents from the commodore and officers; and there is no doubt that his feelings of friendship for the Americans were much

strengthened, and will continue to be useful to our countrymen trading on that part of the pepper coast.

Through his agency, buffaloes, the only species of cattle they rear, were procured, together with vegetables,—such as pumpkins, yams, and sweet-potatoes, in sufficient quantities for the whole crew; fowls were also procured for about eight cents apiece.

All these were embarked from Soo-soo, the watering-place; besides, *sampans* were constantly going and coming, loaded with fowls, cocoanuts, pumpkins, squashes, sugarcane, and every variety of tropical fruit.

It is difficult to describe the apparent astonishment of these people on first passing over the ship's sides on board; every thing was new to them, and on a scale of which they had no previous adequate conception. They were permitted to roam at will over all parts of the vessel; but the tremendous batteries seemed to be the objects of their greatest wonderment, and on them they fixed their eyes with unwavering attention; and well might they be astonished, for here they saw within a small compass a mighty engine of destruction, before which all the armed proas, schooners, and brigs of the whole coast and Acheen, might be scattered as the dry sand before the fierce Echnephia.

At this time the brig Olive, of Boston, arrived, seeking a cargo of pepper, which, to Po Adam, was very exhilarating news, as she had with her for sale guns, ammunition, and long knives. He acknowledged the probability that serious allegations might be brought against him after the departure of the Potomac, and felt the necessity of being prepared to meet them. Of the same vessel he purchased a quantity of opium.

But Po Adam, besides being a rajah, had been considered a priest. At his request the commodore consented that the buffaloes furnished for the vessel might be slaughtered on shore, in order that the poor of his dependants should avail themselves of the offal, which would not be used if the animal were dressed on board.

When the boats went on shore at daylight in the morning for water, a buffalo was found, tied to a cocoanut-tree, and Adam in attendance, ready to perform the part of executioner.

The animal was so restive and wild, that the Malays were afraid to approach it. The officer in charge growing weary of the de-

lay occasioned by the awkwardness and timidity of the natives, ordered the animal to be shot in the head, and dressed by the men of his own party. The head, feet, and offal were left on shore; but the Malays would not touch an article of them, because, as it afterward appeared, the animal had been put to death by the "unfaithful." On the following morning, Adam was indulged in his own way of managing this business. The animal was made fast, as the day previous, and much time was taken in getting the head in a right direction. The animal moved, and again he was seized, and his head carefully pointed towards Mecca, when it was deemed lawful to kill him. These superstitions being thus far complied with, there was no further scruple manifested in appropriating to themselves, with keen appetites, such parts as had been allotted to them.

CHAPTER IX.

Sumatra, the Ophir of Solomon—Described by Marco Polo—Visited by the Arabs—Discovered by the Portuguese—Size and location—Face of the country—Mountains, rivers, lakes, &c.—Climate and temperature—Monsoons and other winds—Soil, minerals, metals, organic remains, &c.—Volcanoes and earthquakes—Origin of the inhabitants—Several distinct races—Description of their persons, dress, and ornaments—Effects of climate on character—Illustrated by the Esquimaux, the Laplander, and the Arab—The useful arts in Sumatra—Villages, houses, furniture, and food—Productions of the animal kingdom—Manner of cultivating pepper, trees, spices, gums, &c.

THERE is, perhaps, on no part of the globe, a spot of equal dimensions and geographical importance, which is so little known to Americans as the Island of Sumatra; and yet this island was once the seat of a powerful empire, and here was held the court of one of the most wealthy monarchs of the east. On the northwestern extremity of the island is situated the capital of Acheen, at that time the great emporium of oriental commerce and riches; and here met the enterprising merchants of the then western world, to barter and traffic for the precious merchandise of the Indian Archipelago. Here the all-grasping Portuguese, whose conquests in the Indian Ocean had lent a terror to their name, were bravely met, and frequently repulsed by the powerful monarch of Acheen, and made to tremble in their turn. The Dutch followed the Portuguese, and fought hard for a monopoly in the valuable trade of the island. But from neither of these nations has the world ever derived much information of the interior of the island, or of its history. Even the English had traded nearly a century with its inhabitants, before any tolerably correct account of them had been published.

There is no positive evidence that Sumatra was known to the ancients; as the knowledge of the Roman geographers did not, probably, carry them beyond the island of Ceylon. The idea of Sumatra being the land of Ophir, whither Solomon sent his fleets for the precious metals, is too vague even for conjecture; and the mountain bearing the name on the island was doubtless given to

it by modern writers. In the original Hebrew, the word signifies *ashes*.* It is generally supposed that the Arabians first discovered Sumatra, about the year 1173, and gave to it the name of Ramni. The writings of the great Venetian traveller, Marco Paulo, published in the year 1269, and so long looked upon as fabulous, do, nevertheless, bear many internal evidences of being descriptive of this island. It was the Portuguese, however, in their expedition to the east, under the command of Alphonso de Albuquerque, in the year 1510, who first gave to Sumatra its place upon the charts, and made its actual existence known to the rest of the world.

Sumatra, which is one of the largest islands on the globe, is the most westerly of that group called by geographers Sunda Islands. It is computed to be more than nine hundred miles in length, and from one hundred to one hundred and fifty in breadth. But though this island, as we have said, was known to the Arabian voyagers before the completion of the twelfth century, and has since that period been so much frequented by the Portuguese, Dutch, Eng-

* Among other arguments which have been adduced in favour of Sumatra and Ophir being the same, we recollect the following:—In the days of Peleg, the sixth from Noah, "the earth was divided" between the patriarch's then numerous descendants. Among the divisions, it is written, speaking of the sons of *Javan* or *Java*, "By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families in the nations." From this passage some writers infer, that the islands of *Java* and Sumatra might have fallen to the lot of "the sons of *Javan*." They say that Peleg's brother Jocktan had thirteen sons, one of whom he called *Ophir*, and another *Havilah*:—"and their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, *a mount of the east*." Whether this may be Mount Ophir, in Sumatra, is of course a mere matter of conjecture. The same sacred historian, in speaking of Havilah, adds—"where there is gold, and the gold of that land is good; there is bdellium and the onyx stone." It was to Ophir that King Solomon sent a navy, built expressly for that purpose, on the shores of the Red Sea, which is an estuary of the Indian Ocean. This navy was manned by Hiram's servants, "shipmen that had knowledge of the sea," who were accompanied by the servants of Solomon. "And they came to Ophir, and fetched from thence gold, four hundred and twenty talents, and brought it to King Solomon." "And the navy also of Hiram that brought gold from Ophir, brought in from Ophir great plenty of almug-trees and precious stones." But notwithstanding this navy was manned by "shipmen that had knowledge of the sea," the voyage to Ophir, wherever that country might be, occupied nearly three years:—"once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks." Sumatra, it will be seen, abounds with valuable trees, gold, ivory, apes, and the argos pheasant, far exceeding the peacock in the beauty of its plumage.

lish, and latterly by our own countrymen; yet its breadth in particular has not been ascertained with that degree of accuracy, and in a sufficient number of places, to afford data from which the superficies of the island may be computed. As it is delineated on Blackford's chart of the China Sea, published in 1816, and which, he says, is "drawn from the best and latest authorities," its dimensions far exceed those above-mentioned; for its greatest breadth, as there represented, being from Indrapoor Point on its southwest coast, across to the mouth of Dancer river on its southeast side, covers more than two hundred and fifty miles, according to his scale of degrees; while its length, by the same computation, exceeds one thousand.

The general direction of this elongated and comparatively attenuated island, is from northwest to southeast, extending across the equator, which divides it into two nearly equal parts: its northwestern extremity, which is Acheen Head, being in latitude 5° 53′ north, and its southeastern extremity, which is Hog Point, bounding the Strait of Sunda, in latitude 5° 56′ south. Acheen Head is in longitude 95° 34′ east, and Hog Point in 105° 50′ east. Thus it appears that the Island of Sumatra extends across more than eleven parallels of latitude, and more than ten meridians of longitude. Its central point, which is directly on the equator, and is that of its greatest breadth, is in longitude 102° east. Quallah-Battoo is in latitude 3° 20′ north, longitude 96° 30′ east.

The whole of the southwest coast of Sumatra is washed by the waters of the great Indian Ocean; the northwestern point of the island stretching into the Bay of Bengal. Its opposite or northeastern shore, or so much of it as lies in the northern hemisphere, forms one side of the Strait of Malacca, which separates the island from the Malay peninsula on the east; while that portion of the same coast which extends into the southern hemisphere, is washed by waters flowing through the Straits of Sabon, Lingin, and Banca. The Strait of Malacca, at its northern entrance, is about one hundred and fifty miles in width, but gradually contracts as it extends to the southeast, until the distance across, at its southern entrance, a little north of the equator, is less than forty miles. Two degrees south of the equator, on the northeast of Sumatra, is the Island of Banca, and the strait of the same name. This island was ceded to the British in the year 1812,

by the new Sultan of Palembang, and was then called the Duke of York's Island; the tin of which has long been a source of much profit in the Japan market. The Malay peninsula, being the extreme southeast point of the Birman empire and of continental Asia, is the western boundary of the Gulf of Siam, east and north of which is the China Sea.

The face of the country is very unequal, broken, and irregular; and along its western coast, within twenty or thirty miles of the shore, a chain of lofty mountains stretches from one end of the island to the other, like the cordilleras of the South American Andes. This chain is in some places separated into parallel ridges, and though not sufficiently elevated to be covered with indissoluble snow, often shoots up into aspiring volcanic cones, whose craters are continually breathing clouds of smoke, and at times vomit forth rivers of burning and consuming lava. Mount Ophir, situated immediately under the equator, is the highest on the island, and has been ascertained, by actual measurement, to be thirteen thousand eight hundred and fifty-two feet above the level of the sea, which is about two thirds the height which is ascribed to the most elevated of the Andes, and somewhat exceeding the Peak of Teneriffe.

Between these ridges and mountains are many extensive and rich plains, so far elevated above the low lands of the coast as to give them a comparatively fine, cool, and healthy climate. These plains are esteemed the most eligible portions of the country, and are by far the best improved and most thickly inhabited. Many extensive and beautiful lakes are reported by the natives to exist in the interior of these extensive plains, which serve greatly to facilitate their intercourse with each other. We say, "reported to exist;" for even at this day but little is known of the interior of the island, from the actual observations of foreigners. These lakes doubtless form the sources of the numerous rivers of the island, particularly those which discharge themselves into the straits on the eastern coast, and which are larger than those on the west side of the mountains, in proportion to the more extensive range of country through which they flow. Of these, Palembang, Jambi, Indergeree, Bakan and Battoo, Barra or Barroo, are the largest, rising on the east of the mountains, and receiving in their course the waters of many tributary streams and subsidiary rivu-

lets. They are also augmented by the aid of more extensive vapours and rains, which prevail on the east of the mountains; while their course is rendered more steady and uniform by the less undulating face of the regions through which they find their way to the ocean. They also derive great advantages from the shelter and protection afforded them by the Island of Borneo, which, breaking the force of the ocean's swell, guards their mouth from that accumulation of sand, which, in the form of bars, too frequently obstructs the navigation of rivers not thus protected.

The rivers of the west, however, are by no means inconsiderable, particularly the Cattown, Indrapoor, Tabooyong, and Sinkell. The mouths of these rivers, however, lying exposed to the whole strength of the winds and ocean on the west, which create a continued action of the surf, more powerful than the current of the streams, renders them inaccessible to vessels of any size, and often dangerous even to boats.

From what has been said respecting the location of Sumatra, in the very centre of the tropics, it may be inferred that an atmosphere of very high temperature must be the necessary consequence. Such, however, is not the fact. Experience has shown that it is more temperate than many regions beyond the torrid zone. The hour of greatest heat is about two o'clock in the afternoon, when the thermometer fluctuates between eighty-two and eighty-five degrees of Fahrenheit, and seldom rises above eighty-six in the shade. Some few localities, influenced by peculiar circumstances, may perhaps form exceptions; but the above is correct as a general remark applied to the coast. Further inland, beyond the first range of hills, the air is quite cool, so that even fires are not unpleasant in the morning, but often desirable. The thermometer there stands at about seventy, which in our country would not be deemed a low temperature, although the system, relaxed in a warm climate, is sensibly affected by it; as are also the fruits of the island, more especially the cocoanut, which comes more tardily to perfection in the more elevated situations.

The formation and shape of the island naturally produce these results. Being a long narrow strip of land, rising from the bosom of the ocean, the breezes that play over its surface carry with them the coolness and freshness of the sea. There are no sandy

deserts or plains to reflect back the rays of a vertical sun, as in the equatorial regions of Africa and South America, while the clayey qualities of the soil, and the thick luxuriant growth of verdure and forest, tend greatly to ameliorate the temperament of the atmosphere. Frost, snow, and hail are unknown; but the vapours on the island are frequently dense, and clouds descend low; while the morning fogs, which it requires several hours sun to dispel, lie between the hills, with outlines well defined.

All writers, from the earliest Portuguese voyagers, agree that this island and its vicinity are often visited, during the northwest monsoon, with most terrific tempests of thunder and lightning, scarcely surpassed in any other part of the world; the whole appearing to tremble from the reiterated explosions; and the heavens, for hours at a time, presenting an expansive sheet of vivid fire.

On the west coast of Sumatra, the southeast monsoon, or dry season, begins about May, and continues until about September. The northwest monsoon begins about November, and the heavy rains cease about March; while the months of April and May, as well as October and November, are generally distinguished on the coast by light and variable winds. The causes of these periodical winds, which are known by the appellation of monsoons, as well as their influence on commercial operations, have often been alluded to by many able writers; and they are of so much importance, and so necessary to be understood by the intelligent merchant, in selecting the seasons for sending his vessels into these seas, that we shall devote a chapter exclusively to this subject in another part of the work.

The soil of Sumatra, generally speaking, is of a reddish stiff clay, covered in most places with a dark rich mould, from which springs, spontaneously, a strong luxuriant vegetation of perpetual verdure. This manifests itself in various species of grass, shrubbery, jungle, fruit-trees, and forests of timber, proportioned to the length of time the surface of the ground has remained undisturbed by agricultural or mining operations. In many places along the western coast of the island, are also extensive marshes, bogs, fens, or swamps, whose irregular and winding course may sometimes be traced, in a continuous chain, for many miles, until they terminate on the low margin of a river, a lake, or the sea

shore. The more elevated spots which these marshes partially or wholly encompass, in the course of their extensive range, appear like so many peninsulas, promontories, capes, islands, isthmuses, and ridges; presenting in some places gentle declivities, and in others high and precipitous cliffs.

In mineral and metallic productions, the island is very rich; and it also abounds with fossil animal remains. In all ages it has been celebrated for its gold, of which it is still productive, and might be made abundantly more so, were the inhabitants industrious, and better versed in the sciences of mineralogy and metallurgy. The copper mines are also rich; and the ore, like that of Japan, is impregnated with gold. Iron is found in abundance, and the steel produced from it possesses a brilliancy, acuteness, and durity, which have never been equalled in any other part of the world. Tin, called by the natives *temar*, has always been one of the export commodities of the island, and has generally been procured near Palembang; though it is also found in other places, especially near Pedattee, in the vicinity of the English settlement of Bencoolen.

The soil is also impregnated with nitre, or saltpetre, of which the natives extract large quantities, by a process peculiar to themselves. Coal, rock-crystal, and mineral and hot springs, have been discovered in many districts; and the *oleum terræ*, or oil of earth, is found in several places, being probably the same as the fountain of *naptha*, at Pedir, a town on the north end of the island, about forty miles east-southeast of Acheen, and which is so much celebrated by the Portuguese. Petrifications of shells of various kinds, and also of wood, are often found fifty feet above the level of the sea, and sometimes as many feet below the same level. These objects, deposited in situations so far beyond the reach of any assignable agency, may be admitted as corroborative testimony in favour of the hypothesis which supposes this globe of ours, at some remote period, to have writhed and shaken under some terrific convulsion.

The island under consideration, at all events, has been, and probably still is, subject to those feverish throes of nature which have been known to produce results not less singular than the phenomena just alluded to. In fact, there are few islands in the eastern Archipelago that do not exhibit irresistible evidence of

volcanic action. We have already alluded to the occasional eruptions of burning mountains, of which there are several, generally quiescent, on the island. Earthquakes are frequent, though not often violent or destructive in their effects, when compared with those which have successively shaken the western coast of South America. Writers have alluded to one which occurred in the district of Manna, on the southwest coast of Sumatra, about one hundred and fifty miles northwest from the Strait of Sunda, in the year 1770; when a village was destroyed by the houses falling and taking fire, with the loss of some lives. The ground was rent for some distance, presenting a yawning chasm or fissure of several fathoms in depth, from the sides of which issued a bituminous matter, and the earth was observed alternately to contract and dilate for many days. The hills in the interior seemed to nod, as in obeisance to each other; and new formations were produced on the seashore. Another, still more disastrous in its effects, occurred at Padang, in 1097, when more than three hundred lives were lost.

The origin of the inhabitants of Sumatra is a question of difficult solution, being involved in as much doubt and conjecture as is that of the aborigines of our own country. The term *Malay* cannot be indiscriminately applied to the Sumatrans *en masse*, as they evidently comprise several other very distinct races of people, both as to origin, language, religion, &c. viz:—the Acheens of the north, with a mixture of Moorish blood, from western India—the Battas, the Rejangs, and the Lampoons. It is true that the distinctive traits which marked those various tribes, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, have in some measure disappeared; owing to a more general intercourse between them, by the breaking up of various monarchies and petty kingdoms, whereby something analogous to a national character has been given to the whole accessible population, at least on the seaboard.

Still, however, it must be conceded that the inhabitants of the interior cannot be included in this general remark. They have either kept aloof from the supposed amalgamation, or their moral as well as personal features are too strongly marked to be readily changed by a mixture of blood; for they still remain a distinct people. This remark is perhaps applicable to every island in the Archipelago, and tends to prove that the Malays were not

the original possessors of the soil on which they are now found. Several writers on this subject maintain that all the oriental nations have sprung from two grand stocks, viz.:—the Hindoos and the Tartars. The people of the interior evidently derive their origin from the former, and the Malays as obviously from the latter.

In Marsden's History of Sumatra, with which island the author had every opportunity of being well acquainted, having resided on it for several years in the capacity of "Secretary to the President and Council of Fort Marlborough," near Bencoolen, a settlement of the English East India Company, he says, that the Malays, now so called, are, in comparison with the natives of the interior, "but as people of yesterday." In the course of his inquiries among the natives concerning the aborigines of the island, he was informed of two different species of people dispersed in the woods, and avoiding all communication with the inhabitants nearer the coast. These they called *Orang Cooboo* and *Orang Coogoo*. The former, he was informed, were quite numerous, especially in that part of the country lying between *Palembang* and *Jambee*. He adds, that some of these interior natives have been caught, and kept as slaves in *Laboon*, and that a man of that place was actually married to a tolerably handsome *Cooboo* girl, who was carried off by a party who discovered their huts. He says they have a language quite peculiar to themselves, and that they eat promiscuously whatever the woods afford,—as deer, elephant, rhinoceros, wild hog, snakes, or monkeys. The *Coogoos*, he says, are by far less numerous; and that, excepting the use of speech, they differ but little from the *orang-outang* of Borneo, their bodies being covered with long hair. Mr. Marsden does not vouch for these facts, but gives them as they were communicated to him by the Malays, who have more than once caught, domesticated, and intermarried with them. The immediate fruits of such marriages are said to be somewhat of the Esau species; but this peculiarity disappears in the third generation. The natives of Java, according to Barrow, have also a tradition, that their ancestors originally sprang from a species of ape, called the *wow-wow*.

As a general description, the Sumatrans are rather below the middle stature, but well-proportioned. Their limbs are light and finely shaped, with small wrists and ankles; their figures, though

not commanding, are not deficient in grace and symmetry. Their complexion, which is lighter than the natives of India, is properly yellow, wanting the red tinge that constitutes a tawny or copper-colour. Some of the women of the higher classes approach to a degree of northern fairness; and would pass in any part of the world for beautiful brunetts. But the great mass of the females are so entirely destitute of personal charms, as even to be disgusting in their appearance. Like the Chinese, the men of superior rank in Sumatra allow the nails of their fingers, and even those of their toes, to grow to an extraordinary length.

When this island was first visited by Europeans, the natives were dressed in garments made of the same kind of cloth as that which now is usually worn on most of the islands of the Pacific Ocean, and which has received the general cognomen of Otaheitean cloth. It is still used in Sumatra by some tribes of the interior.

The usual dress of the men consists of a close waistcoat, with a pair of short drawers next the skin. The former is without sleeves, fastened round the throat like a shirt, with a metallic button, the intrinsic value of which depends upon the rank or pecuniary circumstances of the wearer—it is often of gold filigree. Over this they wear the *badjoo*, which resembles a morning-gown, open at the neck, but fastened close at the wrists, and buttoned half-way up the arm. The young men, who in all countries are prone more or less to affect the *dandy*, wear the *badjoo* much shorter than those of riper years, which sometimes descend as low as the ankles. They are usually made of blue or white cotton; while the better sort wear them of chints, and the rajahs of flowered silk. Over the right shoulder is often thrown a scarf, which hangs down on the left side, not unlike a Scotch Highlander's plaid, and is called the *cayen-sarong*. It is simply a long piece of variegated cloth, of a yard or more in width, sewed together at the ends. It is frequently permitted to fall from the shoulders, to be gathered in plaits around the waist and hips, where, in full dress, it is closely belted by the girdle or sash in which the *kris*, or dagger, is worn. This sash, which is of crimson silk, passes several times around the body, and has a loop at the end in which the sheath of the *kris* is suspended. Their drawers, which are often of taffeta, seldom reach lower than half-way

down the thigh, leaving no covering for the legs or feet. On their heads is fastened a coloured handkerchief, in a form somewhat resembling a turban; the country people substitute a piece of white or blue muslin. This head-dress, on ordinary occasions, leaves the crown exposed; but when they are proceeding on a journey they wear a *toodong*, or umbrella-shaped hat, of such dimensions as completely to protect them from the weather.

The females, though not accustomed to waste much time in the arrangement of their toilet, dress, of course, more tastefully than the other sex. They also wear a short waistcoat, which conceals and defends the breast, and reaches to the hips; all below which is enveloped with the *cayen-sarong*, which comes up as high as the arm-pits, where it is kept in its place simply by folding and tucking it over at the bosom. As an additional security, it is frequently confined about the waist by a girdle or zone, which is usually made of embroidered cloth, but is sometimes a hoop of gold or silver about two inches in breadth, fastening in front with a large clasp of filigree or chased work, in the centre of which is set some kind of precious stone, or, at least, an imitation of one. Their *badjoo*, or upper gown, differs little from that of the men, buttoning in the same manner at the wrists. Around the neck is thrown a piece of fine blue cloth, of nearly two yards in length, neatly fringed at the ends, which hang down before; this not only serves as a shawl, but also as a veil, for females of rank, when they make their appearance abroad.

They permit their hair to grow luxuriantly long, both before and behind; and the whole of it is carefully combed back together, ready for its final adjustment. This is performed in two ways; one of which is, by winding the hair circularly, or, in nautical parlance, coiling it on the top of the head, where it is fastened by a silver bodkin or pin. This fashion is similar to that of the Chinese ladies, from whom it was probably borrowed. The other, and by far the most common mode of disposing the hair, after combing it back, is that of giving it a twist or two with the hands, and then doubling it, and passing the bight through a lock or tuft raised from the mass for that purpose on the back of the head. As an additional security, tortoise-shell combs are used, sometimes highly ornamented with gold or silver. Among the poorer classes, the hair is always kept moist by a free use of the

oil of cocoanut; while those whose circumstances will permit, make use of an aromatic oil, extracted from gum benjamin, as a very pleasant perfume. The females wear no covering on their heads, either for protection or ornament, with the exception of a modest wreath of flowers; their hair, in the language of St. Paul, being their "covering and their glory." The flowers which compose this wreath are generally white, or of a pale yellow, and are always selected when only half blown, and strung with neatness and simplicity, without the least indication of show or gaudiness.

Among the country people, and more especially in the southern districts, the young and unmarried females are distinguished by a narrow fillet, which, passing round the forehead and over the hair, is fastened at the back of the head. Among the wealthy, this fillet is generally of gold or silver, to match the zone; while the poorer classes substitute a single leaf of the *neepah*-tree. Their maiden state is also denoted by bracelets of silver or gold on the wrists. The young women in the country villages manufacture the cloth for their own *cayen-sarong*, which, with them only, reaches from the breast to the knees. Those worn by the Malay ladies nearer the coast, are of greater length, and more showy and expensive; and yet the rural maids, with their shorter dress, evince more innocent simplicity and genuine modesty, than their metropolitan neighbours.

Both sexes practise the unaccountable custom of filing, blacking, and otherwise disfiguring their teeth, especially by an inordinate use of the betele-nut. The women in the Lampoon district actually file their teeth nearly down even with the gums; and never seem to be satisfied while a single natural beauty is retained in their mouths; thus evincing the greatest ingratitude to nature, from whom they each originally derived two beautiful rows of pearls, set in coral arches of the brightest red. Their teeth naturally are regularly set, and of the most exquisite whiteness.

Having thus very cursorily touched upon the geographical location and geological features of the Island of Sumatra, together with its climate, winds, mountains, rivers, lakes, soil, minerals, and inhabitants, including a brief description of the persons and dress of the latter, we shall now proceed to drop a few words on their villages, buildings, and domestic arts.

It has been justly observed, that in proportion as the arts in use with any people are connected with the primary demands of nature, they carry the greater likelihood of originality; because those demands must have been administered to from a period coeval with the existence of the people themselves.

The arts of a primitive people, like their wants, are generally few, confined principally to the protection and sustenance of the mere animal body—to the construction of such abodes as are required to defend them from the inclemencies of the elements, and external assaults of every description, and to the numerous ingenious expedients for procuring food, as climate or circumstances may require it to be sought, either from the plain or the forest, the mountain or the seashore. Man's earliest effort is to avoid pain, and his second to procure pleasure. The two requisites just named, of shelter and sustenance, are so simple in themselves, and act so immediately on the external senses of the most wild or uncultivated of the human species, that the efforts made to supply them are little else than an instinctive obedience to the mandates of nature, as both of them are essential to the continuance of life.

In a country like Sumatra, generally rich in soil, warm in climate, and abundant in a vast variety of nourishing and delicious fruits, which grow and ripen without the labour of man, and almost drop into his mouth as he indolently stretches himself in the shade of teeming boughs, on which blossoms and maturity are promiscuously mingled,—the springs of necessity, which are the *primum mobile* of invention, soon lose their power and elasticity. As a natural consequence, the intellectual machine will perform fewer and more simple revolutions, than where a more rigorous climate, producing more complicated wants, imparts health and vigour to the body, fresh incentives to the mind, and new activities to ingenuity.

Roused to action by the rude necessities of his arctic climate, the feeble Esquimaux has invented comforts which do honour to his race. With no other materials than the frozen snow around him, he constructs a neat and commodious habitation, perfectly adapted in form and capacity to the nature of the region he inhabits. The rapidity and neatness with which he raises this edifice, and renders it impervious to the rigorous atmosphere around

it, is truly admirable. Its shape is that of a hemispherical bee-hive, and he enters it on his belly, when it affords him a similar protection to that which the vegetable kingdom receives from a covering of snow, and hence the contrivance doubtless originated. He has also invented arts and stratagems to capture the walrus and seal on the edge of the ice. The skin of the seacalf forms his swift-sailing canoe, while its carcass furnishes him with fuel and light; and he patiently works a gray porous stone into the shape of kettles and pitchers, the brims and edges of which he tastefully ornaments.

The Laplander, in obedience to similar calls of necessity, has invented methods by which he can catch the raindeer, and train it for domestic use, to convey him on distant journeys, or to supply his little dairy with luxuries. His boat-shaped sledge, in which he travels, is invented and constructed by himself, while his wife or daughter draws milk from the deer's distended udder, and converts it to butter and cheese. He has learned to make garments of its skin, and to preserve its flesh for food; to draw forth the finny tribes from the sea; and to build conical habitations of poles, with their tops united and covered with skins. He is ever active in his fishing or the chase; in attending to his raindeer, or in constructing canoes, sledges, harness, cups, bowls, &c., while his wife is equally busy in making nets, curing the fish, drying the venison, and tanning hides. The Being from whom he derived his inventive faculty, "knoweth that he hath need of all these things."

The lawless Arab of the desert, like the wild and independent Indian of the Argentine pampas, glories in the fleetness of his horse, and constructs portable habitations, well adapted to his itinerant life and habits; but it is the latter that invented the *lasso*, with which he captures wild cattle, and animals of various kinds; it is he who, far less tame himself than the snorting wild-horse which he with inimitable grace bestrides, collects, and folds, and leads to fertile pastures, the bullocks of the pampas; it is he

> "Who, like the active African, instructs
> The fiery steed and trains him to his hand."

Thus it appears, that it is the call of necessity which brings into action the intellectual and physical energies of man; and that the inhabitants of more rigorous climates make more rapid

advancements in improvement; while those within the tropics, feeling less necessity for exertion, remain much longer in their primitive state. The happy medium, as usual, lies between the two, for it needs no argument to prove that the arts and sciences have always flourished with the most vigour under the temperate zone. We may thus, in some measure, account for the fact, that the Asiatic nations, though of great antiquity, have made far less rapid advances in the arts and sciences, and every species of improvement, than modern nations in more northern latitudes, who sprang into existence, as it were, but yesterday.

This proposition will be more fully illustrated when we come to speak of the Chinese, who appear to have stuck at a certain point in the scale of improvement, above which they have not risen since the days of Confucius.

The Sumatrans, however, without being impelled by keen necessity in the construction of their habitations, have advanced many degrees beyond most other islanders in the luxurious and effeminating climate of the eastern world. Their doosoons, or villages, are generally erected on some commanding site, near a river or lake, which not only affords them facilities for bathing,—a recreation of which they are very fond, and which is required by health, as well as enjoined by the Mahometan faith; but serves also as a channel of communication for personal intercourse and the transportation of merchandise. The frames of their houses are of wood, resting on tall upright posts, sunk a few feet in the ground. The roofs are variously covered, but most generally with the leaf of the *neepah*, or palm-tree. The floor consists of bamboos, placed across in form of sleepers, which are covered with laths of the same material, each of which is about an inch in breadth, and over these is spread a carpet of mats, rendering the apartments quite comfortable, as there is no cold to be excluded. The lightness of the materials which form such an edifice, and the simplicity of its construction, are admirably adapted to a country liable to be frequently shaken to its centre by earthquakes and volcanic eruptions; being less perilous to the inhabitants than if built of clay, or even of mud. Necessity has taught them this fact; but yet, as an art or a science, the Sumatrans know nothing of architecture.

The furniture of these dwellings comprises but few articles, and

is quite plain, corresponding to the simplicity of manners which characterizes the people. In the article of bedding, they evince considerable taste. Each bed is furnished with several pillows, neatly fringed at the ends with a light substance resembling foil. For chairs and stools they have, of course, no use, as they always sit upon mats on the floor, and generally cross-legged, like the Turks. Rice is always a leading dish at their meals. In their various kinds of *curry*, the knife and spoon are generally dispensed with, and the thumb and finger substituted, which are frequently immersed in water during the repast.

Rice is a great article of consumption in all countries that lie near the equator. Like wheat in our own temperate latitudes, it is the tropical "staff of life." It is probable that not less than fifty millions of the human family depend for their sustenance almost exclusively upon this farinaceous and esculent article of food. In India, rice is called, while yet in the husk, *paddee;* but acquires a different appellation from every process through which it passes. In Sumatra and the adjacent islands, this article is distinguished by the Malays as "upland and lowland paddee," a distinction, we believe, not unknown among the rice-planters of our own country. The upland rice, being of a superior quality and more durable, always commands a higher price; while the other, or lowland, is more productive, yielding a greater return; and though not so durable, or by any means so nutricious, is yet in more general use.

The plantations, or *paddee-fields*, are often prepared with great labour, in clearing away the aquatic shrubs with which the marshes or lowlands are generally overrun; while even greater efforts are required in removing the venerable groves which have shaded the mountains for ages. The fields are sowed in September or October, about the commencement of the periodical rains. When additional moisture becomes necessary, artificial irrigation is resorted to, which is easily effected, from the numerous little streams which intersect the interior of the island in every direction. When the rice begins to blossom and form into ears, "sweet bashful pledges of delicious harvest, wafting their influence to the ripening sun," the water is carefully drained off; after which the crop rapidly advances to a state for the gatherer. In the district of Manna, and that occupied by the Battoos, the

arts of cultivation are exercised in much greater perfection than in any other parts of the island; owing probably to the greater density of population, and the consequent necessity of industry. The crops yield variously in different parts of the island, but in none are they more productive than in the interior from Quallah-Battoo.

The cocoanut, nature's most bountiful gift to her rude children throughout the tropical world, is found in all parts of Sumatra; and, in one way or another, is extensively used by the inhabitants as an article of food; though, from the great variety of other productions, it is not actually indispensable, as is the case in some islands. Oil is extracted from it for moistening the hair, and also for burning in lamps; though in the interior of the island, lights are procured from a species of turpentine called *dammar*. From this and other species of palm, is also extracted a liquor used in the manufacture of arrack; while from the head of the same tree is procured a kind of cabbage. The villages are carefully surrounded and adorned with cocoanut-trees wherever the air and soil are favourable; while in the seaport towns, where the demand is greater, the groves are proportionably larger. The soil best adapted to their growth is low and sandy, and near the seashore, where they come to maturity and bear fruit in the course of a few years.

> "Here, stretched beneath these orchards of the sun,
> Give me to drain the cocoa's milky bowl;
> And from the palm to draw its fresh'ning wine,
> More bounteous far than all the frantic juice
> Which Bacchus pours."—THOMSON.

The *betele-nut-tree*, greatly resembling in its appearance the cocoanut, is cultivated by the natives in large plantations, and is eaten with *see-see*, a creeping plant of a pleasant aromatic odour. Ginger and tobacco are raised in small quantities. The *palma-christi*, of which the best of castor-oil is made, grows here in great abundance, and without any trouble. Sugar is extracted from *anou*, a species of the palm. The natives plant a dwarf kind of mulberry for the use of the silkworm, but their silk is of an inferior quality. Sugarcane is cultivated, though not to any great extent, and is chewed as a delicacy. They plant yams

of various kinds, to the culture of which the soil is well adapted; likewise sweet potatoes and pulse, a species of French bean, as well as the egg-plant, probably introduced from China, all of which are much used for food. Maize is planted, and much eaten while green, but not relied on as an essential article of subsistence. The indigo, *taroom*, found on all their plantations, is used as a die-stuff; but is not in general prepared in solid pieces as we see in the southern ceroons. Diewoods of various kinds, some of which are very valuable, are found on the island, with the virtues and qualities of which the natives appear to be well acquainted.

No portion of the globe can probably boast of so many indigenous fruits as the Malay islands. Here nature, in liberal profusion, has poured forth her most delicious productions. The *mangusteen*—how shall we describe it? The pride and boast of India! Where shall we find language that will convey to those who never tasted it, an idea of its inexpressible delicacy;—unlike, as it is unequalled by, any fruit in the world. It is a *drupe*, consisting of a soft, succulent, and thick rind, encompassing kernels, which are covered with a juicy and perfectly white substance, that dissolves in the mouth. It is so innocent in its effects, that it may be partaken in any quantity, without danger.

There is another fruit, called the *doosean*, of which the natives are extremely fond, and subsist on it almost entirely during its season. This is a rich fruit, grows on high trees, and not pleasant, either in flavour or odour, to those who are unaccustomed to it. Besides those already mentioned, and various other fruits found on the vine, the shrub, or the trees of the forest, there are mangoes, Indian figs, bananas, pineapples, oranges, limes, and lemons, in abundance; also, pomegranates, melons, watermelons, tamarinds, and grapes, though in limited extent; the latter grow wild, and are scarcely cultivated at all.

But prolific nature has by no means exhausted all her energies on the vegetable kingdom in Sumatra. The island not only abounds with plants, flowers, fruits, and gigantic forests, but also in beasts, birds, reptiles, and insects; which, though extremely numerous, being similar to those found in other portions of India, can receive but a partial notice at our hand. Those of most note are the following, distinguished by their native and foreign

names:—horse, *coodó;* small, well made, and hardy; cow, *sappee;* small breed; sheep, *beeree-beeree;* small, probably introduced from Bengal; goat, *cambing;* goat of the woods, *cambing-ootan;* resembling the gazelle; hog, *babee;* Chinese breed; dog, *angin;* cat, *cochin;* rat, *teecoose;* elephant, *gaja;* rhinoceros, *buddah;* hippopotamus, *coodoo-ayer;* tiger, *reemow,* or *machang;* very ferocious and destructive to human life; bear, *broorong* (Latin, *bruin*); otter, *angin-ayer;* sloth, *telleggo;* porcupine, *landa;* armadillo, *tangeeling;* very rare, and much esteemed by the natives; deer, *rooso-keejang;* many species, some of which are very large; monkey, *moonia;* prodigious variety, squirrel, *toopye;* bat, *boorong-tecoose,* &c. &c.

The buffalo, though obstinate, dull, and capricious, is still subdued to the yoke, and performs with great patience all the domestic labours of the Sumatrans, and constitutes a great part of their food. There are two species, the black and the white, and both are domesticated. The forests abound with elephants, which sometimes commit great depredations on the plantations of the natives.

The birds are very numerous, and of great variety in their plumage. We cannot even attempt to name even the few that have been described. It is here that the famous Sumatran, or Argos pheasant is found; a specimen of which, we presume, is not contained in any of our public collections. The natives call it the *coo-ow.* It is a bird of uncommon beauty; perhaps the most delicately rich, without any gaudiness, of all the feathered tribe. Like the quail of our own country, it cannot be domesticated, and seldom lives more than a month when deprived of its liberty. It is said to have a great antipathy to light; but when kept in a moderate degree of darkness, it is more cheerful, and then sometimes makes use of the notes from which its name is derived, *coo-ow, coo-ow,* in a plaintive style, and not harsh like the peacock's. There are many species of the stork, some of which are very large; and parrots are without number. Doves are also numerous, and the domestic fowl is found in great perfection, far surpassing in size and flavour their puny descendants in any other part of the world.

Of all the productions of the island, regarded as articles of commerce, their pepper has held, and deservedly too, the

first rank; and has added not a little to the value of our commercial intercourse with the natives of the Malay coast. Every effort has been secretly made by the East India Companies of Europe, to get this valuable trade into their own exclusive power. It was for the monopoly of this single article that the Dutch maintained so long, and at so great a sacrifice of human life, their factory at the productive but sickly port of Padang, on the west coast of Sumatra, about fifty miles south of the equator, grasping at the whole traffic on that coast. Actuated by a similar policy, the British East India Company exerted their whole strength, and finally succeeded in getting the ascendency; so that in the year 1774, a short time before her American colonies declared their independence, their exports of pepper alone, from the west coast of Sumatra, amounted to no less than twelve hundred tons per annum. It is not our present purpose, however, to go into the statistics of this valuable trade; but rather to show the natural capacities of the island, and the articles of commerce which are indigenous to the soil. It may not be improper, however, to add, that Padang has been alternately in the possession of the English and Dutch several times; but finally surrendered to the latter in 1814. In 1797, while in possession of the British, it was almost totally destroyed by an earthquake, when upwards of three hundred lives were lost.

The pepper grows on a vine, or creeping plant, with a ligneous stalk, and leaves of a dark green, heart-shaped, pointed, and not poignant to the taste, and having little or no smell. The blossom is small and white, and the fruit hangs in bunches, or clusters, resembling those of the currant-tree, but larger and less pliant. It is from four to five months in coming to maturity. The berries are at first green, and gradually become a bright red when ripe, and soon fall off if not gathered. All the bunches on the stems do not become ripe at the same time, and the natives frequently go through their little farms with small baskets, plucking off each bunch as they become ripe. When gathered, it is spread out on mats, or clean places, to dry. That which has been gathered at a proper age will shrink least; while those skilled in the trade will readily distinguish that which has been plucked prematurely, by rubbing it in the hand, when it will impart much dust, and even crumble to pieces.

The pepper vine runs up on poles, like our beanpoles, previously planted for that purpose, six feet apart, as our farmers plant their Indian corn. The culture of one thousand such plants is occupation sufficient for a man and his wife; while five hundred is the amount allotted to a single person. But these allotments carry us back to times when the natives were more severely dealt by than they are at present; when grasping monopolies laid heavy exactions on the petty chiefs, who in their turn tyrannised over their harmless and unresisting subjects.

There are said to be three species of pepper, and known in different sections of the country by different names. That which is raised in the Rajang district, is called *lado cawoor;* is strong, bears a large leaf and fruit, and is slow in coming to perfection. The leaf and fruit of the *lado manna* are smaller, but the vine bears sooner, and in much greater quantities. The *Jambee* is small in leaf and fruit, and has long since fallen into disrepute. It is probable that the different qualities of the soil have an agency in producing these varieties.

The pepper season, as well as the ripening of other fruits in Sumatra, are liable to great irregularities from the uncertainty of the monsoons, which are not always so exactly periodical as they are in some other parts of India. In ordinary seasons, the pepper vine produces two crops in the year. The first is a large one, called *poopool-augoong*, about the month of September, when the sun is crossing the equator, in his declination towards the south; the other, called the lesser or half crop, *booalello*, in the month of March, when the sun is returning across the equator, towards the north. For on every spot between the tropics, the sun is vertical twice in each year, so that each experiences a double season. In the beautiful language of Thomson—

> "Great are the scenes, with dreadful beauty crowned,
> And barbarous wealth, that see each circling year
> Returning suns and double seasons pass."

These different crops are generally brought from the interior to the seashores by rafts of bamboo or other timber, floated on the current of rapid streams.

Among the indigenous productions of the island is the *camphire-tree*, producing a gum, or resin, so celebrated and valuable

as an article of commerce. Camphire was long known and appreciated by the Arabians before a European flag had been unfolded in the eastern seas. The camphire-tree is found only on the southern parts of the island; it grows without culture, and sometimes attains to an immense magnitude, measuring no less than fifteen feet in circumference. The wood of this tree is highly esteemed for many purposes, particularly by the trunk-makers, as the camphorated odour of the wood prevents the inroads of moths and other insects. From the interstices of the timber, when split open, the camphire is often taken in a dry concrete state; while there is another tree, of a different species, which produces it in a liquid form. The camphire of this island has always commanded a high price, but is seldom met with in our country in an unadulterated state. A great portion of that which is brought from India is, we believe, procured at Japan, of an inferior quality, being from a tree which abounds in all parts of that country, and known to naturalists by the name of *laurus camphora*. The camphire-oil, or rather liquid, as it is destitute of every oleaginous quality, is highly esteemed as a medicine by the natives, who use it as we do, for strains, swellings, and inflammations; its extreme subtilty rendering it very penetrating to whatever part applied. It is not manufactured, nor does it undergo any preparation; but is distilled as a volatile resin, from a species of the camphire-tree.

Benjamin, or *benzoin—caminyan*—is also found in Sumatra, on the more northern parts of the island. It is generally denominated a gum, although from its ready solubility in alcohol, it is more properly a resin. The tree is small, and not suitable for mechanical purposes. In some parts near the seacoast, the natives have been in the habit of cultivating large groves of it, its growth being rapid, and affording a quick return for their labour. Much of this odoriferous resin is used in Catholic countries, where it is burnt as incense in their religious ceremonies. It is also used, we believe, in medicine; and the ladies of wealth in Sumatra anoint their heads with a fragrant oil extracted from it.

Cassia—*covleet-manees*. This species of cinnamon is found in the interior of the island, and is mostly procured in those districts which lie inland from *Tappanooly;* it abounds also in *Moosee*, the country where the Palembang river takes its rise. The trees grow to the height of forty or fifty feet, with wide-

spreading, horizontal branches, reaching nearly to the ground. No pains are taken in cultivating it by the natives, or the sale of its bark might be turned to good account.

In addition to the productions already enumerated, there are—rattans, cotton, betele-nut, coffee, turpentine, gums, &c.; while the forests abound with a great variety of valuable woods, such as ebony, pine, sandal, eagle or aloes, teak, manchineel, iron-wood, and the far-famed *banyan-tree*—more properly named by the Portuguese, *arbor de raiis*, and by the Malays, *jawee-jawee*. This tree, as is well known, possesses the singular property of dropping fibres from such parts of its boughs as incline to the earth, which take root, and become new stems or trunks. It thus goes on increasing, until one has been known to measure in circumference upwards of one thousand feet—to cast a shade at noon of more than eleven hundred feet—and to afford abundant shelter for a troop of horse. We have seen an account of one of these trees, which waved its boughs at the height of two hundred feet; rising from, or rather resting on, roots, if they may be so called, occupying at least one hundred feet, forming, by the close and singular combination, the appearance of a venerated Gothic pillar. It stood near the plains of *Crocup;* and, like other monuments of antiquity, has had its period of existence, and has long since been no more!

Besides the many articles of commerce afforded by the varied vegetable kingdom of Sumatra, there are productions appertaining to another kingdom which claim to be enumerated among the riches of this island. We have already, in a previous part of this article, very briefly alluded to the various metals which are found blended with, or lying beneath, the soil. Gold abounds in some parts of the island, but principally in the centre; south of the Leemoon, a branch of the Jambi river, and to the north of Nalohoo, from whence Acheen is principally supplied. It was the vicinity of these treasures which probably, in the first instance, induced the Dutch to establish themselves at Padang. The Malays are the only class of inhabitants who make a business of procuring the precious metal, either from the beds of rivers, mingled with the sand, or sometimes by loosening the adjacent banks. In a few instances they have attempted digging; but their excavations have never extended deep. The metal is pro-

cured in a malleable state, and seldom undergoes any process of refining to purify it for the market, where opium and fine goods are expected in return. Mines of copper and tin, as before stated, abound in the island and its neighbour Banca, where it is said to have been accidentally discovered by the burning of a house in 1710, and was long worked by a colony of Chinese, under the control of the Dutch, at Palembang, who grasped at the whole trade. We have already stated that the island of Banca was ceded to the British by the Sultan of Palembang, in the year 1812; Billeton Isle, which lies about sixty miles east of Banca, was ceded at the same time. This last named island, which is almost a perfect quadrangle, with a coast facing the four cardinal points of the horizon, is about fifty miles in extent each way, and has long been celebrated for producing the fine steel of which the Malays manufacture their arms. Banca had, for many years, been the resort of a numerous horde of pirates, who acted under the immediate protection of the sultan and court of Palembang. Minto, the capital of the island, is situated near the sea, towards the west, at the foot of the mountain called Menophin. There is anchorage in from six to twelve fathoms; a sandy point at the northwest affording shelter to ships from the boisterous waves which roll into the straits from the Java Sea, as well as from the northwest winds, which often blow very hard along the coast of Sumatra during the monsoons. At the pacification of Europe in 1814, Banca was again ceded to the Dutch by treaty.

We have thus taken a hasty and excursive view of the Island of Sumatra, and trust that the reader has accompanied us. We have seen the capacities of its soil, and the varied richness of its vegetable and animal kingdom. How rich, in point of external appearance and grandeur, is the inheritance of the Malay! In the soft and rich teints of its mountains, the velvet covering of its hills,—its wild cascades, placid lakes, rapid streams,—Sumatra may challenge comparison with the world! Why has nature been so extravagant? Why bestow in many parts where human footsteps seldom tread, all that is sublime—all that is beautiful—all that is calculated to elevate the mind which is susceptible of noble impressions!

Is it solely for the Malay, the living Ishmaelite of the world, that prolific nature has been thus bountiful? The Malay—

treacherous, cruel, and vindictive as he is—fierce and unrelenting as the tiger of his own mountains, by which he is often destroyed, —is still a being entitled to the sympathy and compassion of the civilized world; and we cannot but pity his condition, even when his vices demand a measure of punishment at our hands. How black and damning would be the page containing an account of his wrongs from boasted Christians, since the year 1510, when Albuquerque landed on his shores. For three centuries, what has been the history of Europeans trading on his coast, under the direction of heartless, grasping monopolies, but a record of oppressions, cruel exactions, and abominable injustice! To the honour of the British name, though her track in the east has, in all directions, been stained with blood, she has ever shown more humanity than either of her former powerful competitors; whose every thought, impulse, and action, appear to have been concentrated in one festering canker—insatiable avarice!

But we leave this picture to be resumed in another place; and from the leafy groves, rich plains, and varied productions, shall attempt a more close analysis of the Malay himself; and trust that the reader will find something to repay him for his trouble in turning our pages.

CHAPTER X.

The Malays of Sumatra—Difficulty of delineating their Character—Their Language, Poetry, &c.—Five different Languages spoken in Sumatra—Malay Duplicity—Effects of their intercourse with Foreigners—Conscious Inferiority—Erroneous Policy formerly exercised towards them—Favourable Traits in their Character—The Rejangs—Their Laws, Customs, and Political Regulations—Their judicial Proceedings—Manner of taking an Oath—Rights of Inheritance, &c.—Their secret Hoards—Security for Debts—Punishment for Theft and Murder—Courtship, Marriage, and Divorces—Cock-fighting—Use of the Betele-nut—Tobacco—Early Maturity of Females—Funeral Obsequies—Religious and superstitious Notions—The Lampoons—Their Hospitality.

AGREEABLY to our promise made in the conclusion of the last chapter, we now proceed to a closer analysis of the character of the inhabitants of Sumatra. This is not a very easy task to perform, as we find in many places but little indigenous among them. There is also some difficulty in adopting a standard with which to compare them, divided, as they are, into numerous tribes, and presenting, as they do, at each step, in the same tribe, so many lights and shades, vices mingled with some virtues, forming an endless chain of perplexing contradictions.

Perhaps the standard adopted by Le Poivre, Robinson, Richardson, and other writers of reputed learning, is the best that can be given. They agree in assigning to nations various grades; giving to Greece and Rome, in the days of their ancient splendour, the first rank, with which may now be classed England, France, some of the other nations of Europe, and the United States. The second will include the Asiatic empires and Turks, in the days of their dominion, magnificence, and grandeur; while in the third, fourth, and fifth classes, as they are distinguished by the degree of perfection of their agriculture, progress in the arts, science of numbers, and use of abstract terms, may be classed the Sumatrans, in common with the Holoans, and other states of the eastern Archipelago; the nations on the northern coast of Africa; Mexicans and Peruvians before the conquest; together with the Carribs, New-Hollanders, Laplanders, and Hottentots. Possessing shades of character in common with all these will be

found the Sumatrans, and we leave the reader to make his own distinctions, and form his own comparisons, as we proceed.

The Malay language, long and justly celebrated for its smoothness and softness, like the Malays themselves, has partially extended itself over the whole island; at least, there are few parts of the island where it is not understood by some, while in other districts it forms the *lingua franca* of all classes.

They devote many of their leisure hours to singing extemporaneous sonnets, which are more remarkable for sententious qualities than truly poetic spirit, if the following may be considered a fair sample:—

"Apo goono passang paleeto,
Callo teedah dangan soomboonia?
Apo goono bermine matto,
Callo teeda dangan soongoonia?"

"What signifies attempting to light a lamp,
If the wick be wanting?
What signifies making love with the eyes,
If nothing in earnest be intended?"

A wickless lamp can show no flame,
To light it baffles human art;
Then why should lying eyes proclaim
A love, that dwells not in the heart?

The city of Palembang, so long the emporium of the inland commerce of the island, is the point which has always been considered as taking the lead, and fixing the court etiquette among the Malay princes, and the language spoken there as the standard of the Malay tongue. In writing, the Arabic characters are used, introduced at the time of the dissemination of the Mahometan religion. They have paper and ink of their own composition, and write with the pen of the anou-tree. We believe it has never been ascertained that even the Malays of the Peninsula of Malacca had any original written language peculiar to themselves, previous to the country being overrun by Mussulmen during the thirteenth century.

There are several languages, however, besides the Malay, spoken on the island, especially in the interior. And what appears to be most remarkable is, that two tribes, the Battas and Rejangs,

both possessing equal and undisputed claims of being the original inhabitants, not only speak languages different from each other, but employ characters essentially different. All this has occurred among tribes residing but a comparatively short distance apart, and bearing unquestionable evidence of having descended from the same original stock. The language of the Lampoons bears a close affinity to that spoken by the Rejangs, while the Achenese, using the Arabic characters in considerable purity, has less claim to originality.

The inner bark of a tree, or pieces of bamboo, split and shaped for the purpose, serve as tablets for the preservation of their records. In writing, they move the hand and form the line from left to right, as we do; while the Malays and Arabs practise the contrary. In harmony, these languages are far inferior to the Malay, as will be seen by the following table from Marsden, which we introduce for the gratification of the curious.

SPECIMENS OF LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN SUMATRA.

	Malay.	*Acheen.*	*Batta.*	*Rejang.*	*Lampoon.*
One,	Satoo,	Sah,	Sadah,	Do,	Sye.
Two,	Duo,	Dua,	Duo,	Dooy,	Rowah.
Three,	Teego,	Tloo,	Toloo,	Tellou,	Tulloo.
Four,	Ampat,	Paat,	Opat,	'Mpat,	Ampah.
Five,	Leemo,	Leemung,	Leemah,	Lemo,	Leemah.
Six,	Anam,	'Nam,	Onam,	Noom,	Annam.
Seven,	'Toojoo,	Toojoo,	Paitoo,	Toojooa,	Peetoo.
Eight,	Slappan,	D'lappan,	Ooalloo,	Delapoon,	Ooalloo.
Nine,	Sambilan,	Sakoorang,	Seeah,	Sembilan,	Seewah.
Ten,	Sapooloo,	Saploo,	Sapooloo,	Depooloo,	Pooloo.
Husband,	Lackee,	Lackaye,	Morah,	Lackye,	Cadjoon.
Wife,	Beenee,	Beenaye,	Aboo,	Sooma,	Cadjoon.
Father,	Bapa,	Bah,	Ammah,	Bapa,	Bapa.
Mother,	Mau,	Mau,	Enang,	Indo,	Eenah.
Head,	Capallo,	Oolou,	Ooloo,	Oolou,	Oolooh.
Eyes,	Matto,	Matta,	Mahtah,	Matty,	Mattah.
Nose,	Eedong,	Eedoon,	Aygong,	Eeoong,	Eerong.
Hair,	Ramboot,	Oh,	Oboo,	Boo,	Booho.
Teeth,	Geeggee,	Geguy,	Ningee,	Aypen,	Eepan.
Hand,	Tangan,	Jarrooay,	Tangan,	Tangoon,	Chooloo.
Day,	Haree,	Ooraye,	Torang-haree,	Beely-looeng,	Rannee.
Night,	Mallam,	Mallam,	Borgning,	B.-calemmoon,	Beenghee.
White,	Pootee,	Pootee,	Nabottar,	Pooteah,	Mandack.
Black,	Etam,	Hetam,	Nabeerong,	Meloo,	Malloom.
Good,	Baye,	Gaet,	Dengan,	Baye,	Buttie.
Die,	Mattee,	Mattay,	Mahtay,	Mattoee,	Jahal.

	Malay.	*Acheen.*	*Batta.*	*Rejang.*	*Lampoon.*
Fire,	Appee,	Appooy,	Ahpee,	Opoay,	Aphooy.
Water,	Ayer,	Eer,	Ayck,	Beole,	Wye.
Earth,	Tana,	Tano,	Tana,	Peeta,	Tanno.
Cocoanut,	Clappo,	Oo,	Crambee,	Neole,	Clappah.
Rice,	Bras,	Breeagh,	Dahano,	Blas,	B'eeas.
Fish,	Eecun,	Incoor,	Dakkay,	'Conn,	Ewah.
Hog,	Babee,	Booy,	Babee,	Sooeetemba,	Babooye.
Sun,	Matto-haree,	Mattowraye,	Mahtah-haree,	Matty-beely,	Mata-rannee.
Moon,	Boolan,	Booloon,	Boolan,	Booloon,	Boolan.
I,	Ambo-Sayo,	Ooloon,	Apoo,	Ookoo,	Gniah.
God,	Allah-tallah,	Allah,	Daibattah,	Oola-tallo,	Alla-talla.

In personal appearance, the Malays do not differ so much from the other and original inhabitants of the island, as in the qualities of their minds. They possess the semblance of more pride, but it is not that laudable pride which restrains from the commission of dishonourable and mean acts. Under the most subdued and studied composure of countenance, with cunning and plausible duplicity, they will dissemble the most violent passions and inveterate hatred, until a favourable moment of wreaking their vengeance on the object of their dislike shall arrive. *Veracity*, gratitude, and integrity, cannot be said to belong to the list of their virtues, while sentiments of honour and infamy, as a general remark, are scarcely distinguishable among them. In courage, a thousand examples of desperate conflicts with the Portuguese, Dutch, and English, to say nothing of the recent combat at Quallah-Battoo, might be adduced to show they are not wanting. But it is generally the effect of momentary enthusiasm, rather than that cool and deliberate bravery which bears up under reverses, and is at all times superior to misfortune.

Indeed, the *tout ensemble* of their character seems strongly marked by degeneracy, and they give but little promise of any immediate improvement. The influence of the age has effected them but little, nor have they gained much by three hundred years' communion with the Christian world. This is not to be wondered at. That intercourse has not been of a character to do them good. In point of example, they have too often witnessed licentiousness in the foreign establishments on their shores; pleasures of the table, excessive use of wine, boisterous mirth, and puerile amusements. These things could not pass before their eyes without exciting contemptuous animadversions.

They have seen foreign manufactures brought ready for their use, in exchange for the productions of their soil, but they have not witnessed the process by which these articles were made. How, then, could they improve by their intercourse with the boasted Christianizers of the heathen world? They feel, and often acknowledge, their inferiority. It is mentioned by Marsden, that a native had been heard to exclaim, after contemplating the structure and use of a house clock, "Is it not fitting that such as we should be slaves to people who have the ingenuity to invent, and the skill to construct, so wonderful a machine as this?"—"The sun," he added, "is a machine of this nature."—"But who winds it up?" said his companion. "Who but Allah?" replied he.

It is to be hoped, however, that the more humane and liberal spirit which so happily begins to mark the intercourse of Christian nations in their commercial transactions with the east, will ultimately produce happier results upon the moral condition of its inhabitants. The period of subjugation, of dethroning and setting up sultans, as the sordid interests of heartless and almost irresponsible companies may require, it is hoped, is drawing rapidly to a close. England, with her immense wealth and extended influence, has an awful responsibility in this great work; the independent and probing spirit which has marked her recent parliamentary proceedings and investigations into the abuses and condition of her East India Company concerns, promises much that is favourable in coming time: while the noble and really true commercial spirit of our own country, carrying on trade to all parts of the world, without caring for or wanting possessions in foreign soil, is destined to have its full share of influence; and may, if properly looked to by our government, be turned greatly to our advantage, as it has already, in many places, attracted the attention of the natives, and rendered them friendly disposed towards us.

But this is a digression, and we return to the native inhabitants of the island, who, from long intercourse with the Malays, appear to have imbibed many of their vices; so that the virtues they still retain are rather negative in character. They are mild, peaceable, and forbearing, except when roused by some sudden and violent provocation, when they too can show a full share of implacability in their resentments. They are temperate and

sober, living principally on vegetables, while their only beverage is water, taken in cocoanut-shells from the limpid stream; and though they will kill a fowl or a goat for a stranger, whom perhaps they never saw before, nor ever expect to see again, they are seldom known to indulge in such luxuries themselves; not even at their festivals, where the entertainment is prepared with meats in abundance, are they known to indulge to excess. In manners they are simple, in apprehension quick, and by no means wanting in sagacity. Their women are modest, and evince a good share of sensibility. In deportment they are grave, and always courteous and guarded in their expressions. This is the bright side of the picture. On the other side are represented litigations, indolence, incorrigible gambling, dishonesty in their dealings with strangers—deemed among them no moral defect—suspiciousness, want of regard for truth, meanness in their transactions, and improvidence of the future. The latter can scarcely be charged as a crime to them, for the climate in a great measure has made them improvident, as it makes all people, more or less, when nature, with wonderful facility, supplies all that is essential to existence.

South of Indrapoor, once the seat of a considerable monarchy in the southern portion of the island, is the country of the Rejangs, who live in villages, or *doosoons*, each under the government of a magistrate called *dupatty;* while the chief, who presides over and governs all, is called *pangeran.* But among a people without arts, without industry, and above all, without property, the authority of the prince must be limited, and his government founded on opinion, and the obedience and submission of his subjects voluntary. So it is with the Rejangs; so it has ever been with primitive man; and so it is with other governments throughout the island. Where the natives have been subjugated by foreign powers, held by the spirit of conquest long in subjection, the feudal maxims may be seen to prevail; while those who have occupied remote situations, from disposition, or no matter from what cause, have remained undisturbed and unaffected by the various changes which have been going on around them: there may still be seen the rules, the simplicity, of patriarchal life.

In appointing the heads of the *doosoons*, the *pangeran* does little else than confirm the nominations of the people themselves. The

line of descent is hereditary from father to son; though in case of minority, or other defect, a brother or near relation may take upon himself the supreme authority, not as regent, for the minor, if there be one, can only come in at the next vacancy.

Until about one hundred and fifty years ago, the southern part of Sumatra, including the Rejang country, and as far north as the river Oori, was dependant on the King of Bantam, and annually received a commissioner from him to superintend the collection of revenue and confirm the deputed authority. In the districts bordering on the coasts, extensive pepper plantations were formerly cultivated, and it was these people who acted so enthusiastically and bravely in expelling the English from Fort Marlborough in the year seventeen hundred and nineteen.

Custom, among the Rejangs, constitutes the supreme law of the land, the authority consulted on all occasions in the settlement of their disputes, and from which none claim exemption. Indeed, there has been discovered no word among any of the native languages on the island, which may be said properly to signify law; nor are there any individuals among them regularly clothed with legislative powers. The chiefs, when pronouncing their sentences in the most important cases, accompany their verdict with the expression, "such is the custom." When a new case arises, for the decision of which there appears to be no precedent, great formality and deliberation are observed in coming to a conclusion. The *pangeran* himself cannot decide the question; he must consult the *proatteens*, or inferior chiefs, who, upon their part, frequently ask time to reflect and to consult with the inhabitants of the *doosoons;* but when a point has thus been deliberately considered and acted on, it takes rank with the customs which have been handed down from time immemorial, and its authority cannot be called in question.

On these principles, at certain appointed times, the chiefs of the district assemble together and form a sort of court for hearing and deciding on all disputed questions brought before them.

Their customs, which may be said to constitute their common law, under another name, after having been long preserved and handed down from one generation to another, were, during the last century, formed into a written code, as it appears, at the instance

of the British resident residing in their country, and exercising no small degree of influence over them.

In the prosecution of all suits under these rules, the plaintiff and defendant are allowed to make their own statements before the chiefs of the *doosoons*, or they may employ a *proatteen*, or any other person to appear for them, which in their language is called "*pinjam mooloot*, to borrow a mouth." Their rules of evidence are peculiar to themselves, as they do not admit testimony on both sides of any disputed point. He who brings a suit against another, is asked in the commencement by whom he intends to prove his allegation. His witness must not be his relation; he must not be a party concerned; and, in some instances, he must not even reside in the same village. The point to which he is expected to give testimony is then mentioned to him, when, if he confirm the statement, the question at issue is established.

Their oaths are appeals to superior powers, to whom alone they are answerable; a false swearer not being amenable to punishment by the usages of the Rejangs. A general and deeply pervading sentiment, however, prevails, that the unseen powers punish the perjured, either in person, in his children, or in his great-grandchildren. Nor has this superstitious belief been slow to record many instances, when the most direful judgments have fallen upon the person or family of the false swearer. They are solemn, superstitious, and gravely ceremonious in their forms of administering an oath; often visiting the graves of their ancestors, for the sake of greater solemnity. This only takes place far in the interior; while along the coast, the Malay customs and Koran prevail. They sometimes swear by placing their hands upon the earth, and wishing it may never again bring forth nourishment to them if they bear false witness. Sometimes they lay their hands upon bullets, krisses, gun-barrels, &c.; these being instruments of destruction. It is then the Rejang, who trembles with fear at the idea of the harm he may receive from an invisible power, in which he believes, without having any just conception of his own immortality, is restrained from the crime of bearing false witness against his neighbour. "For when the gentiles, who have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law; these having not the law, are a law unto themselves."

On the death of a Rejang, his male children inherit his property

in equal shares; the widow and daughters being dependant on the sons. In these divisions, the paternal residence, as a general rule, falls to the lot of the eldest: the exception is, when a younger member of the family is more talented or worthy, he may take precedence of the elder, and succeed to the patrimony of the *doosoon*.

For a long time, the custom has prevailed among them of setting apart a portion of their money to be deposited in some secret place, known to themselves only. To this hidden treasure they are accustomed to look for consolation, when overtaken by any unforeseen misfortune. This is probably a borrowed custom, as it is practised by the Malays at the present time, along the whole pepper coast. Whatever may be the motive, or its origin among the Rejangs, it is not adopted by the Malays from motives of prudential foresight, but from a feeling of universal distrust, as well of each other as of strangers. A Malay, generally speaking, has confidence neither in his father nor his mother; nor is his wife intrusted with his confidence, for his money is usually buried where no one can approach the spot but himself. Almost every Malay, therefore, on his deathbed, has some important secret to impart to his family or his immediate friends: when sudden death overtakes him, the treasure is irredeemably lost.

A person unwilling to be answerable for the debts or actions of his son, or other relations under his charge, may outlaw him, by which, from that period, all family connexion is relinquished, and he is no longer responsible for his conduct. All debts, however, must be paid up to the period when the individual is outlawed.

The Saxons had a custom very similar to this among them, but it related more particularly to the murderer. The family became exempt from feuds when they abandoned the culprit to his fate, binding themselves neither to hold communion with him, nor afford him assistance.

In order to convict, in all cases of theft, the article stolen must either be found on the thief, or he must be taken in the act. The punishment is, to pay double the value of the goods stolen, a fine of twenty dollars, and a buffalo; for smaller offences, a fine of five dollars and a goat.

If any person shall pass the night in the house of another, and leave it in the morning before daybreak without giving notice to

the family, he shall be held responsible for whatever may be lost during the night: but if he commit any thing in keeping to the care of his host, then, if his effects be lost, he must be made good. When the owner and his guest both lose property, then they shall make oath to each other of their mutual innocence. As stated before, where the Mahometan religion prevails, the Koran is used for administering oaths.

Among the Rejangs, murder, the greatest of all crimes, may be expiated by the payment of a fine; the amount is not proportioned in any case to the rank and condition of the murderer, but according to the importance of the person whose life has been sacrificed. The value of mens' lives, therefore, is not esteemed equal. If a murderer have not property sufficient to pay the fine imposed on him by the authorities, then his nearest family relations are held responsible, and even the village where he lives, or he may be sold as a slave.

In this, as in many other respects, there is a striking resemblance between their customs and those of the Araucanian Indians of South America. We once travelled twenty leagues in company with a cacique, or chief, who was on his journey to receive a number of horses and cattle from a distant settlement, where one of his relatives had been murdered; and the atonement, in this instance, had been assumed by the family of the murderer, who was himself too poor to pay. It does not appear, therefore, from the spirit of their customs, that fines are imposed so much for the punishment of the guilty, as for an atonement or compensation to the family of the deceased. This is confirmed by the fact, that they make no distinction between wilful murder and manslaughter: the loss to the living being the same, the fines are equal.

This custom comes down by tradition from a remote period, beyond the introduction of Mahometanism upon the island. Among our Saxon ancestors, and northern nations, a compensation was admitted for murder: it is the "*eric* of Ireland, and the *aponai* of the Greeks." Among the Rejangs, corporeal punishments are rare, and confinement in chains unknown; the dangerous persons are sometimes enclosed in small houses prepared for the purpose, or, in their own significant language, "We pen him up as we would a bear." The right of holding persons in slavery

is admitted, though not much practised, except by the Malays along the coast.

As respects courtship and marriage, the Rejangs have several curious observances not undeserving of notice. They practise but little ceremony in their courtships; their characters and manners do not admit of it. The lover and his mistress are carefully kept separated as soon as the old folks have an inkling that there is such a thing in agitation. Indeed, the fair one is seldom permitted to leave the shelter of her mother's wing.

The young Rejangs, however, are not to be considered as wanting in gallantry; for it is said that they often evince a degree of delicacy towards the sex which might, perhaps, be emulated with advantage by people of higher pretensions to refinement. This trait, however, must not be considered as applicable to every individual. Months and years are not wasted in wooing a coy and fickle fair one. He does not assail her with a volley of darts, flames, and raptures. When he has selected a female as the object of his choice, he knows exactly what she is to cost him; not in sighs and tears, and doubts and fears, but in good hard cash, the amount of which is probably all he is worth in the world, and which, once paid, places the obligation in his favour.

The principal intercourse of the young people takes place at their dances, festivals, and other amusements, where they are not backward in making their own selections; for old maids and old bachelors are by no means so plenty in Sumatra as catamounts and tigers. As soon as his choice is fixed, the lover, or *boojong*, employs an old woman to communicate his sentiments to the mistress of his affections, or *gaddees*, whose parents then take the affair into their own hands, and if no obstacle intervene, bring it to a final consummation.

There are several modes of marriage practised among them. The *joojoor* is a fixed sum of money paid down by the man to the father as a compensation for his daughter. In a marriage of this sort, the relation which is established between the husband and wife can differ but little from that which exists between a master and his slave. The relation may be one of great kindness; but if so, it must be from condescension on the one part, and not from equality of the parties. By leaving a part of the price unpaid, which is generally done from a sense of delicacy,

though it be only five dollars, the relationship is still preserved between the families, and the parents of the female can interfere in her behalf in case of ill treatment. But if from any cause the balance be finally paid, then the right of the husband becomes absolute, and the woman is to all intents and purposes his slave; when her power to claim a divorce ceases, and she may be disposed of at the will of her husband; provided, that in all instances the offer be first made to her relations.

It very often happens, however, as before stated, that marriages take place without the whole of the money being paid down; and that years are allowed to roll on without any demand being made. The debt, however, is deemed sacred, and can never be outlawed by time, and is sometimes collected by the second and third generations.

There is a form of marriage called *sebage*, in which exchanges are made; the daughter of one neighbour for the son of another; and a brother will give a sister in exchange for a wife for himself. The prices paid vary often according to contract; though when suits arise, and the amount has to be fixed by law, or the decisions of the authorities, the sum of one hundred and twenty dollars is always awarded.

So completely is the marriage contract a matter of commercial arrangement among these people, that it not unfrequently occurs that friends and neighbours borrow a girl from each other to effect some matrimonial arrangement, binding themselves at the same time to return another in her place when needed, or to pay the joojoor when required. If the parents or relations of a youth go to the parents of a girl to make a contract, the sum of six dollars is usually paid as an earnest of the compact; after which, the girl cannot be disposed of to another without incurring upon the parents a fine for failing to comply with the first agreement. This fine, however, is often incurred; for while the old people are arranging their family affairs in reference to the approaching nuptials between their children, miss takes it into her head to love some other youth, and very naughtily determines to form a match of her own choice by eloping with her favourite swain; and the law, breathing a spirit of indulgence and humanity, sanctions the act.

By the Mosaic law, if a man left a widow without children,

his brother was to marry her with or without children—so among the Rejangs and Malays, a brother or near relation marries the widow, and assumes all the legal responsibilities of the deceased.

There is another mode of marriage practised, though growing out of use in late years, called *ambelanâ*; by which a young man, by marrying into a family, becomes, in fact, the property of his wife's parents, and occupies a place between that of a son and a debtor. He partakes in the use of all the property of the family, but has no right or title in it. His plantation, his pepper gardens, are all the property of his newly-made parents, who in turn become responsible for him and all the debts he may contract; holding also a power of divorcing him at will, and of sending him back, poor and naked, to his family, or as an outlaw upon the community.

The mode of marriage, however, most common, is the *semundo*, introduced by the Malays, which is much more simple and just, as the parties meet and treat with each other on the principle of equality. All the effects, gains, and earnings become joint property; and should a divorce take place at any subsequent period by the mutual consent of the parties, the property shall, in all such cases, be equally divided between them. By the influence and authority of the Rejang chiefs and Malay padres, this custom by *semundo* has become very generally adopted.

But by whatever mode the nuptial ceremonies are consummated, joy and hilarity, dances, feasting, and song, are the usual attendants; nor do these amusements cease for several days, unless the whole supplies prepared for the occasion are exhausted. The young women, *gaddees*, or *goddesses*, are dressed in their finest attire, and not only mingle with sprightliness in the dance, but sing in low, sweet, and plaintive airs the outpourings of their hearts, in the soft suffusions of their loves; which, as a point of the utmost gallantry and fashion, is responded to by the *boojongs*, or young men, who gain credit in proportion to their adroitness in this indispensable accomplishment.

Among the amusements of the men, there is nothing of which they are so fond as of cock-fighting. This is a vice common to the whole island; it is, indeed, their master passion. Their bets often run high, staking all they are worth; and instances have occurred of a father staking his children, his wife, or a sister, on

the issue of a fight. They have regular rules adopted for the government of these feathered tournaments, and observe them with great scrupulosity. Besides this, they pit and fight quails; practise the amusement of fencing, a rude sport, in which they practise strange antics and contortions of the body, resembling in some respects the pyric, or war-dance, of the ancients. They have also a diversion among them of tossing a ball, in which they show a great deal of dexterity, receiving or tossing it with equal agility from the hand, toe, or heel of the foot, either into the air, or obliquely from one place to another. The Phœnicians practised a similar amusement, as described by Homer.

The use of the betele-nut pervades all ranks, and both sexes learn to chew it at an early age. No one goes abroad without the article with him; the wealthy carrying it in gold or silver boxes, and the poor in brass boxes or mat bags. It enters into all their little courtesies and civilities of life; is always offered on meeting, and as a matter of politeness is never refused. When the first salutation is over, the betele is offered as a token of hospitality. Of tobacco they are also fond, and use it of their own raising, as well as the importations of that article from China.

Oratory is highly esteemed, and there are many fluent speakers among them. This is natural among people in whose deliberations all are allowed to speak, and where superior talents are sure to give a corresponding degree of influence and importance to the possessor.

The women among the Rejangs, like the fruits of their country, are soon ripe, and soon decay; they are mothers at fifteen, look old at thirty, and are gray-headed and shrivelled at forty. They keep no record of their ages, though fifty may be considered old, and few live beyond the period of sixty years.

In the villages a broad plank is kept, sometimes for generations, upon which, at their funerals, the corpse is carried to the burial-grounds. No coffin is used, and the subject is interred at a decent depth, wrapped round with a white piece of cloth. The women who attend the funeral keep up a hideous howl. At the head of the grave, a little shrub, or white flower, is always planted with care, and at the end of twelve months, a visit to the grave is performed by surviving friends; at which time a buffalo is killed, and a feast takes place, in honour of the deceased. All their

burial-places are regarded with an extraordinary degree of reverence.

Beyond the influence of Mahometanism, the Rejangs have not, and probably never have had any religion of their own. None at least has ever been discovered among them. They have no form of prayers, no processions, no meetings, no images, no priests. They believe, however, in the existence of invisible spirits of some kind, and attribute to them the power of influencing their destinies for good or for evil while in this world; and it is to these powers they are accustomed to make their appeals in their forms of taking an oath. They are said to have no idea of a future state, except such dim glimmerings as have been shed upon them by the Mahometan religion. Our own observations, however limited, on savage life, have gone far to impress us with the belief, that the eternal principle, the vital spark, which is incased in every human body, however remote from civilization, or low and degraded in the scale of human beings, will, under one form or another, if rightly understood, give evidence of its own consciousness of immortality.

> "'Tis the divinity which stirs within us,
> 'Tis Heaven itself that points out an hereafter,
> And intimates eternity to man!"

If it be not so, why does the Laplander picture to himself that after this life he shall traverse verdant plains, ever blooming in spring, and abounding with herds of fat raindeer, as a reward for his good deeds in this world, or bleak, desolate mountains, as a punishment for his bad actions? Why does the Hindoo believe in the transmigration of the souls of men into animals; why the Araucanians bury their dead in rude canoes, with provisions to last during the unknown passage across the great water, whose tranquil waves, as they believe, wash the confines of another world? These are the dim lights of immortality in the breast of rude man. To mark these gleamings of the spirit, and trace out their existence, constitute one of the most pleasing inquiries of the Christian philosopher.

Nor will the Rejangs be found an exception; for they believe that tigers are endowed with the spirits of departed men; and so strong is this superstition, that they will not put one of these animals to death, except in actual self-defence. Indeed, the very

name of the tiger inspires them with awe, and they have a belief among them, that in some remote and hitherto unfrequented portion of the island, these animals have a village, a court, and live in huts, thatched with women's hair. The destruction committed by these ferocious beasts upon the inhabitants is almost incredible; for whole villages are said to have been nearly depopulated by them. When attacked, they often show great courage in defending themselves and each other.

It was related to us by one of our most intelligent shipmasters, who had frequented the coast, that while lying at anchor in one of their small ports, a native was brought in shockingly lacerated in the hip and side by the fangs of the tiger. He had been visiting his pepper garden, but a short distance from the village, and on his return, fortunately with a companion, the animal lay couched in a secret spot, and springing out, suddenly seized him, before he had warning that danger was nigh. His companion, who had passed a few rods ahead, heard his screams, and though armed with nothing but a *kris*, he returned, and attacked the monster with such courage and effect, that he was soon glad to let go his hold; and with the blood streaming from his wounds, bounded off, and was soon hid from sight amid impenetrable jungle. The wounds of the native were seared over with a hot iron, and by other arts peculiar to themselves, he was soon restored to perfect health.

They believe that trees, especially such as have an antiquated or venerable appearance, are the residence of the immaterial spirits of the woods, which, with a little poetic license, might be called the classic Dryades of Sumatra!

The country of the Lampoons, a people different in many, though no essential particulars, from the Rejangs, is situated on the southern extremity of the island. The Lampoons, of all the tribes on the island, most resemble the Chinese in appearance. Their complexion is fairer than that of the Rejangs, and their women are taller, more graceful, and more comely. In the reception of strangers, they are sumptuous and free in their manners. The Mahometan religion prevails, and in most villages mosques may be seen; though they still entertain a superstitious veneration for the *crammats* or burying-grounds of their ancestors, piously adorning and excluding them, by enclosures, from the inclemency of the weather.

CHAPTER XI.

Sumatra—The Kingdom of Menangcabow—Its former Power and Splendour—Curious Proclamation of the Sultan—Arts and Manufactures of the People—Fire-arms and Gunpowder—The Battas; their Religion, Character, Manners, Customs—The Kingdom of Acheen—Description of the Inhabitants, Government, Religion, &c.—Severity of their Punishments—Cruel Sport of the Quallah-Battooans—Dress and Character of the Achenese—Their Oratory—Revival of Trade after the late War—Imbecility of the Government—The Rajah of Trumon—Islands on the Coast—Pulo Nyas Parents sell their Children for Slaves—The Pogies—Islands and Inhabitants of Egano—Winds and Currents—Surveys and Charts, by Captains Endicott and Gillis.

The ancient and comparatively powerful empire of Menangcabow, comprises an extensive tract in the centre of the Island of Sumatra, reaching several leagues to the north, and nearly one hundred miles to the south of the equator. It also communicates, by several rivers, with the seacoast on each side of the island. The seat, or capital of this monarchy, is called Paggarooyoong, where the sultan or emperor holds his court, from whence his power and influence were formerly felt in almost every part of the island. Even the sultans and kings of Acheen, Indrapoor, Moco-Moco, Palembang, and Jambee, confessed his supremacy, and paid him an annual tribute; while his name and power were acknowledged and respected by the neighbouring princes of the east.

But the period of this greatness and splendour is lost in the mists of antiquity, and only known to us by tradition; for when Sumatra was first visited by Europeans, as has been seen in preceding pages, the sultans of Acheen, Pasay, &c., were all independent of the monarch of Menangcabow; although some of them still paid him a complimentary tribute. For centuries past there has been a great deal of mystery thrown around the history and character of this inland imperial court by Mahometan priests, who affect to regard the sultan as the sovereign head of their faith, on the island; although his present power is in fact but little more, if any, than that of a common rajah.

The proclamations and imperial edicts which have emanated

from this court are generally ridiculously pompous, as those of weak monarchs most generally are; carrying terror to the ignorant and imbecile, while they are contemned by the intelligent and the strong. The titles and epithets applied to this inland potentate, and adopted by himself, are the most extravagant and absurd; far surpassing those assumed by the emperors of Persia and Tartary, or even by the head of the Celestial Empire himself, the "Father of ten thousand years." The reading world is indebted to Alexander Dalrymple, Esq., for rescuing from oblivion one of these curious productions, written by the Sultan of Menangcabow about a century since, and addressed to the Sultan of Moco-Moco.

In style, this imperial document is far more rational than many similar effusions we have seen; and is, taking it altogether, a production so remarkable, especially when the magnitude of its object is taken into view, that it forcibly reminds us of the well-known comparison of

> ———"Ocean into tempest tost,
> To waft a feather, or to drown a fly."

The reader, therefore, we feel assured, will not regret its introduction in this place.

"Praised be Almighty God! Sultan Gaggar Allum, the great and noble king, whose extensive power reacheth unto the limits of the wide ocean; unto whom God grants whatever he desires, and over whom no evil spirit, nor even Satan himself, has any influence; who is invested with an authority to punish evil-doers, and has the most tender heart in the support of the innocent; has no malice in his mind, but preserveth the righteous with the greatest reverence, and nourisheth the poor and needy, feeding them daily from his own table. His authority reacheth over the whole universe, and his candour and goodness are known to all men. (Mention made of the three brothers.) The ambassador of God, and his prophet Mahomet; the beloved of mankind; and ruler of the island called *Percho*. At the time God made the heavens, the earth, the sun, the moon, and even before evil spirits were created, this Sultan Gaggar Allum had his residence in the clouds; but when the world was habitable, God gave him a bird called *Hocinet*, that had the gift of speech; this he sent down on

earth to look out for a spot where he might establish an inheritance, and the first place he alighted upon was the fertile island of *Lancapore*, situated between *Palimban* and *Jambee*, and from thence sprang the famous kingdom of *Menangcabow*, which will be renowned and mighty until the judgment day.

"This *Maha Rajah Doorja* is blessed with a long life, and an uninterrupted course of prosperity, which he will maintain in the name, and through the grace of the holy prophet, to the end that God's divine will may be fulfilled upon earth. He is endowed with the highest abilities, and the most profound wisdom and circumspection in the governing the many tributary kings and subjects. He is righteous and charitable, and preserveth the honour and glory of his ancestors. His justice and clemency are felt in distant regions, and his name will be revered until the last day. When he openeth his mouth he is full of goodness, and his words are as grateful as rose-water to the thirsty. His breath is like the soft wind of the heavens (*janatecool ferdoors*), and his lips are the instruments of truth; sending forth perfumes more delightful than benjamin or myrrh. His nostrils breath ambergris and musk; and his countenance has the lustre of diamonds. He is dreadful in battle, and not to be conquered, his courage and valour being matchless. He, the Sultan *Maha Rajah Doorja*, was crowned with a sacred crown from God; and possesses the wood called *kainat*, in conjunction with the emperors of *Rome* and *China*. He is the sultan that keeps the cloth called *sansista kallah*, which weaves itself, and adds one thread yearly of fine pearls; and when that cloth shall be finished, the world will be no more. He also possesses the true *negataroona*, and a kind of gold called *jatta jattee*, which is so heavy that a small lump will snap the *datte* wood. This is the sultan that enjoys the sword *se mandang gerey*, which has one hundred and ninety wide notches in the field of battle, and is the weapon that killed the spirit of *kattee moone;* the dagger, known by the name of *hangin singa*, is also his, and will, at his command, fight for itself, with which he has vanquished many nations. He also possesses the lance *lambing lamboora*, the blade of which, called *segar*, was given him by an inhabitant of the sea. He likewise has horses of infinite strength and courage; and mountains of spontaneous fire. This is the sultan who keeps the flower *champaka*, that is

blue, and to be found in no other country but his (being yellow elsewhere). He possesses the shrub *sera mangeree*, and the reed *arver priendue*, to which birds of all countries come at the time of their death. He has also drums made of the tree *silagooree*, and another instrument of the like nature of the wood called *pooloot-pooloot*, which send their sound through his whole dominions whenever they are beat. He has a *bechar* house, built of the hallowed wood *jylatong*, and each beam in it, though strong and large, is yet as light as *bamboo*. He also possesses a carpet made of grass, and a lump of gold in the shape of a man, given him by a god of the woods.

" After this salutation, and the information I have given of my greatness and power, which I attribute to the good and holy prophet Mahomet, I am to acquaint you with the commands of the sultan, whose presence bringeth death to all who attempt to approach him without permission; and also those of the Sultan of *Indrapoor*, who has four breasts. This friendly sheet of paper is brought from the two sultans above named, by their bird *ongas*, unto their son Sultan *Condam Shah*, to acquaint him with their intention, under this great seal, which is, that they order their son, Sultan *Condam Shah*, to oblige the English Company to settle in the district called *Biangnoor*, at a place called 'field of sheep,' that they may not have occasion to be ashamed at their frequent refusal of our goodness in permitting them to trade with us and with our subjects; and that in case he cannot succeed in this affair, we hereby advise him that the ties of friendship subsisting between us and our son are broken; and we direct that he send us an answer immediately, that we may know the result, and take our measures accordingly—for all this island is our own."

The Malays of Menangcabow are expert in the use of the Arabic characters; but their writing is confined almost exclusively to transcribing portions of the Alcoran, and never extended to the more important use of preserving records connected with the history of their country. They have, however, acquired no little celebrity in composing *cabars*, or historical tales, which are generally a mixture of truth with fiction, written in a style not unlike the romances of Arabia, highly poetical, and abounding with the marvellous. The recitation of these stories is a common amusement in all parts of the island.

In the useful arts, they excel the natives of every other section of Sumatra; displaying no inconsiderable skill and ingenuity in their handicrafts, particularly in filigree-work of gold and silver. In the working of iron, steel, and other metals, many of these Malays are firstrate artists; and it is from their factories and armories that the more warlike tribes of the north have been accustomed to procure their fire-arms and other martial weapons from time immemorial. The arts of smelting iron, casting cannon, and manufacturing firelocks, have been practised by them from a very remote period; as appears from the fact, that such weapons were adroitly used by the Sumatrans, in their earliest conflicts with the Portuguese.

The delicate and difficult process of preparing steel from iron, has also been long familiar to them, as has been already intimated in another place. The quality of their swords and *kris* blades, has never been equalled in any other part of the world; the steel of which they are composed appearing entirely different from that which we are accustomed to handle, and exhibiting veins of different colours. The shape of the blade is peculiar, it being neither straight like a dagger or dirk, nor uniformly curved like a cutlass or sabre; but it is waving, like the attenuated flame of a torch, which gives an increased magnitude to the wounds they inflict, and render them more difficult to heal. The hafts or handles of these weapons are curiously wrought and ornamented, generally embellished with the carved head and beak of a bird, with human arms, like the Isis of the Egyptians.

The art of making gunpowder with them is of course coeval with, if not anterior to, that of constructing engines for its use. It was no doubt brought from the continent by the first emigrants; for fire-arms of some description were used in India, even before its invasion by Alexander the Great, as appears from the writings of Philostratus. This celebrated historian, in his life of Apollonus Typhaneus, tells us that the cities of Oxydracia, in farther India, could never have been taken by Alexander, "for they come not out into the field (says he) to fight those who attack them; but these holy men, beloved by the gods, overthrow their enemies with lightnings and thunderbolts, shot from their walls."

The military forces of Menangcabow, in addition to their fire-arms, are provided with *ranjows*, or sharp-pointed spears of bam-

boo, which they use on a hasty retreat by planting them obliquely in the pathways, and among the high grass, to annoy and retard their pursuers.

These people are frequently engaged in hostilities to support the tottering throne of their chief; and a part of their forces are sometimes mounted on horseback, although the troops of this description do not deserve the name of cavalry. The spoils, or plunder taken from the enemy is always divided among the common soldiers, and this is the only pay they receive; so that, patriotism apart, they are sure to annoy the enemy, at least in his property, as much as possible. But they have never been so much distinguished for bravery as the people of some other districts, particularly in the north; though the Dutch at Padang have often found them not only too restive for control, but in more than one instance, have found their only safety in the strength and height of their fortresses, and the means of enduring a siege.

There is no part of the island where the Mahometan faith so exclusively prevails, as in the central principality of Menangcabow; which may, perhaps, be accounted for by the fact, that this region is the very Potosi of Sumatra, whether it be the Ophir of Solomon or not. It abounds with gold, "the white man's god;" and so far as it can purchase sensual gratification, the Moslem's Allah. This was, doubtless, the grand inducement which led the prophet's missionaries to locate themselves in the golden region of Menangcabow.

The natives, however, not only embraced a new religion, but it appears that an entire revolution took place in their language, manners, and customs, which could only have been effected by the Malays from the peninsula having settled among them. The natives of Menangcabow so much resemble, in personal appearance, the natives of the peninsula, that they are generally considered, on the Island of Sumatra, as one and the same people. Indeed, the term *Malay* has long ceased, in most parts of the east, to signify strictly an inhabitant of Malaya; but generally denotes such as have adopted the Malay language and religion; and hence, as a general remark, in speaking of the inhabitants of Sumatra, we call them *Malays*.

In proceeding from the Menangcabow country to the north, the next considerable tribe, or clan, is that of the *Battas;* whose

district is bounded on the north by the kingdom of Acheen, and on the southwest by Passumman. This is a populous region; and from the great Bay of Tappanooly, which penetrates deeply into the country, a considerable trade was once carried on, and monopolized for a long time by the English, who took it from the Achenese.

In personal appearance, the Battas are smaller and fairer than the Malays, which may be owing to their distance from the sea. Their dress is plain, consisting of common cotton cloth of their own manufacture, died of a brown colour, or a deep blue. The young women are fond of ornaments, wearing occasionally not less than fifty tin rings in their ears at the same time.

The food of the lower orders is principally maize and sweet-potatoes; while the rajah, and people of rank and wealth, indulge in the greater luxury of rice. They are fond of horse flesh, and feed these animals with great care for the express purpose of food.

In their domestic relations, there is no striking difference between them and other tribes already noticed. Polygamy prevails; and in their marriage contracts, the parents of the bride always receive a valuable consideration in buffaloes in exchange for their daughter. The women labour in the fields, while the men, when not engaged in war, pass their time in idleness and gaming; the latter being a vice which prevails among them without limit or restriction, and is generally prosecuted with an ardour that terminates only in the ruin of one of the parties, who is perhaps sold as a slave to pay his debts of honour!

That trait in the character of the Battas which has given them most notoriety among the inhabitants of Sumatra, is the custom, attributed to them by all early writers, of eating human flesh. How far they may have been the real *anthropophagi* of the ancients, is not known; but all modern accounts agree, that when human flesh is now eaten among them, it is not from any unnatural, sensual appetite; but the very natural moral appetite of barbarians for savage triumph and revenge; to manifest the utter detestation in which they hold their enemies; or their abhorrence of the crimes for which their malefactors may have suffered death.

The country of the Battas is divided into numerous petty districts, each of which is headed by a rajah, who extends his power

in proportion to the means and arms he can get in his possession. Their chiefs are extremely jealous of each other, and never unite, except in common defence against some external enemy. The political relations between the rajahs and their vassals, are quite feudal in their character. Their standard, in war, is a horse's head, and their arms such as are used in other parts of the island. They fortify their villages by ramparts of earth; together with ditches, brushwood, and palisades of camphire timber.

They have priests among them who perform certain ceremonies on the occasion of burying the dead; and their ideas of a Supreme Being and an hereafter, are more clearly manifested than among the Rejangs. The funeral obsequies of a deceased rajah, or any man of superior consequence, are performed with much ceremony, and months are consumed in their consummation. The corpse is deposited in a coffin of the *anou*-tree, which is covered with rosin, and from the end of which a bamboo tube extends into the ground, to carry off all disagreeable effluvia.

When the coffin is brought out for burial, baskets of rice are placed by the women near the corpse. A buffalo or horse is then killed, and a feast takes place; after which, the attending priest kills a fowl, and allows its blood to run upon the coffin, as a charm to drive away evil spirits. When the ceremonies and several other rites have been all strictly observed, the coffin is buried in the earth, and the people retire peaceably to their homes.

The Battas, perhaps more than any other people in the northern part of the island, have preserved their original character, manners, habits, and customs, to the present day.

The next and last nation of Sumatra which our prescribed limits will permit us to notice, is that of Acheen, at the northern extremity of the island; a people to whom we have already so frequently alluded, that but little more remains to be said of them. It may here, however, be observed in brief, that Acheen is the only kingdom on the island which ever reached such a state of political importance as to become a subject of general history. But at the period when the forces of this government drove the Portuguese from the island, the extent of its territory was far greater than it is at present. The king then claimed dominion as far down on the western coast as Indrapoor, two degrees south of the equator; whereas his present jurisdiction only reaches to

Baroos, comprising about half that distance on the west; while on the east it scarcely extends forty miles.

The city of Acheen, the capital, is built on a river, which empties itself into the sea near the northwest point of the island, commonly called Acheen Head. This city, which was once a place of great trade, and frequented by vessels from all the countries of Europe, as well as from China, and all parts of India, has greatly fallen off from its former importance, especially since the king removed his court to Tulisamaway. It is, however, a considerable town, containing a great number of public edifices, but without any pretensions to magnificence. There appear to be no regular streets, each house being separate, and surrounded with trees, communicating with each other by foot-paths. The houses are of one story, meanly built of bamboo, and thatched with cocoanut leaves, and raised some feet from the ground on account of the overflowing of the river.

The town is situated on an extensive plain, between two high ridges; it is about five or six miles wide on the seacoast, and extends a long distance, in a southeast direction, into the interior.

The main river, which traverses the plain near its centre, is forty fathoms wide opposite the custom-house, which stands about three miles from its mouth; and is elevated about two feet above the surface of the water. It is very shallow at the bar, and in the dry monsoon, will not admit vessels of any burden, which must anchor without, in the road formed by the islands of the point. This is the common anchorage, with from eight to fourteen fathoms of water, the town bearing south-half-east to southeast.

This people differ extremely in their persons from every other class on the island; being taller, stouter, and of darker complexion; supposed to be a mixture of Moors, Malays, and Battas. In their character and dispositions, they are also unlike their neighbours; being more active, industrious, and penetrating, and possessing a greater share of sagacity and general knowledge. They are all Mahometans, and having a great number of mosques and priests, the rites and ceremonies of that faith are observed with much greater strictness. Manufactures are here carried on to more perfection than in any other part of Sumatra. This remark will apply to trade, commerce, and navigation.

It has been observed by an intelligent traveller, whom we are proud to claim as a highly valued friend, that the *proas* of the Malays are, in form, construction, rigging, and even to the most minute particular as respects the hull, *precisely* similar to the vessels of the Mediterranean which are represented in the paintings of Salvator Rosa, in the Pitti Palace at Florence. This artist, we believe, flourished in the fifteenth century.

The punishment of crimes has ever been severe and rigorous in this country; and there is no commutation admitted, as we have seen to be the case among the natives farther south. Petty thefts are punished by torturing the culprit in various ways, such as maiming, amputating, and other kinds of mutilation. Highway robbery and burglary, by drowning, and afterward suspending the body on a stake for a few days; but if the robbery has been committed on a priest, the criminal is burnt alive! The adulterer is cut to pieces by a mob of the injured husband's friends, and the mutilated corpse refused the rights of sepulture.

At Quallah-Battoo, one of the nominal dependances of Acheen, the same rigour is exercised towards offenders. A highly intellectual friend has related to us an instance of this severity and cold-blooded cruelty, which fell under his own observation, and was also witnessed by several other Americans present. A slave, who had been condemned to death for a trifling offence, was bound to a stake driven in the ground, as a mark for sportsmen to shoot at for several hours. The whole village was assembled to witness the sport; laughing, shouting, joking, and betting, on the chances of every shot! The instinctive shrinking of the poor wretch, when a musket was levelled at him, and his agonizing supplications for mercy, were either unheeded or mocked and ridiculed! He was eventually, after receiving sundry wounds, thrown into the sea, where his sufferings were terminated in a watery grave!

Such are the pastimes of the inhabitants of Quallah-Battoo! the just punishment of whose outrage on our own flag, and the lives of our fellow-citizens, called forth the premature and misplaced sympathies of philanthropists, who only erred in permitting their feelings to outrun their knowledge of facts, being not fully acquainted with those peculiar circumstances which imperiously demanded the prompt interference of a protecting government.

The government of Acheen is an hereditary monarchy, and

more or less absolute, in proportion to the talents of the reigning prince. For the last half century, to go no further back, the sceptre of Acheen has been merely the symbol of sovereignty, without its potency; sustained by a feeble arm, though with a title ancient and undisputed. The throne has been surrounded by chiefs, all of whom acknowledged the sovereign's authority, though none of them submitted to his control. Too feeble to reduce revolters, he has only been able to keep up a state of continual alarm and warfare, bordering on that of actual rebellion.

Prohibited by European interference from levying a duty on his own subjects, he was compelled by the mandate of strangers to forego the only means by which he could have preserved his dominions from the anarchy and confusion which followed. In short, we must add, on the authority of Sir Thomas Raffles, that the last of the ancient dynasty of Acheen has been compelled to abdicate his throne in favour of the son of a Pinang merchant!

Of the personal appearance and dress of the Achenese, a few additional particulars may not be deemed inappropriate. We have already stated, that in size and stature they surpass the other inhabitants of Sumatra. Their heads are somewhat flat, or compressed, the face broad and open, with high cheek bones, flattened nose, and large mouth; though many of them have features similar in form and expression to Europeans. Their complexion may be called a dark copper-colour; their chest is broad and full, their position erect, and their height generally is about five feet ten inches. When several are walking together, they always proceed in single file, taking precedence according to rank, age, or consequence. They generally walk well, quite erect, and are easy in their movements. They wear their hair very closely cut or shaved; but instead of shaving their beards, they pluck it out, reserving their mustaches in the Turkish fashion.

Their dress, also, differs in many respects from that of other Sumatrans. The men have recently adopted the European jacket, with or without a collar, of blue or black broadcloth, which are the most common colours. This is frequently seen embroidered with fine gold thread, and a stripe of embroidery, about an inch wide round the border, neatly wrought with a needle. But that which we consider a genuine Achenese dress, is a jacket or frock, somewhat similar to a shirt without a collar. This is gen-

erally richly embroidered with gold thread, according to the taste or fancy of the wearer. Also, a pair of loose trowsers, which reach to the calf of the leg. Another article of their wardrobe is a garment, the name of which we do not recollect, about a yard in width, long enough to pass once or twice round the waist, the lower edge hanging below the knees; forcibly reminding one of the Highland kilt. A silken belt closely embraces the loins, concealing the upper edge of the nameless garment just mentioned, and also securing the trowsers. A turban, which is usually a shawl or handkerchief, embroidered with gold thread, completes the dress.

They also frequently wear another article of dress, formed of a piece of cloth two yards and a half in width, sewed together at the ends. This garment, which we have already alluded to in a previous chapter, as the *sarong* of the Sumatrans, has generally a graceful appearance, and is worn by the Achenese as an outside garment, to protect them from the weather. This description refers to a dress of the best kind; but there are few who do not wear such as a holyday suit. Their common dress is similar in fashion, but made of less costly materials. Sometimes the jacket is omitted, leaving the chest naked from the waist up, with only a small scullcap; the latter, however, is always worn with a turban.

An Achenese, in full dress, presents a martial and picturesque appearance, that would well become the stage; and reminds one of the Highland uniform in the British army. We think that a regiment in such *costume* would present a brilliant spectacle. But let us not forget the *kris*, which is always worn, and is often of great value. Its sheath is sometimes of pure wrought gold, as is also the handle. Another indispensable appendage is a handkerchief of silk, embroidered with gold thread; and among higher classes, with gold ornaments on the corners; together with a gold chenam-box, tweezers, toothpick, &c. This is usually thrown over the shoulders. Their feet are never covered.

In speaking of the beauty of the Achenese dress, we mean when it is *clean*, which is seldom the case, unless it be new. Cleanliness of apparel is not considered by these people as one of the requisites of a gentleman. They frequently wear a light-coloured cotton garment until it is worn out, without having it washed! Fortunately, however, for those who approach them,

they perform their ablutions like good Mussulmen, washing their bodies several times a day; particularly when they repeat their prayers.

The Achenese, in general, are grave and decorous in their deportment, considering it beneath the dignity of a man of consequence to laugh and talk much; and they have often been heard to express the same idea. They are not, however, unsocial in their manners; but are in the habit of assembling in groups for conversation. Their mode of salutation is extremely courteous and ceremonious. When equals meet, they exchange handkerchiefs with a graceful inclination of the body. The object of this is, that they may prepare a *serah* for chewing, for which each has the materials in his handkerchief. They seldom commence conversing on these occasions, until the handkerchiefs are returned in the same graceful manner, the whole ceremony occupying two or three minutes. Their salutation generally on presenting the handkerchief is, "*Ah-sah-lahmoo, alin, loo-coom!*" expressing a sentiment analogous to "Peace be with you," corresponding to our familiar "How do you do?" But this short sentence is uttered with so much rapidity, that to an unpractised ear it sounds exactly like "*Salam ali cume!*"

When an inferior meets his superior, the former very respectfully takes the other's hand, bowing gracefully over it, until his forehead touches it. As he raises his head, the other carries the hand of his inferior towards his own forehead, and frequently gives him his handkerchief, without taking one in return. When an individual of very humble station approaches one of elevated rank, the former bends very low, as if he would throw himself at his feet, the other merely making a condescending gesture with the hand. We believe that a man of rank and station never neglects to return the salutation of another.

When the Achenese assemble to deliberate or confer on any particular subject, they sit cross-legged in a circle. The speaker joins his open hands, and extends them, with a bow, to the individual he is about to address, who offers his attention by a similar action. If the whole company is to be addressed, the same ceremony is observed to each. The orator then pitches his voice in a peculiar monotonous tone, evidently studied and acquired for the sole purpose of public speaking, and this tone is seldom

changed until his speech is concluded. Another succeeds, observing the same preliminary ceremonies. They appear to think that monotony of tone, combined with a rapid but uniform flow of words, is the perfection of eloquence. Nearly all their public discourses commence with "*Tookoo, shallah te Allah;*" that is, "Sir, with the blessing of God," or, "by Divine permission."

The commerce of Acheen, which was once so flourishing, has dwindled away to almost nothing. The kingdom having been shaken and rent by internal factions and insurrections, too powerful to be suppressed by so weak a government, the interests of trade were almost totally neglected.

But it is with the pepper trade, and those ports on the western coast of the island which are nominally appertaining to this sovereignty, that we, as Americans, have the most immediate concern; and on this subject, in addition to what we have already said, a few facts and remarks may not be inapplicable.

During the suspension or interruption of our commerce, by the last war between the United States and Great Britain, the pepper-growers, having little demand for the article, greatly neglected its cultivation; although it is known to be their principal, not to say only, article of export. The natural consequence was, that in the first pepper season subsequent to the restoration of peace, in eighteen hundred and fifteen, not more than two or three vessels were enabled to procure cargoes.

On the revival of our commerce at that period, the satisfaction which these people evinced and expressed on seeing their former profitable customers once more among them, was the subject of remark by every American on the coast. They looked upon the event as the precursor of more prosperous times; and, with an alacrity and industry indicating a correct estimation of their pecuniary interest, they immediately began to extend their plantations, on a scale corresponding to the anticipated demand for this staple of the island.

As the pepper vine, however, occupies three or four years in coming to maturity, there was no material increase in the quantity produced until the year eighteen hundred and eighteen, when we had from four to five thousand tons of shipping upon that coast, a great portion of which obtained cargoes. From this period to eighteen hundred and twenty-three, the high price which

this article maintained, both in Europe and India, held out so much encouragement to the pepper planters of Sumatra to increase its cultivation, that the quantity produced in that one year was from one hundred to one hundred and twenty thousand piculs of one hundred and thirty-seven and a half American pounds each; employing, at the least calculation, six thousand tons of shipping, and a capital of one million two hundred thousand dollars! Nearly the whole crop of that year, together with the crop of several preceding years, were taken off in American vessels! Since that period, this trade has been very fluctuating; and the low price to which pepper has been reduced in America, has tended much to discourage the natives from increasing their crops.

There are few other articles of trade to be procured on the pepper coast; but in its neighbourhood, and immediately south of it, at the ports of Tappoose, Sinkel, and Barroos, gum-benzoin and crude camphire are produced in considerable quantities. The last named article is bought by the coasting craft at the rate of about twelve dollars per pound! In all the pepper plantations, the soil appears to be perfectly congenial to the coffee-plant, which in many places seems to grow spontaneously. This, together with the sugarcane, which grows here profusely, is, no doubt, indigenous to the island.

The present monarch of Acheen appears to exercise little or no authority over those rajahs who are situated at any distance from the capital; and nothing but his presence and actual force, which he has heretofore frequently employed, will compel them to pay him his lawful tribute. The probability is, that at this time, out of forty or fifty thousand dollars, his annual revenue from the exports of pepper, he is not able to collect more than five or six thousand. The rajahs, therefore, of the different forts, although they *nominally* acknowledge allegiance to the king, are *virtually* so many independent rulers, exercising individual authority, waging and carrying on war with each other, deceiving and cheating the king in every possible manner. They appear, however, to exercise very little authority over their own subjects, and in many cases it seems merely nominal. The king is frequently at war with the rajahs; and the latter, in their turn, are frequently at war with the different factions which beset their

territory; while an almost universal state of anarchy appears to prevail among them.

We have said that the sovereignty of Acheen once extended to Indrapoor, on the west coast of Sumatra, two degrees south of the equator. Of course, it included the seaport of Troumon, in latitude 2° 47′ north. This is, perhaps, the only place on the pepper coast, where any faith can be safely placed in a verbal or written contract. The former rajah, who died about the year eighteen hundred and twenty-two, left his dominions to two sons; one of whom was by his lawful wife, and the other by a concubine from Pulo Nyas, who was, as a matter of course, first purchased as a slave. The son of the bond-woman governs Troumon, and is highly respected, both by his own people, and such foreigners as visit the place for pepper.

The other son governs a more southern district; where he is almost universally despised by his own people, and is too well known to be trusted by strangers. There was, for a time, much difficulty, and some bloodshed, in consequence of the enmity of these brothers; but the quarrel was finally adjusted to the satisfaction of all parties, and the reconciliation was duly ratified, according to the custom of the country, by a grand feast over the graves of their fathers.

This incident occurred in eighteen hundred and twenty-four, when the amount of pepper collected by both governments was thirty-five thousand piculs. This is the only article of export to be procured at this place, and this they cultivate to the entire neglect of every thing else; and notwithstanding it frequently happened that they were almost starving for rice, they never attended to its cultivation until very lately, although the soil is excellent for that purpose. And yet they have frequently been compelled to give a picul of pepper for a picul of rice. They even neglect to raise vegetables, and fowls are very scarce; so much so, that it is very difficult for a vessel to procure sufficient for the cabin.

The rajah's house, bazaar, &c., are situated on the south side of the river, which, after extending some distance inland, becomes two separate rivers, one flowing from the north, and the other from the south, all the banks thickly covered with trees. But like most of the rivers on the west coast of Sumatra, it is obstructed

by a sand-bar, which is shifted by the heavy northwest gales that frequently occur on this coast during the stormy monsoon. The water of this river is not good, but vessels can be supplied with excellent water from wells in the village. The imports to this place are similar to those of other ports on the coast, consisting of opium, cloths, muskets, powder, and slaves, principally females, which are brought from Pulo Nyas, and sold for concubines.

The Rajah of Troumon is the only one on the coast that carries on trade to any distance. He owns two or three brigs, which are navigated by Englishmen, or half-caste; and perform voyages to Madras and other places. He sometimes declares war against the other rajahs, and has a great desire to enlarge his territories and increase his power.

The Achenese appear to be very inimical to the Dutch, and manifest much jealousy of that nation; probably from a fear that they may, at some future period, attempt to colonize among them. The Dutch trade to this coast is very limited; and at least two thirds or three fourths of the whole is in our hands. The natives very readily distinguish between people of different nations; and the conduct and deportment of Americans towards them is always a subject of high commendation; and they are ever ready with *expressions* of kindness, friendship and good feeling for us. That they are prompted to this, in most instances, by motives of interest, there can be no doubt; and this species of flattery has been frequently employed to allay any suspicions which we might entertain in our intercourse with them, to enable them the more readily to accomplish any base or sinister purpose they may have in view. It is difficult to ascertain the real state of feeling of a people so wholly rude and treacherous.

Such diseases as are incident to other portions of the east are also found to prevail here; such as bilious fever, ague and fever, diarrhœa, cholera, spotted and scaly leprosy, &c. These people are likewise subject to a peculiar cutaneous disease, much resembling the itch in appearance, attended with a constant irritation of the skin. This is said to be produced by unwholesome diet, such as salted fish in an almost putrid state, and other things equally repugnant to a delicate stomach.

It is common to see among them the most loathsome-looking objects, covered with offensive ulcers and incurable sores Some

unfortunate wretches are afflicted with the *elephantiasis*, a dreadful disease, in which the skin comes off in flakes, and the flesh falls from the bones. This disease being deemed highly infectious, the hapless sufferer is driven from society into the woods, where food is conveyed to him by his relations, until death puts a termination to his misery. They are almost totally ignorant of the science of medicine or surgery, and are frequently annoying in their solicitations for remedies and medical advice; so that visiters frequently resort to quackery to get rid of their importunities.

The face of the country, a short distance from the seacoast, is distinguished by a bold outline of prominent features, sometimes rising into lofty mountains, like most other parts of the western side of the island. The mountains abound with wild beasts of various species. Here are found the elephant, the black and striped tiger, rhinoceros, deer, antelope, wild-hog, &c. Reptiles are numerous, and many of them venomous. Among those of the serpent kind is a snake which possesses the chamelion's faculty of assuming the colour of any object with which it comes in contact. Though small in size, its bite is almost instant death. Alligators abound in the rivers, and the guana is also found here. The boa-constrictor is said to be a formidable tenant of the interior forests.

Having thus given as full a description of the island and inhabitants of Sumatra as our limits will permit, we cannot, perhaps, make a more appropriate conclusion to this chapter than by briefly describing a number of smaller islands which line its western coast in a parallel chain, lying about sixty miles distant, and extending nearly the whole length of the parent island, for in that relation we consider them. These islets, for such they are, compared with Sumatra, are at present very imperfectly known; except that several of them are from seventy to eighty miles in length, and that the inhabitants of those which have been visited differ materially from each other in appearance, language, and character. On the charts, with few exceptions, the outlines of these islands are drawn wholly from imagination. As there has never been any actual survey, a few only of the points are known with much precision, although the passages between them are much frequented by our vessels.

The channels along the west coast of Sumatra are three in

number. The outer one, west of all the islands, should always be adopted, if practicable, being far more safe and pleasant for vessels that do not wish to anchor. The middle passage within the chain of islands just mentioned, but outside a range of smaller ones, which are nearer the Sumatra shore, should never be selected from choice; as vessels are liable to be driven about by currents, and tantalized with light and baffling winds. There is no safe anchorage in this passage; while in many places towards the main coast are dangerous shoals and reefs, from one to two and three fathoms under water. The inner channel, close along the shores of Sumatra, having in most places anchorage, is preferable to the middle passage; but from the numerous islands and reefs, either unknown or not marked on the charts (except that portion which is embraced in some recent surveys), it is both intricate and perplexing.

It is not improbable that this chain of islands, which runs parallel with the coast of Sumatra, once formed a part of that island; they have been separated from it either by the attrition of the sea, or by some more sudden and violent effort of nature. This supposition derives strength from the fact, that in several places, particularly about Pally, detached pieces of land, in the form of islands, stand several hundred yards from the shore, and evidently once formed points of headland; their surface still remaining covered with trees, while their sides are bare, abrupt, and perpendicular. The northwest and southeast position of Sumatra, the similarity of soil, the regularity of the soundings within the range of the large islands, and the unfathomable depth of water without, add still further confirmation to the hypothesis.

Hog Island, or Pulo Oo, the most northerly of the range, is moderately hilly, covered with trees, and may be seen twelve or fifteen leagues in clear weather. It is thinly inhabited by emigrants from Acheen, who carry on a small trade in cocoanut oil and cocoanuts. As vessels have always given this island a wide birth, such dangers as may exist in its immediate vicinity are but little known. Between its southern extremity and two small islands, several leagues to the south, there is a safe passage. The Cocoas, about twenty miles to the westward of Hog Island, are in latitude 3° 1′ north.

Pulo Nyas is the largest of all the islands on this coast, and is

surrounded by numerous smaller ones. It has a fine river, good anchorage, and refreshments of various descriptions, including excellent water. The inhabitants are mild and inoffensive, very different from their neighbours on the main, or on any other island in the range. The inhabitants sell their daughters to the slave-dealers, who convey them to Batavia, and other markets, where they are purchased for wives or slaves, as the case may be. The reason assigned for this unnatural conduct is, in some instances, that the inhabitants of Pulo Nyas have become so deeply involved in debt by gaming, that they cannot extricate themselves but by selling their children, if they have any; if not, by giving up themselves for slaves for a certain period. The consequence is, that several hundred girls and boys are exported annually.

Our informant was at Troumon, and present at the landing of one cargo of these unfortunate beings. They were principally females and boys of about sixteen years of age, who, after being counted, were marched up to the slave-market. These females, like all who come from this island, were beautifully formed, with complexions much lighter than those of the natives of Sumatra. The captain of the vessel which brought them to Troumon was the son of a Scotchman, by a Nyas woman, while his own wife was daughter to the King of Nyas.

About ninety miles south of the equator is another of the islands, of considerable size, known by the name of Pulo Pogy, with a companion of smaller dimensions on the south. The north Pogy is of very irregular shape, and thickly indented with bays and coves, particularly on its western side. The south Pogy is narrow, and tapering towards its southern extremity. Both of them are inhabited, but very little is known of their history or character, except that they are tattooed like the natives of most islands in the South Sea and Pacific Ocean.

The most southerly of these islands is Engano, situated in latitude 5° 20′ south. It is about eight leagues in extent, of a triangular form, and presents a level appearance when viewed at the distance of ten or twelve miles. It is about sixty miles from the coast, and has an iron-bound shore, surrounded by rocks and breakers. The only account which we have ever seen of the inhabitants is contained in the sixty-eighth volume of Philosophical Transactions, for the year seventeen hundred and seventy-eight. The

writer describes them as large, well made, naked savages; very numerous, and extremely ill-disposed. The men in general are represented as about five feet eight or ten inches in height, and well-proportioned. The women are shorter, and not well shaped. Their complexion is of a deep red, with straight black hair, which the women very neatly roll up on the top of their heads. The men always go armed with lances of the cabbage-tree, which is extremely hard. They have no iron tools that the writer could discover, yet they construct canoes, and erect houses of a circular form, resting on ten or twelve iron-wood piles about six feet long, planted in the ground. These humble habitations are floored with rough planks, the roof rising immediately from the base in a conical form, like a straw beehive. They have neither cattle, fowls, nor even rice; but appear to subsist altogether on cocoa-nuts, sugarcane, sweet-potatoes, and fish. They speak a language peculiarly their own; do not chew betele-nut, and have white teeth.

The prevailing winds on this coast of Sumatra, north of the equator, are from northwest and southwest, with land breezes during the night. The regular monsoons are subject to many variations and interruptions, not only on account of the surrounding islands, but by the very shape and location of Sumatra itself, extending, as it does, across the equator in a northwest and southeast direction.

The dry season generally begins in May, and continues until October. From June until late in September, while the southerly winds blow more steadily, the land-breezes are very light, and sometimes scarcely perceptible. At other times, brisk sea-breezes prevail from the southwest during the day, and land or variable winds during the night. Vessels, therefore, intending to touch upon the west coast during this season, should never fall in with the land north of their port of destination. Although the southeast or southerly monsoons mostly prevail on this coast south of the equator, yet northwesters are liable to blow for days at a time, particularly about the change of the moon.

The northwest monsoon prevails on the same coast, particularly south of the equinoctial line, from October to April; not unfrequently attended with rain, thunder, and lightning. During this northwest monsoon, unsettled land-winds, squally weather, and

rain, prevail during the night. In March, the heavy rains abate, and the land and sea-breezes become more regular.

It is to be observed, that in most parts of India north of the equator, the northeast monsoons prevail when the sun is in the southern hemisphere; but on the Island of Sumatra they are changed to a northwest monsoon, by the direction of the land. From December to April, and even May, the weather is often settled and pleasant in north latitude, with land and sea-breezes; but at other times this wind blows strong, producing high seas, breaking in heavy surf along the coast, rendering it dangerous to lie in any of the open roadsteads.

The currents on the west coast of Sumatra are greatly influenced by the winds, but seldom set to the north in either monsoon, except when the wind continues for some time to blow strongly from the south. When the northwesters prevail, the current sets to the southeast, particularly along that part of the coast which lies north of the equator; while it frequently happens that another current in the open sea, westward of the neighbouring islands, is setting in an opposite direction.

During the months of October, November, and December, it is often difficult to sail north along the coast from the equator to Acheen Head, on account of baffling northwest winds and southerly currents, which sometimes extend to a great distance from the island. On the south of the equator, from June to October, while the southerly winds blow with considerable strength, a current is impelled to the northward, rendering it very difficult to work to the south. The tides do not rise more than two or three feet.

While thus feeling our way among these islands and shoals, with the extensive coast of Sumatra in view, the reader may possibly expect something in the shape of "Sailing Directions," for the guide of other mariners. Such was, indeed, our original intention, and we had actually prepared an article for the purpose. This duty, however, has since been much more ably performed than it could have been with our present limited space and materials.

For this important service, our country is indebted to Captains Charles M. Endicott and James D. Gillis, of Salem, Massachusetts. The former, who was master of the Friendship when she

was seized by the Malays at Quallah-Battoo, has been trading on this coast for more than fifteen years, during which period he has, profitably for his country, filled up all the tedious and vexatious delays incidental to a pepper voyage, by a laborious and careful survey of the coast, of which no chart was previously extant which could be relied on. Captain Endicott has since published the result of his labours in a neat, well-executed chart, on a large scale, accompanied with sailing directions, comprising almost every item of information requisite for navigators in these waters. This chart comprises all that portion of coast which is included between Sinkel, in 2° 18′ and 4° 15′ north.

Actuated by a like commendable zeal for the commercial interests of his native country, Captain Gillis has extended the surveys to latitude 5° north, and published an excellent chart, accompanied also with sailing directions.

These are important acquisitions to our knowledge of this coast, and will increase the security of our merchants and mariners. When, in pursuance of the present wisely-adopted policy of our government, she shall send another armed vessel in the track of the Potomac, to visit this coast and look after our commercial interests there, it is hoped that she may be supplied with copies of these charts, on which reliance may be placed as far as they go; and that she will not, as was the case with the Potomac, run up into the mountains by chart, before in fact she reaches the shore! We gladly embrace this opportunity to acknowledge our obligations to both these gentlemen for much valuable information and many interesting facts.

CHAPTER XII.

Early voyages to Sumatra—Portuguese establishments at Acheen and Pasay—Naval power of Acheen—Portuguese defeated—The English well received at Acheen—The Dutch suspected—The French neglected—Rivalry and hostilities between the English and Dutch—English and French—The English at Padang—Americans visit the east—Commercial enterprise of Salem—Carnes's voyage to Sumatra—Loss of his vessel in returning—Sails in the Rajah—His successful voyage—Consequent curiosity and excitement—Unsuccessful attempt at competition—Interesting extracts from the Records of the Salem East India Marine Society—Ship Friendship, Williams—Fanny, Smith—John, Barton—Three Friends, Stewart—Her accident in the Strait of Bally—Active, Nicholas—Recovery, Dana—and the Putnam—Tribute to the Commercial enterprise of Salem.

THE earliest account we have seen of pepper having been exported from any part of the Island of Sumatra, was in 1509, in a few Portuguese vessels which touched at Pasay, a port of no little importance at that time, situated about twenty leagues from Acheen to the east. These vessels were on their way to China. The spirit of glory, of plunder, and of commerce, which burned so ardently in the Portuguese at this period, received a new impulse, as new expectations were suddenly raised of the importance of this trade, and the resources of the island. As early as 1520, Diego Pacheco, an experienced commander, was despatched to the southwest coast to search for a certain island, of which rumour had spoken much of its treasures in gold. Having proceeded as far as Paya, he was astonished to meet in that port many native vessels from other parts of the island, as well as several from India, which brought with them cotton manufactured goods, for the supply of the inhabitants. Near this port, he was so unfortunate as to lose one of his best vessels; which circumstance put an end to further search of the *Isla d'Ouro*, which the natives represented to be one hundred leagues off, amid labyrinths of shoals and reefs, where none but small vessels or boats could steer with safety.

On his return to Malacca, Pacheco passed through the Strait of

Sunda, and was thus the first European navigator to sail round the Island of Sumatra. But here, as elsewhere, they had scarcely set foot upon the island, before contentions and bloody feuds took place between them and the Sultans of Acheen and Pasay. It was at the latter place, in 1521, they made an attack on the town and ruling prince Geinal, with the ostensible object of setting up the legal heir to the throne; but which was no sooner accomplished, than they required of this prince, as the reward of their magnanimous interference, the whole monopoly of the pepper trade within his territory, the expenses of the enterprise, and permission to erect forts and establish themselves on his soil. Protection it was: but it was that protection the tiger gives to the kid, when left alone upon the mountains!

Flushed with success, and urged on by cold, heartless, insatiate, all-grasping avarice, during the same year, an expedition under Brito, three hundred strong, and without the slightest provocation, was directed against Acheen. But here a different destiny awaited them. At the moment of landing, other vessels entered the port and proffered their assistance. This was not accepted, as it would increase the number among whom the *gold* must be divided. The Achenese waited their arrival, couched as the tiger of their own native mountains, and at a concerted signal, rushed upon them with all the tiger's fierceness. The slaughter was terrible, and scarcely a Portuguese escaped.

In less than two years they were driven from their establishment at Pasay, by the same Sultan Abraham, who, having thrown off his allegiance to the King of Pedeer, now reigned at Acheen. This warlike monarch for years not only kept the Portuguese in check, but often, with large armaments, carried on offensive operations against their principal establishment on the coast of Malacca.

In fifteen hundred and thirty-seven, he was succeeded by Alnadin, who followed in his footsteps, and waged perpetual war against their treacherous invaders, whom, in derision, they called "*Caffres.*" The force called into existence by these people is astonishing! Expedition after expedition sailed from Acheen. At one time, no less than one hundred and fifty sail, with seven thousand men, crossed the channel for the destruction of their enemies. At this period arose the great warrior Lacsemanna, whose deeds are still remembered among the Malays. For forty years did he contend

against the Portuguese with various success, but always with a spirit above misfortune.

In fifteen hundred and seventy-five, the King of Acheen, after several years preparations, covered the straits with his forces and armed vessels. These vessels were mostly small, though there were a few junks which carried six hundred men each. In this enterprise were nearly twenty thousand men. The Portuguese were made to tremble for their establishments on the opposite coast, where they were soon besieged. The conflict was bloody and lasted long; several Portuguese frigates were destroyed, and the garrisons were only saved by a timely reinforcement.

In fifteen hundred and eighty-six, the kingdom of Acheen was in the greatest splendour; its friendship was courted by all the Indies, and its ports frequented by the trading vessels from Mecca in the west, to Japan in the east.

It was the close of the sixteenth century before the Hollanders made their appearance in the eastern world; and not until the year sixteen hundred did they touch upon the coast of Sumatra. The English followed close upon their track, and only two years afterward visited the city of Acheen, with a respectable force under the command of Lancaster, who bore a letter from Queen Elizabeth to her "royal and puissant brother," the King of Acheen. In despite of the jealousy of the Portuguese and Spaniards (at that period indeed the same people), Lancaster was most "graciously" received; was banqueted and entertained by "singing and dancing damsels," and, what was more important, succeeded in making a very advantageous commercial treaty. The sultan extended great favour to the English; allowed them to establish a factory; showed them many indulgences; and not far from this time, even condescended to send a message to King James, with the request that a lovely English woman might be sent out to him for a wife; holding out at the same time, as an inducement to the fair one who should become the object of his royal affections and star-ascendant of his harem, that her first son should be made his heir, and succeed him to the throne of all the Sumatras! Neither history nor any oral tradition that has come to our knowledge informs us how this intended honour was received by our fair ancestors! but we shrewdly suspect that such an overture from an oriental sovereign could not fail to inspire them with glow-

ing ambition, at the thoughts of crowns and diadems, and of becoming mothers to a long race of pepper monarchs and spicy kings. How such a proposition would be received at the present day by our own republican fair ones; how far it might inspire them with the desire to depart from the simplicity of their grandmothers, we would not for the world even hazard an opinion!

The Dutch were also viewed with favour by this prince, who appears to have been more mild and humane than some of his immediate predecessors. This harmony, however, was not destined to last long. News of the cruelty and oppression of the Dutch over their neighbours the Javanese was now daily reaching him, and could not but produce in his mind sentiments unfavourable to their characters, as well as create well-grounded fears, that the time might not be far distant when he and his people might become victims to the same policy; and these well-grounded apprehensions on his part led to the interruption of that harmony, which, for several years, had so happily existed.

In sixteen hundred and twenty-one, the French sent out a fleet with magnificent presents to the Sultan of Acheen, the importance of whose trade was greatly exaggerated, and which, in fact, never had been commensurate with his military power and resources. They were by no means successful in their negotiations, and received from the king but little encouragement.

In sixteen hundred and forty-one, a new sultan had ascended the throne, with whom the Dutch concerted a joint expedition against the Portuguese establishments on the coast of Malacca. The Achenese entered with spirit into this campaign, as it was a conquest their ancestors had long, though unsuccessfully, attempted to achieve by their own strength. The Portuguese could not withstand the combined forces of the allies, and were, after a short though desperate struggle, compelled to yield to the fortunes of war. It was the long contest with this power that had raised the Achenese monarchy to so great a height, and with the overthrow of this enemy, its power and splendour began rapidly to decline.

In sixteen hundred and eighty-four, the English turned their attention to Sumatra again, having recently lost their possessions at Bantam, after having had a foothold there for more than eighty years. A deputation was sent to Acheen, to effect such arrangements as would continue to secure them in a share of the pepper

trade. Here they met certain rajahs from Priaman and other ports on the west coast, who had visited the seat of government to seek protection from the Dutch, who had begun to make encroachments in that quarter. These rajahs applied to the English for protection, and proposed to give them not only the profits of an exclusive trade, but to allow them soil, and the privilege of establishing forts. So eager were the rajahs to effect this arrangement, that they embarked for Madras, formally to effect this object with the governor. An expedition was immediately put in preparation, intended to sail for the country of Priaman; but which was diverted for a time from this object, by a similar request having, on the eve of departure, been received from the rajahs of Bencoolen; to which place the English at once made sail, intending afterward to visit Priaman, and complete their establishments in that quarter. The Dutch, in the meantime, had penetrated the designs of the English, and hastened to anticipate them in their establishments in Priaman. The contest between the English and Dutch was severe; the latter continuing to annoy their rivals by every means in their power; often joining with the natives, and compelling the English to leave some of their less considerable establishments—but not Bencoolen, which improved rapidly, and by sixteen hundred and eighty-nine had acquired much strength and respectability, and numbered among its inhabitants many industrious and useful Chinese colonists. By sixteen hundred and ninety-one, the Dutch power was greatly reduced, and that of the English and their trade proportionably increased. The settlement of Natal was established in seventeen hundred and fifty-two, and that of Tappanooly shortly afterward, which involved the English again in fresh disputes with the Dutch, who laid claim to the whole of the country where these forts were situated.

In seventeen hundred and sixty, the French, under Count d'Estaigne, destroyed all the English settlements on the coast of Sumatra, but which were all re-established again under the treaty of Paris in seventeen hundred and sixty-three. In seventeen hundred and eighty-one, the British in their turn took possession of Padang and other Dutch factories, in consequence of war with that nation; and again in seventeen hundred and ninety-four.

We have now arrived at that period in the commercial history

of Sumatra, when it becomes necessary to introduce upon the theatre of eastern competition another actor; a people whose very existence in that part of the world was scarcely known. On the thirtieth of August, seventeen hundred and eighty-four, the stripes and stars of our beloved republic, which Heaven in its mercy long preserve, the "home of the free," were first unfolded in Canton. An incident of so much importance in our history shall not pass without due notice, in its proper place.

The first American vessel that ever procured pepper from the Island of Sumatra, was a schooner, Jonathan Carnes master. She had been fitted out from Salem for the East Indies, in the year seventeen hundred and ninety-three. While in Bencoolen, the captain learned something of the pepper trade, at that period confined principally on the west coast to the single port of Padang. To this point he shaped his course, without any other knowledge or directions than such as he had by accident been enabled to procure from a pilot, whose services he secured to accompany him. On arriving at Padang, he found that but little pepper was raised there, but was brought in small quantities by the natives, in their *proas*, from other ports further to the north. These ports he did not visit at this time, but after some considerable delay, was successful in procuring a cargo, when he sailed for the United States; but while touching at some of the West India islands, was so unfortunate as to lose his vessel on a reef, and with her the whole of his cargo. On arriving in Salem, he made his owners acquainted with the new channel of trade he had opened. The whole matter, however, was kept a profound secret. A vessel of one hundred and fifty tons, called the Rajah, was built by Mr. Peale, and the captain in seventeen hundred and ninety-five set out for Sumatra; and this was the first vessel that ever sailed direct from this country to that island, for the purpose of procuring pepper. After arriving at Padang, he procured such further information of the coast as induced him to make sail for other ports further to the north. Without chart or guide of any kind, he made his way amid numerous coral reefs, of which navigators have so much to dread even at the present day, as far as the port of Analaboo, touching also at Soo-soo, where he succeeded in procuring a large portion of his cargo.

On the arrival of Captain Carnes at Salem, which happened

without accident on his passage, great excitement and curiosity were produced, to learn in what part of the eastern world he had been so successful in loading his vessel in so short a time with pepper.

There had never been so much of this article brought in one vessel to the United States; and we have heard it amusingly related, that there were not wanting, at that time, very intelligent persons, who went into minute calculations to show that the amount of stock on hand would be found greatly beyond the immediate demand. It is worthy of remark, also, that at this period a vessel of one hundred and fifty tons was deemed quite large enough to bring the whole crop raised on the west coast of Sumatra! The cost of that cargo was about eighteen thousand dollars, and sold at a profit of seven hundred per cent. At this early period of our commercial history, while our merchants, with little else than true enterprise for capital, were extending their trade to remote parts of the world, and opening new channels through which so much individual and national prosperity was to flow into our country in after years, it is easy to imagine the new feelings of competition called into existence by so extraordinary a voyage as that of the Rajah, which had now just returned with so much profit to her owners. But still the matter was a secret. No one had been able to penetrate the mystery; while evident preparations for another voyage showed the owners had confidence that the new stream of their prosperity might still flow on. It was known, however, that Captain Carnes had received his first knowledge of the trade while at the port of Bencoolen. What he had accomplished, others felt themselves able to do; so that in a very short time vessels were fitted out from Salem and Beverly, directed to Bencoolen, with instructions to find out, if possible, the directions which had been given to Captain Carnes. In this they were not successful. The jealousy of the European colonists became awakened, though little did they dream of the young Hercules who had just set foot upon their shore, whose youthful vigour was so soon to gain an entire and undisputed ascendency in the pepper trade of that coast! Of the west coast, north of Padang, nothing was known; no charts, no sailing directions were to be found; while the most unfavourable accounts of the danger of the navigation were pointed out, and were exag-

gerated by the English, but more particularly by the Dutch, in order to deter the new adventurers. These vessels, therefore, failing to procure the requisite information, and being unable to get on the track of their more successful pioneer, proceeded on, and made up their voyages in some of the other ports of India.

We have been greatly interested in looking over the record of our mercantile enterprise to the east, about this period, as preserved in the port-folios of the Salem East India Marine Society. The time may come when these documents will be referred to, and written up, as interesting items belonging to the history of our country. In turning over the pages of this record we have made a few hasty abstracts, which may properly be introduced in this place, for the purpose of showing how rapidly our trade had extended at the period of which we are speaking.

The secret voyages to Sumatra did not continue long. By the first of the present century the mystery was penetrated, and the whole ground occupied by enlightened competition.

The ship Friendship, J. Williams master, sailed from Salem for Batavia, August first, seventeen hundred and ninety-seven; made St. Paul's Island, and reached the coast of Sumatra, passing near Egano Island. When in latitude 5° 25′ south, Little Fortune Island bore southeast, and Mount Pangong, on the Sumatra shore, northeast, distant eight leagues. Left Batavia for the United States, March fourth, seventeen hundred and ninety-eight. This was among the first American vessels at Batavia. While passing through the straits, made observations to ascertain the variation of the needle; found considerable difference between the morning and evening observations; discrepances which have been noticed by many navigators, particularly, if we remember right, by Captain Cook, in one of his voyages. While in the Strait of Sunda, Little Cambuys bearing northwest-by-west, the leadsman in the chain, and heaving the line; he had just cried nine fathoms; but while drawing in the line the ship struck, and remained for a minute on a coral patch of only two fathoms water. These dangers are now noted on the charts, but they go to show the dangerous navigation in *coral seas*.

On the fourteenth of January, eighteen hundred and two, the ship Fanny, E. Smith master, sailed from Boston for New-Holland, Batavia, Tranguebar, Hindostan; passed through Brass's

Straits, discovered rocks not laid down on any chart then in use; passed through the Straits of Sunda, touched at Batavia, and from thence to Tranguebar; and finally making Hog Island, coast of Sumatra, and touching at the Isle of France, returned in safety and with profit to the United States.

Ship John, J. Barton master, sailed from the United States for the east in eighteen hundred and two; made the coast of Sumatra, and came to anchor at South Tally ninth of May, eighteen hundred and three. From thence sailed to Acheen, and afterward to Manilla, passing near Puloway, the largest of the Acheen islands; high and uneven; may be seen twelve leagues; and along the south side of it, in some parts, there is said to be soundings near the shore. Passed Diamond Point, forming the eastern extremity of the coast of Pedir, or, as old authors spell it, Pedeer. When sailing from Acheen, along this part of the coast, kept near it, where in most parts anchorage may be found if necessary. The golden mountain was visible, rising like a cone seven thousand feet above the level of the sea; and may be seen ninety miles from deck in a clear day, forming a soft outline above the horizon. In fine weather, this beautiful mountain, rising only about eight leagues from Acheen in the interior, forms a good mark for pointing out a ship's situation, when wishing to pass through Malacca Strait, particularly when the distance is so great that the land near King's Point cannot be seen. Pulo Verella was the next island made; is not more than six leagues from the Sumatra shore, high, and may be seen eight or ten leagues distant. At the south end water may be procured, and at the south-east end anchorage in twelve or eighteen fathoms, about one mile from shore. Boats landing here are cautioned, even at the present day, to look out for the Battoo-bara people from the adjacent coast, who are often lurking about these places in their *proas*, and never fail to attack boats when within their power. Having passed along the Sumatra coast from Diamond Point, a vessel may go on either side of Pulo Verella; if on the outside, give a birth to the reef; if you pass inside, steer towards, and pass to the east of the Brothers, two islands lying five or six miles from each other. The channel between these islands and the coast is not well known; besides, the outside channel is more frequented.

In 1° 28′ north, 103° 10′ east, made Pulo Pisang, not high, covered

with wood, and may be seen eight leagues. Both to the east and west sides of Pisang, are small islets. From Mount Formosa to this island, it is low and woody, except a small mount near the sea, half way from Formosa towards Pisang. It has long been observed, as a general rule, that on the edges of the shore-banks throughout the straits, the depths decrease suddenly; and in like manner on the edges of those in the offing.

Having sailed near to, or within sight of, Carimou, Red Island, Pedra Branca, Pulo Tingy, Pulo Timor, Pulo Sapata, and Goat Island, the ship John came to anchor at Canite, west side of the Island of Luconia.—Sailed from Manilla, passed Corrigidor, corrected the longitude of High Island; and after touching at numerous islands, among the rest Celebes, where the Dutch have an establishment, next at the Isle of France,* sailed from thence, without accident, to the United States.

On the eighteenth of January, eighteen hundred and three, the ship Fame, Briggs master, sailed from Salem to Cochin China, Manilla, and back. The details of this voyage show much perseverance on the part of the captain. The natives do not appear to have been unfriendly, and the vice-king showed no

* This is an island in the Indian Ocean, four hundred miles east of Madagascar. It was discovered by the Portuguese; but the first who settled here were the Dutch, in 1598. They called it Mauritius, in honour of Prince Maurice, their Stadtholder; but on their acquisition of the Cape of Good Hope, they deserted it; and it continued unsettled till the French landed here in 1720, and gave it the name of one of the finest provinces in France. It is one hundred and fifty miles in circumference The climate is healthy, but the soil not very fertile. There are many mountains, some of which are so high that their tops are covered with snow; they produce the best ebony in the world. The valleys are well watered with rivers, and are made very productive by cultivation, of which sugar is the principal object. The town and harbour, called Port Louis, are strongly fortified; but in the hurricane months, the harbour cannot afford shelter for more than eight vessels. Here are large storehouses, and every thing necessary for the equipment of fleets. This island was taken by the British in 1801, and confirmed to them by the treaty of Paris, in 1814. In 1819, the pestilential cholera was introduced into this island from India, and carried off seven thousand of the inhabitants. According to an account presented by the colonial department to the British parliament in the session of 1825, the island was divided into eight districts, containing a population of 87,503, in the proportion of 65,769 slaves, 13,475 free blacks, and 10,359 whites, exclusive of 1310 troops. Port Louis, on the northwest coast of the island, is in latitude 20° 10′ north, and 57° 29′ of east longitude.—*Brookes's Universal Gazetteer.*

repugnance to trade, and gave, without much apparent suspicion, license for the captain to enter and trade in other ports.

The ship *Three Friends*, Stewart master, made a voyage from Salem to Batavia in the year eighteen hundred and one. Bally Strait, situated between an island of the same name and the east end of Java, is about six leagues wide. On the sixteenth of January, eighteen hundred and two, the Three Friends was accompanied by a ship called the Margaret. The morning began with fresh contrary winds, while beating into the Strait of Bally. Having got part way in, the wind fell off, and the current being ahead, brought to an anchor in twenty fathoms sandy bottom, the Java shore distant half a mile. At half past six in the evening, the current having shifted, weighed, and drove with the stream—light airs from the Java coast—and at dark lost sight of the Margaret. The wind being from the western quarter, carried quite over to the Bally side; the current carrying the vessel around a point, and shortly afterward, within a cable's length of the shore, drove along for a few minutes, found soundings in thirty fathoms, let go the sheet-anchor, and brought her up at about one hundred and fifty feet from the rocks, where she rode a few minutes. At nine P. M., light air came off the land; a boat being ahead, the cable was cut, time not permitting to heave it up; in a moment the wind died away, and the next, came right on shore, all sail being set, she took aback and struck! The after-guns were immediately thrown overboard, water started, and the decks cleared of wood; in short, every thing that could be done to lighten her, but all to no effect. The captain and officers supposing little on their part could be done, the current running five knots per hour, the wind, what there was, directly on shore, four men sick—minute-guns were fired, and fortunately answered by the Margaret, whose superiority in sailing had enabled her to gain safe anchorage in Palembang Bay on the Java shore: and answering minute-guns were now heard from the Dutch forts at Palembang. The situation of the captain and his crew was now deplorable. Driven on shore, on the savage and inhuman coast of Bally, the vessel on her beam-ends, four men sick, not able to work a single remaining gun, the idea of losing the ship and cargo, and of being themselves massacred by the savages, presented a picture gloomy enough: when they were somewhat relieved by the appearance

of Captain Derby, of the Margaret, in a boat with six men, who immediately set off to the Dutch settlement to procure *proas* to lighten the vessel of her cargo. At three A. M., saw *proas* approaching fast and full of men, whom the captain concluded were savages; and deeming it impossible in his weak state to defend his vessel against a force apparently so unequal, ordered all the arms and powder down into the forecastle, where he felt he could defend himself to the last, that point being accessible in one place only. He naturally supposed that they would not fire the vessel, on account of the plunder she contained; and if they did, it was only a choice of evils to remain on board and share her fate. Every thing being in this train, and the *proas* within hail, he ordered one alongside; when, greatly to his relief, he found they were Dutch soldiers, sent by the governor of the Dutch forts to defend him from the savages. The officer came on board, and ordered all the soldiers to pitch their tents on the shore opposite to the vessel. On the following morning Captain Derby returned, when the vessel was lightened by taking out two *proas* loads of coffee. At 8 A. M., an anchor having been carried out, and the tide serving, they succeeded in heaving her off; but there being no wind, they lay at anchor until the next day; when, getting the light spars on board, got under way, and in the evening came safe to anchor alongside the Margaret. On the eighteenth, the two captains went on shore to wait on the governor, and thank him for the great assistance he had rendered them. They found his carriage in waiting to carry them to his residence in the fort, having a drawbridge, over which they had to pass. On being presented to the governor, the captains were very much pleased with his manners, and astonished with his open and generous behaviour. The pleasure he evinced on seeing them safe, and the hospitality with which he treated them, did great credit to the goodness of his heart. During the whole of their stay there, they had the satisfaction to see his friendship increase towards them, and he even loaded them with presents on the day of their departure.

Bally Strait, as has been observed, is between the southeast end of Java on the west, and Bally on the east. The land on the island is more elevated than on the east end of Java, which is even, sloping down at each end, resembling, when seen at the distance of six or seven leagues, the Island of Banditti. The

southerly winds generally prevail near the south coast of the islands which form this strait, from February to September; while from November to March, strong westerly winds are frequent, producing a westerly current, setting along the coast of Java and the islands to the east. On most parts of this coast are soundings near shore, and good anchorage in several bays, frequented but little, however, by strangers. Vessels should keep mid-channel, with boats ahead in light winds, as the passage is dangerous, tides strong, with numerous eddies, which are liable to horse a ship on the rocky shore of Java. On Bally there is a burning mountain.

On the ninth of May eighteen hundred and one, the ship Active, G. Nichols master, arrived on the coast of Sumatra, making, as is now usual among ships, Hog Island, as the first point. In coasting along the western side, there appeared to be a great many breakers, some of which lay at a considerable distance, particularly from the western extreme; where, by the charts, there is a shoal eight or ten miles off, though they did not appear to the captain to be more than four or five miles from the shore. He sailed along from two and a half to three leagues from the coast, but did not see breakers which appeared to extend more than a mile from shore.

He passed between this island and the Cocoas, which he found to be very erroneously laid down on the charts, which place them northeast six or seven leagues from the northern extremity of Hog Island, instead of which, they lay nearly west from said extremity at the distance of about six leagues.

His destination was the Port of Muckie, which not being laid down on any chart, or noticed in any sailing directions, and the accounts of persons differing no less than twelve miles in the latitude assigned to it, he had to proceed with the utmost caution. The charts he had were English, of the latest date at that time; but still he found no reliance could be placed on them. The country around Muckie was very inaccurately delineated, and the winds and weather still more imperfectly described in the East India Directory.

On the fourteenth of May, eighteen hundred and thirty-two, after many days of anxiety and fatigue, he came to anchor, without accident, at Muckie. During the whole of the time while

making the coast and harbour, light winds and rain occasionally prevailed, with the set of the current to the north, but not strong. Muckie he placed in 3° 24′ north, but it has since been ascertained, by repeated observations, to lie in 3° 28′. The harbour is small; only three miles deep, and one fourth of a mile wide at the entrance. The anchorage is in from seventeen and a half to eighteen fathoms. Six or eight vessels might lie here in perfect safety. The shore is coral, except a small place where the pepper is taken off; this is sand, on which the surf breaks, but not so as to prevent getting off cargoes; indeed, it is said there is not a better place to load on the whole coast. While in this bay, from the fourteenth of May to the sixth of June, the land and sea-breezes were regular; the weather was generally pleasant, though once in two or three days there was commonly a squall from the northward and westward, which lasted about an hour, and sometimes blew quite fresh.

Pepper, the only article of export, amounted at this time to about ten thousand piculs annually, though this year there was nearly double that quantity raised and exported. A portion of this, however, is brought from other small ports in the neighbourhood; such as Laboan Hadjee, only a few miles to the north, where there is also good anchorage.

Respecting the natives, the captain says he always found them friendly, though he acknowledges that it was dangerous to irritate them, or to permit many of them to come on board at the same time. He says they always carried their knives with them; that there had been instances of their taking vessels; and, from what he saw, he imagined they were always willing to take advantage of a favourable opportunity to do a like act upon an unguarded vessel; still there appeared not to be the least danger to go on shore among them, and not to irritate them; a line of conduct which he appears constantly to inculcate. He describes them as lazy, a point in their character about which there has never been room for more than one opinion. Respecting their government, he knew but little. In that part of the country there appeared to be but two men in authority among them, who made the bargains and controlled the trade. He met with several who could speak a little of the English language, and that of the Malay did not appear to him difficult to acquire. The inhabitants were estimated at

three thousand of all descriptions of natives. The Malays and Achenese, though called by the same general name Malay, are not in fact of the same origin.

The ship Recovery, Luther Dana master, sailed from Salem for the Island of Sumatra on the fifteenth of June, eighteen hundred and two, and came to anchor in Muckie on the nineteenth of May following. Dana was an intelligent master, and noted with a practical eye all he saw. He describes Lamboan Hadjee Bay as being formed by Point Mangin on the north, and Jampatnan on the south, comprehending within it Jampatnan, Muckie, Pulo Matt, Lamboan Hadjee Point, Pulo Cann, and Mangin, with some other places of less note. Muckie at that time was the residence of a powerful rajah, who owned a number of large proas. Lamboan Hadjee was much larger than Muckie, but its rajah was by no means so powerful or rich. At the southern part of the district is Pulo Matt, Pulo Cann at the northern, and Lamboan Hadjee in the centre, forming in all the district of the same name.

Proas and small craft commonly lie within a shoal bay, bordered on the southerly side by Lamboan Hadjee town; near which is the landing, and the only place allowed for trade in the district. To the east of Lamboan Hadjee Point, the land is low, and covered with trees, while from the northerly side of the bay there were but a few houses, the place having been lately burnt.

A low, small, sandy island, which is formed on a coral bank, nearly covered at high water, lies between Pulo Matt and Lamboan Hadjee Point. This small island is not much or any more than a hundred rods from the mainland, and cannot be seen more than two or three miles from a ship's deck. Between this and the main shore is safe anchorage and smooth water, while the surf breaks high and continually on the outside of the island; the shore where the surf is formed may be half a mile or more in length, and at low water is nearly bare, while the soundings are deep close aboard, and all around it. Turtles resort here in great numbers at certain seasons. To the southward and eastward of the island, near to the main, there are several dangerous shoals, and within a mile and a half of the island, which serve to defend the landing of Pulo Matt in front from the western swell, and from the south part of the bay within the island.

The passage to the anchoring ground or harbour within the island

is at the northern end, at the distance of two cable lengths from a coral shoal, over which the swell sometimes breaks. Vessels intending to anchor within this little island must round the north end near to; when between it and the main, moor where it suits, laying the heaviest anchor to the northwest, on account of the heavy swell from that quarter. The soundings are three or four fathoms near the shore on either side, and the channel is clear, with ten or fifteen fathoms water, muddy bottom. The tides ebb and flow from two and a half to three feet. At low water it is not convenient to land at the beach in a common boat, on account of the coral reef and shoals that extend some way from the landing-place. Here were found small wells of excellent water. The rajah of Lamboan Hadjee claimed jurisdiction at the island and harbour, and together with the rajah of Soo-soo, appeared anxious to trade and hold friendly communication with Americans visiting the coast. He found head men at all the landing-places within the districts, but says instances have occurred, when they can get arms and a few vagabonds about them, that they have declared their independence of the principal rajahs; but not being supported by any force that can be relied on, they are generally soon overcome. A surprise from these fellows, he says, is chiefly to be guarded against on the coast at first landing, or at any of the small unfrequented places.

The captain remarks, that he was at some pains to inquire into the truth of the many frightful reports of vessels being cut off, plundered, men murdered, &c., but could not learn that any thing of the kind had ever taken place on the west coast under the authority of any of the legal governments, except against vessels which had committed acts of piracy by seizing coasting proas, and forcibly taking away their cargoes. Occurrences of this kind had taken place even in Lamboan Hadjee Bay, by vessels from some of the European settlements. When any thing of this kind happens, the rajahs unite forces and take the vessels by storm, stratagem, or any means in their power. The natives do not easily forget such wrongs, but embrace the first opportunity of doing themselves, as they deem, justice, by retaliation upon the first aggressors.

At this period, the King of Acheen had several armed brigs and proas, which he frequently sent along the coast to enforce the

laws and collect the revenue, as well as to prevent traders from going into ports not approved of or licensed to trade. "We were frequently," says the captain, "on shore at Lamboan Hadjee, a mile or two from the vessel, with large quantities of pepper, which could not be got off till a late hour at night, but had no cause to complain for the want of protection, or of having any of it stolen, though only one or two hands were left in charge of it. Several of the ship's company went back into the country as far as the settlements, and even to the mountains, either out of curiosity or to shoot hogs, which were very plenty; and always met with the utmost civility and kindness from the natives. Probably if we had treated them," he continues, "as the Europeans are generally disposed to act towards the meaner castes of India, these privileges might not have been allowed, or at least would have been attended with more danger." From observations made during his stay, it was found that a trifle, with friendly manners, would always secure their friendship. He saw but little quarrelling among themselves; robberies and other crimes were severely punished among them, and that too in the most summary manner. For theft, the criminal is secured to a kind of wooden cross, by order of the rajah, who constitutes the whole court, and thrown into the water of a pit or some other dirty place, and is there held until strangled to death. There is no delay between trial and execution, no irons, no prisons!

When the vessel was ready to depart, the rajah and many of his people came down to the beach, not as beggars, but with evident signs of friendship, bringing and putting into the boats sugar-cane, a few fowls, cocoanuts, with other trifles; and when a short distance from the shore, two six-pounders were fired from the rajah's fort in compliment to the captain. They had more pepper on the beach for sale, but as his accounts were closed he could not take it, and it seemed to be a matter of perfect indifference to them whether he did or not.

Such is the interesting picture drawn by Dana of his visit among these people, in the year eighteen hundred and two. How much of human suffering had been prevented throughout agonized and bleeding India, had the early European voyagers to the east been governed by principles so just and so humane! But while he noted the favourable incidents of his visit, he seems not to

have been without some misgivings, and has left a warning to other navigators, which shows, notwithstanding all he had previously said, an entire want of confidence in the general character of the people; for he would not feel safe doing business at any of the outports, without a sufficient number of men and arms on board to defend his vessel in case of any attempt to surprise. A strong and vigilant watch was at all times necessary. He recommended, as highly prudent in vessels procuring cargoes of pepper, to have strong crews, notwithstanding the additional expense; for it is not possible always to make despatch, if doing business on shore. While some of the men are on land, others in the boats, there should always be a sufficient force on board to manage or defend the vessel, as emergences required. If there should be any of the crew sick, as often happens, and generally from imprudence, without a strong crew business would go on but slowly; as there is no getting the Malays to work when they can possibly avoid it.

Within Lamboan Hadjee Bay are many coral shoals, and a long heavy swell sometimes heaves in from the westward, often breaking high, and should not be too carelessly encountered, either in boats or by a vessel. A coral shoal, over which the waves sometimes break, bears from Sandy Island southwest or southwest-by-west, distant four or five miles. Point Mangin is low land, covered with lofty trees, with the little huts of the inhabitants interspersed among them. There are many corals about this point, and it is difficult, at all times, to land, on account of the *rollers* that break upon the beach. At the distance of about two miles north of Point Mangin is Tally Pow, from which Soo-soo, eight or nine miles further north, may be seen. Abreast of these places, Tally Pow and Mangin, there is good anchorage in from seven to seventeen fathoms, clay bottom, which is convenient to the beach of either place. In Soo-soo Bay, about a mile north of Tally Pow, there is a large shoal, over which the sea continually breaks, which serves, however, as a defence to the landing at Tally Pow, and affords inside of it smooth water and sandy bottom. When in the offing, a league or two from shore, the mountains in the interior have a broken and rugged appearance. Between the shore and foot of the mountains is a large tract of

low land, over which are spread out, in extensive cultivation, the pepper plantations.

On the twenty-sixth of April, seventeen hundred and ninety-eight, Captain Joseph Ropes, in the ship Recovery, left Salem, bound direct for Mocha, Arabia Felix, and arrived in that port on the ninth of September. This was the first American vessel that ever displayed the stripes and stars in that part of the world. The captain, who is still living, informed us that the arrival of the strange ship was viewed with great interest by the authorities, who could not divine from whence she came, and made frequent inquiries to know how many moons she had been coming. The same captain visited Padang, Sumatra, in eighteen hundred; found the natives well disposed, and was very successful in procuring a cargo of pepper.

We shall notice but one more of these early voyages, as the trade had already assumed much importance, and many vessels were now in the business. The ship Putnam sailed from Salem, November twenty-first, eighteen hundred and two. An idea of the rapid growth of the trade may be inferred from the fact, that during the same year, no less than thirty American vessels, generally small, visited the coast, seeking cargoes of pepper. The range of ports on the west side had proportionably increased, such as Analaboo, Soo-soo, Tangar, North Tally Pow, besides several smaller ports. From Analaboo were shipped a thousand piculs; Soo-soo, eighteen hundred piculs; Tangar, fifteen hundred piculs; North Tally Pow, five thousand six hundred piculs; Laboan Hadjee, eight thousand piculs; Muckie, eighteen hundred piculs. Soo-soo and Muckie were at that time the most important ports on the coast.

From this period up to the time of the interruptions occasioned by the late war with Great Britain, the trade on the coast of Sumatra was regularly prosecuted by our merchants, from several ports of the United States, Salem always taking the lead. We cannot conclude this chapter, therefore, without again recurring to the space this latter place has filled in the commercial history of our country. In the revolutionary struggles, Salem took a decided and early stand. When the port of Boston was shut by an act of the British parliament, in retaliation for the destruction of the tea which the Bostonians had thrown overboard, the merchants of

Salem offered their friends of Boston the free use of their wharves and stores until the act should be repealed, or the dispute settled.

Salem, with the neighbouring towns, Marblehead and Beverly, were foremost in taking out letters of marque and reprisal, and were wonderfully successful. The records of these early times show that the bravery of these hardy adventurers was a theme of praise throughout the colonies, and also among their enemies. When peace arrived, and our independence was acknowledged, the merchants of Salem, as has appeared in this chapter, were among the first to explore new channels of trade, disdaining to confine themselves to the narrow track of a colonial commerce, such as they had been restricted to when under Great Britain. With a few erroneous maps and charts, a sextant, and "Guthrie's Grammar," they swept round the Cape of Good Hope, exhausted the markets of the Isles of France and Bourbon, and pushing onward, entered the Straits of Babelmandel, and secured the trade of the Red Sea. They brought from Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay, the best of their staples, and had their choice of the products of Ceylon and Sumatra.

They had also a double share of the Canton trade; in fact, their ships were seen in every part of the Indian Seas, and were held in respect by all commercial nations. Much credit is due to the foremost in these enterprises. Derby, Gray, Crowningshield, Peale, White, Forrester, and others, were followed by Thorndike, Peabody, Pickman, West, Silsbee, the sons of the elder Derby and of Crowningshield, and many other enterprising merchants.

While engaged in this profitable commerce, they were assiduous in gaining a knowledge of the countries they visited, and gathered many curiosities and antiquities of the east, of which they have formed a splendid museum for the benefit of science and the arts, and the gratification of the curious who visit their town.

"The Salem East India Marine Society is composed of persons who have actually navigated the seas beyond the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn, as masters or supercargoes of vessels belonging to Salem. It was founded in October, seventeen hundred and ninety-nine, and obtained an act of incorporation in eighteen hundred and one. Two hundred and eighty-two members have been admitted, ninety-one have died, and seven have retired

from the society; so that at present it consists of one hundred and eighty-four members, of whom one hundred and thirty-two still reside in Salem."

The chief objects of the institution are, to assist the widows and children of its members, when they need it, from the funds of the society; to collect facts and make observations, which may tend to the improvement and security of navigation; and to form a museum of natural and artificial curiosities, to consist chiefly of such as are brought from beyond the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn.

The very nature of these voyages gave a peculiar character to the people. The length of time they passed on the ocean, gave the officers in these ships fine opportunities to improve their minds in various branches of knowledge. From among the masters, supercargoes, and other officers of these Indiamen, it is said there have been, from the town of Salem, a great number of the members of each branch of the legislature of the state: we know there have been three members of congress, two secretaries of the navy, a United States senator, and a great mathematician, second to no one in ancient or modern times; one who has corrected the works of Newton, and enlarged the heavens of La Place; and, in fine, many distinguished minds in every walk of life. Whatever our success in commerce hereafter may be, the enterprise of Salem will still continue an era in our annals, worthy the pen of the first commercial historian.

CHAPTER XIII.

Sumatra—Effects of the Potomac's visit illustrated by facts—Piratical practice's of the Natives previous to that event, and their good conduct since—Their former frequent attempts and failures proved by their own confessions, and the testimony of Shipmasters—Their triumphant boasting respecting the Friendship, and threats of future aggressions—Effect of that event on our eastern commerce—Revival of that commerce after the attack on Quallah-Battoo—Anecdote of Mahommed Bundah—His visit to the Potomac—Respect and admiration of the American character—Hints to Government on the protection of our commerce.

BEFORE we take a final leave of Sumatra, it may be well to pause a moment and to inquire, what will be the effect of the Potomac's visit to the pepper coast, and whether it will tend to the security of our commercial interests, and to the personal safety of our countrymen, in their future intercourse with the natives of that place. These are momentous inquiries, and they not only deserve to be treated with the greatest attention, care, and frankness, but also to be illustrated by every fact that can throw a single ray of light upon a subject of such paramount importance.

We are now ready to meet these questions promptly and fairly; for up to the present moment we have reason to believe that the minds of no inconsiderable portion of the American people, who take an interest in such matters, have been misled with regard to the true merits of the case and the inevitable result of this highly important enterprise. We are now prepared to determine the point, and to prove by the strongest testimony of which the case is susceptible, that the Potomac's visit to the western coast of Sumatra has resulted decidedly and unequivocally in the complete attainment of the objects contemplated by our government; and that the enterprise was not only wisely conceived, and faithfully and ably executed, but that any deviation from the course actually pursued, must have been followed by an almost inconceivable train of evils. The time has arrived when we can speak *knowingly* on the subject.

While in the Pacific Ocean, we fell in with a vessel which had visited Quallah-Battoo after the departure of the Potomac. Since

our return to the United States we have made it a point to go any distance, and in almost every direction, for the purpose of seeing, conversing with, and closely examining the intelligent masters, supercargoes, and officers of such American vessels as have been in the habit of trading and holding intercourse with the inhabitants, both previous and subsequent to our attack on Quallah-Battoo, on the sixth of February, eighteen hundred and thirty-two.

In prosecuting this investigation, the points to which our inquiries have been especially directed are, the general deportment of the Malays before the outrage on the Friendship; the effect of that successful act of piracy along the coast, previously to the arrival of the Potomac; and the apparent feelings and deportment of the same people since the occurrence of that event.

To all these respectable and intelligent individuals we have uniformly propounded the same questions, and have received their distinct, separate, and individual replies, without the knowledge or possibility of concert with each other. These answers have afterward been carefully compared; and from more than twenty written documents, taken from the mouths of our informants, it is scarcely possible to select the least item of discrepance; a very material fact, which goes far to confirm the following views, which we now give as the abstract and substance of their united testimony. Of the fidelity of our statements they will be able to judge.

It is agreed that piracy had become a system with many petty chiefs on the coast, and particularly at Quallah-Battoo. Three or four years previous to the capture of the Friendship, they had attempted to cut off, or manifested evident intentions to do so, almost every vessel that had entered their ports. We shall only mention a few, out of many cases that might be cited.

A Salem brig was on the coast with specie, but had not commenced loading: the captain had never traded with the Malays, and was a stranger to most of the inhabitants of Quallah-Battoo. A *proa* was fitted out by them, for the express purpose of capturing his vessel while she lay at anchor; but he most fortunately suspected their designs, and would not permit them to come alongside. On their return to Battoo, they made no secret of the object of their unsuccessful expedition; the leader of which has lately been executed by the Dutch for piracy.

Another American brig was trading at Quallah-Battoo, a few weeks before the disaster of the Friendship, with weights so much lighter than are required for a Malay picul, that several of them who owned no pepper, and who saw that the captain was entirely ignorant of trade, advised him to make them heavier. A plan was also projected to take this vessel in the same manner they afterward did the Friendship, by sending a greater number of Malays with the pepper to the vessel. This was prevented by one of the native clerks, who takes an account of the pepper; and who knew that if they succeeded, his only means of support would be cut off, in consequence of vessels avoiding the port; and embracing a moment when no one was observing him, said to the captain, "Twenty bags pepper—twenty-five men—take care!" A boat usually carries one hundred bags and seven men.

The clerk had good reasons to be cautious; as, not long before, it is said another had been poisoned for giving a similar intimation of an intended act of piracy; and it is often owing to the clerks that so many projected schemes of villany have been frustrated. In the present instance, the captain being thus apprized of his danger, took immediate measures to defeat the nefarious intentions of the conspirators; who, in this instance, had certainly no provocation. The same captain afterward went to Soo-soo; where they detained him on shore, under some frivolous pretext, and he was finally compelled to pay two hundred dollars for his release or ransom.

These unsuccessful attempts at cutting off vessels on the coast had become so common, that the utmost vigilance was necessary on the part of every shipmaster engaged in the trade. One of our intelligent informants was marked as the prey of the pirates, on his first voyage to Sumatra. Soon after his arrival on the coast, before he had opened any dealings with them, a large *proa* was sent from Quallah-Battoo to capture his vessel. Quick in their discrimination of strangers, they presumed upon his supposed ignorance of their character, and had made powerful arrangements for carrying their nefarious design into execution.

The captain, however, had not come upon the coast without his precautionary lesson; and, therefore, suspecting mischief, instead of permitting the well-manned *proa* to lie alongside, he compelled them to anchor at a distance. He had but eight men

on board, and had the well-armed Malays resolutely sprang among them, nothing could have saved the vessel. The captain afterward ascertained to a certainty, that the intended assailants were well prepared with loaded blunderbusses, concealed in the hold, of which fact they openly boasted at Quallah-Battoo, and expressed the bitterest chagrin at failing in the avowed object of their expedition.

The leader of this lawless gang, whose name is Mattavee, afterward armed a *proa*, and commenced a system of piracy against his own countrymen. Indeed, the instances of their piracy on each other are very common; and they often display as much treachery in their intercourse with each other, as they exercise towards strangers. Every Achenese who has the means, resides in a fort, with swivels pointed out of the room in which he sleeps, and guns mounted over the gate, which is seldom opened, a small hole being cut in it, just sufficiently large to admit one man at a time. Though always armed, a single man rarely ventures to pass from one village to another, particularly in the night. In one word, such a thing as mutual confidence does not exist among them.

Every advantage which accident or the misfortune of a ship-master may give these people, is sure to be improved in extorting money from him; and often without the least shadow of justice, as the following incident will show.

The master of an American vessel, who took in a part of his cargo at Muckie, had promised, on certain conditions, to give the chief fifty dollars. Something, however, occurring to prevent the latter fulfilling his part of the contract, it was mutually agreed between them that the promise of the captain was null and void, and that the chief had no claim upon him. Nothing further was said on the subject until the vessel had completed her loading, when the captain was decoyed into a room on shore by several Achenese, where the chief before mentioned advanced with a drawn *kris*, and demanded of him fifty dollars!

The captain reminded him of their mutual arrangement on this subject, and the clear understanding that the money was not to be paid; and that there were witnesses present who could testify to the fact. The chief replied, that the captain had met with a great misfortune in losing his memory, and that the money must and

should be paid! A compromise was finally effected, and the vessel sailed. The next season, this same chief acknowledged, in the presence of several Americans, that the money was not due; and this happened at a place where the people were justly esteemed to be the best on the coast.

While the brig Thule, of New-York, was lying at Quallah-Battoo, several of her men deserted, whom the rajah took under his protection, gave them arms, and told them to shoot the captain if he attempted to molest them. He then negotiated with the captain to restore the men at a certain stipulated price. The men, however, were never given up; and the captain, having lost several others by sickness, was compelled to leave the port with only seven hands, including himself, being about half her complement.

Po Quallah, while at Joo-Joo, boasted of his success in taking the Friendship; and observed, to adopt his own expression—"My feet are now stained with blood; and if I dip my whole body, it will be no worse for me in this world or the next. I will now cut off every American vessel that falls in my power." This remark implies a consciousness of wrong, even in a religious point of view, and the Malays, at other ports, have frequently admitted that the people at Quallah-Battoo deserved punishment. Yet it is a well-known fact, that after the piratical capture of the Friendship, almost every Malay on the coast exulted, considering it a national triumph over "the invincible white man." In fact, on every part of the coast, as can be testified by many respectable witnesses, they boastingly threatened that if the American government did not notice the outrage at Quallah-Battoo, every American vessel that visited the coast on the following season would suffer the fate of the Friendship. This was repeatedly uttered, at ports so distant from each other, and so soon after the event, that it goes far to prove the piratical propensities of these people; and that if they could rob and murder with impunity, neither moral considerations, nor their allegiance to any superior power, should restrain them.

Willing and anxious as we are to meet the whole question, let it be admitted, for a moment, that among the victims of our justice at Quallah-Battoo, there were some innocent individuals. If such be the fact, no one can regret it more than ourselves, as

one of the inseparable evils to a state of warfare. But let us be permitted to ask, how many innocent persons there *could* have been in the place, when almost the *whole population* poured out from the village, and rushed down to the water's edge—nay, even waded into the surf, flourishing their weapons, to prevent the escape of Captain Endicott to his ship, on board of which the massacre of his crew had already commenced? Who will say that all did not participate in the outrage, when every one exclaimed, as he saw the preconcerted signal of success waving from the tafferel, "The ship is taken!—the ship is ours!"

We freely admit the justice and humanity of that legal maxim which allows ninety and nine guilty persons to go "unwhipped of justice," rather than one innocent being should suffer; for it is perfectly applicable to that state of society in which are vigilant guardians of the peace, and where the strong arm of the law arrests the culprit almost as soon as the offence is committed. But it cannot be appropriately applied to the present case, where, as we have abundantly shown, every shadow of law and justice is recklessly trampled under foot; where the lives and property of our citizens, while engaged in their peaceful and lawful pursuits, can receive no protection from the nominal rulers; where the elevation of rank and station is seldom accompanied by the elevation of moral character; and where the rajahs themselves descend to the same petty tricks that are practised by their meanest subjects. Lenity to such people is inhumanity to the honest and deserving.

Knowing, as we do, the character of this people, the length of time which has elapsed since the commencement of our intercourse with them, and the number of vessels trading on the coast, the only matter of astonishment is, that they should have escaped so long! It is, doubtless, owing in part to the unceasing vigilance of the masters of vessels trading on the coast, and partly from an exaggerated idea of the physical superiority of the Americans, and the apprehension of the more wealthy of losing our trade, which to them is a matter of the utmost importance. But their diminished resources, in consequence of the present depreciation in the value of pepper, and their additional wants, arising from the increased consumption of opium, have of late years rendered many so desperate, that they are ripe for the commission

of any crime, from which they are not restrained by the fear of punishment. In confirmation of this fact we have numerous incidents before us, with one of which only we shall trouble the reader.

Soon after the affair of the Friendship, the brig Homer, Captain Loveitt, came to anchor off Quallah-Battoo; and though he happened to be, from vague rumour, aware that something wrong had occurred, he was not exactly acquainted with what it was; and, in consequence, went directly and confidently on shore in his boat with two men. He had the precaution, however, to order his men in the boat to shove off to some distance from the beach, while he advanced to communicate with the rajahs.

It was not many minutes before he found himself a prisoner, and surrounded by a vast number of armed Malays, determined to despatch him. They held a solemn debate among themselves on the policy of the measure; the amount of which, together with their fatal determination, was communicated to the captain by one of the minority, in broken English. Expostulations he knew would be fruitless, and he was about resigning himself to the dreadful fate which appeared inevitably to await him, when an aged Achenese arose, and with the usual salutatory gesture, spoke on the unpopular side of the question. His arguments in favour of the prisoner were not appeals to their justice or humanity, but to their self-interest. He maintained that if they laid violent hands on the captain, the getting possession of his vessel was still a very doubtful matter; while, in either case, the loss of the American trade was equally certain. Here was much to lose and nothing to gain. This argument was deemed unanswerable, and the captain was finally restored to liberty.

The same kind of feeling at that time pervaded the natives along the whole coast, and the same sentiments were boldly and hourly expressed up to the period of the Potomac's arrival. The Malays daily became more insolent and presuming, and without the most incessant vigilance and wary precaution, no American's life was safe. Many of the pepper planters, who had become ruined by the indulgence of their extravagant and dissipated propensities, sometimes staking a whole crop on a single cock-fight, were no better than reckless desperadoes, inciting and urging each other to acts of piracy and murder; while others, of more power

and influence, were not only restrained by motives of policy and self-interest, but they recollected that twelve moons had not yet passed away, and that the big ship, with whose visit they had been threatened, might yet come to their shores.*

Hence it appears evident, that a regular system of piracy on our commerce with Sumatra was only prevented by the conflicting passions of fear and cupidity on one part, and the increased caution and vigilance of shipmasters on the other. From the concurrent testimony of every person familiar with the Malay character, and who happened to be on the coast at the period alluded to, we are fully convinced, that had not our government sent an armed vessel to redress our grievances, or had the commander of that vessel acted with indecision and want of energy, the United States' commerce on that coast would, in a very short time, have been totally annihilated.

To what extent the commercial interests of our country were actually affected by the piratical capture of the Friendship, we are not prepared to say, with any degree of precision; but official records show that our imports from and exports to India and China, were, for the years 1830, 1831, and 1832, as follows :—

	Imports from—		*Exports to—*		
1830,	China	$3,878,141	$156,290	domestic	produce
			585,903	foreign	do.
	Asia generally	94,451	56,318	domestic	do.
			229,290	foreign	do.
1831,	China	3,083,205	244,790	domestic	do.
			1,046,045	foreign	do.
	Asia generally	77,861	48,268	domestic	do.
			251,126	foreign	do.
1832,	China	5,344,907	336,162	domestic	do.
			924,360	foreign	do.
	Arabia	24,025			
	Asia generally	111,180	42,838	domestic	do.
			469,489	foreign	do.
	Cape of Good Hope	12,015			

From the above it will be seen, that in the year eighteen hundred and thirty-one, the commencement of which was distinguished by the piratical capture of the Friendship, mercantile confidence was impaired; or, from some cause or other, our imports from the east were much reduced in amount from those of the preceding year. But after the visit of the Potomac, and the punishment of the

* See page 226.

pirates, an event which marked the commencement of eighteen hundred and thirty-two, our imports from the east were augmented more than one third, while our exports of domestic produce were increased in the same ratio. The increase was still greater in the year eighteen hundred and thirty-three, up to the month of September. To China, the exports of domestic produce were $537,774; foreign produce, $895,774; and to Asia generally, domestic produce, $60,152; foreign, $477,042. Imports from China, $7,541,570; Asia generally, $269,425.

Along the whole pepper coast, since the visit of the Potomac, a remarkable change has taken place in the deportment of the natives. Ever since that (to them) memorable event, they have been far less presuming and insolent; are guilty of fewer unjust exactions; acknowledge on all hands that they have received new lights on the subject of our national character, and confess that, contrary to their former opinion of our being "merely a nation of traders," they now own the superiority of our power, and sensibly feel that we have both the will and the means to redress our grievances.

The port of Muckie, as we have already stated, is a place of considerable trade, about twenty-five miles south of Quallah-Battoo. Here resides a young native of some consequence and notoriety, both as a pilot and pepper trader, by the name of Mahommed Bundah. He is shrewd, intelligent, and enterprising, and is respected by his countrymen as second only to the rajah. He is well acquainted on the coast, particularly at Laboan Hadjee, a port but a few miles further north, occasionally visited by American traders.

Previous to the capture of the Friendship, a similar project was in agitation, by a gang of young desperadoes at Laboan Hadjee, for seizing an American vessel then lying at that port; and as they wished for a bold and active leader, they sent a message to Mahommed Bundah, at Muckie, stating that they wished to see him on business of importance. Ignorant of their intentions, the young man repaired to Laboan Hadjee, where they let him into the secret of their conspiracy, and solicited him to join the expedition, with a promise of one half the booty which might accrue from the adventure, in case of success.

Young Bundah resisted the temptation, as he says, on the

grounds that if they were even successful, which was extremely doubtful, the sum of money which would fall to his share would be no compensation for the loss he should sustain in mercantile reputation, together with the confidence and trade of the Americans; while the attempt, without succeeding, would be all loss and no gain. He would therefore have nothing to do with it.

After the disaster of the Friendship, her commander, Captain Endicott, told Mahommed Bundah that within the space of twelve months from the perpetration of that piratical act, a big ship from the United States would most assuredly visit Quallah-Battoo, and severely punish the aggressors. Young Bundah was seriously struck with this solemn assurance, and expressed strong feelings of alarm for the result. Captain Endicott therefore assured him that no one would suffer but the guilty, as Americans never injured the unoffending; and that he and his friends need be under no apprehensions on account of their property or personal safety. As a pledge of his sincerity, the captain gave Mahommed a letter of introduction and recommendation to the commander of the hostile force, whoever he might be, that should visit the coast.

Bundah was not alone in being affected by this menace of national vengeance, so solemnly predicted by Captain Endicott. It was circulated and talked of all along the coast. Some, like their friends in another quarter, "believed and trembled." Many reckless spirits heard it with indifference; and the great majority ridiculed it as an impossibility.

In the mean time, "moons waxed and waned," time rolled on, and the first influence of the prediction became gradually weakened in the minds of all. Like the Jews of old, they began to doubt the veracity of the prophet, and to mock at the tardiness of justice.

Twelve months had nearly elapsed—the thirteenth moon was at hand, and they still reposed in fancied security, continually projecting new acts of piracy, in the execution of which they were so often defeated. In two days more, they would hail the anniversary of the Friendship's capture, which would occur on Friday, the ninth of February, eighteen hundred and thirty-two, and all were deriding the idea of the threatened visitation of the "big ship."

But on Monday the sixth, the inhabitants of Muckie were thrown into a paroxysm of terror and alarm, by the fatal tidings

of the entire destruction of Quallah-Battoo, with an exaggerated account of the slaughter of the Malays—that "the big ship" had indeed come, within two days of the specified period! that the arm of vengeance had fallen upon them in an hour when they looked not for it; and that the smouldering ruins of Quallah-Battoo might be gazed upon as a monument of American justice.

Young Bundah was powerfully affected by this intelligence; but he also recollected his letter to the commanding officer, and resolved, at all hazards, to visit the big ship, and to deliver it himself.

The frigate was lying at anchor at Soo-soo, where he determined to visit her, and, if possible, appease the just wrath of her commander, according to oriental usage, by the choicest presents he could command. He accordingly freighted his canoe with fowls, together with all such fruits of the island as he thought would prove acceptable to the American chief. But just as he was on the point of starting, his mother heard of his desperate intentions; and, with the amiable tenderness of a fond and anxious parent, was so much alarmed for the safety of her only son, that she begged him, with tears, to desist from a purpose which to her excited imagination was so fraught with peril, if not leading to certain death. The chiefs and principal men of the place united their entreaties with hers, in endeavouring to dissuade the young man from his rash enterprise, which they considered as running voluntarily into the tiger's mouth. As he still persisted in his purpose, the superior rajah, at the instigation of his mother, peremptorily forbade him to proceed.

Silenced, but not convinced, young Bundah affected to acquiesce and conform to their wishes. He unloaded his canoe, and professed to have abandoned his intentions. But no sooner had night drawn a veil over his proceedings, than his ready bark was cautiously reladen; and, accompanied with only one Malay, he pushed his little vessel from the shore, and both laying their muscular arms to the oars, directed their course for Soo-soo.

They had no light of the moon to cheer their lonely passage, and having now sufficient time for reflection, the young adventurer began to feel some serious apprehensions for the effect of his rashness. Parental authority and affection had been requited by filial disobedience, which is almost the only crime that re-

ceives universal reprehension among these people. But believing that he had advanced too far to recede, he resolved to go on with firmness, but with every requisite caution. He therefore changed his plan so far as to land at Soo-soo, to reconnoitre and make inquiries. He did so, and the next morning's sun lighted his little well-freighted bark on her way to the frigate.

His feelings, on thus approximating to the big ship, which had just poured such a cataract of ruin on the pirates of Quallah-Battoo, can more easily be conceived than described. He himself describes them in a style of frank simplicity that is highly amusing. His first idea, on becoming sensible of the vessel's actual magnitude, was, "No enough piculs of pepper to load such big ship!" On rowing alongside, he was instantly recognised by Mr. Barry, second officer of the unfortunate Friendship, who invited him on board, and pledged himself for his protection and kind treatment.

Reassured by this unexpected welcome by an old acquaintance, Mahommed was soon on the spardeck of the Potomac, where the first thing that arrested his attention was the splendid naval uniform of the officers; a costume which he had never seen before. But from the commanding deportment and golden epaulets which distinguished one individual on the quarterdeck, he was at no loss as to where his respects were first due. Conducted by Mr. Barry, he timidly proceeded aft, and uncovering his head, made a low and almost reverential salam to the commodore; while the latter, with a smile of welcome, took him by the hand, and assured him of his friendship and protection. Nearly bewildered with joy at this unlooked-for reception, Mahommed produced the letter of Captain Endicott, which the commodore perused, and again bid him welcome. The young rajah then pointed to his canoe, and spoke of the refreshments it contained; on which the commodore ordered them to be passed on board, and presented his visiter with twenty dollars as a compensation. By this time, Mahommed was almost beside himself with pleasure, not unmingled with pride, as he said to himself, "What the rajah and my mother say to this?"

The commodore then assigned Mahommed to the care and protection of a middy, who conducted him through various parts of the ship, and explained every thing which his wondering inquisi-

tiveness required. On descending to the gundeck, which was somewhat obscured by the closed ports, he started with surprise and alarm at the formidable appearance of what he at first mistook for a range of wild buffaloes, lying on each side of the ship; but he was soon given to understand, that these thirty-two-pounders were far more dangerous to pirates and murderers than all the buffaloes in the wilds of Sumatra.

After feasting his eyes until he was satisfied, Mahommed took his leave, and soon filled with joy and admiration the bosoms of his mother and friends at Muckie, who had all given him up for lost. From that day forward this young man has been looked up to with more admiration and respect, on account of this perilous achievement, than Columbus was ever honoured with while living, for the discovery of a new world!*

Nor was Mahommed Bundah alone in his feelings of increased admiration and respect for the American character, after the attack on Quallah-Battoo. The powerful rajah of Troumon, whose character we have already had occasion to mention in a favourable light, has often been heard to express his astonishment, that after he, with all his armed brigs, had vainly endeavoured for two years to reduce Quallah-Battoo, the Americans, with the crew of a single vessel, had destroyed it in two hours.

The lust of cupidity and thirst for plunder, which, after the capture of the Friendship, spread like a contagion along the coast from one port to another, has measurably passed away; and even the surviving rajahs of Quallah-Battoo now frequently express their wishes to be visited by our merchant vessels for the purposes of trade; and profess that they intend hereafter so to demean themselves, as never again to provoke the visit of the big ships of war.

In another point of view, they now behold our national character in a new light. In the history of the past, the investment and capture of a native town was always followed, as a matter of course, by the possession and occupation on the part of the conquerors. When Quallah-Battoo was taken by the forces under

* Such are the particulars, as often related by Bundah himself to Captain C. Williams, to whom we are indebted for many useful facts; for he not only traded, but noted with an intelligent eye what he saw on the coast of Sumatra.

Commodore Downes, not only its inhabitants, but every one else in the neighbourhood, supposed that the Americans intended to establish themselves at that place, and erect fortifications for its defence. They are now beginning to learn the important lesson, that *conquest* forms no part of our national policy; and the good effects of this lesson are already strikingly apparent.

> "For Columbia never fights
> For conquest or for plunder;
> Nothing but insulted rights
> Can wake her martial thunder."
>
> WOODWORTH.

But the work has only been fairly commenced—much still remains to be accomplished. At intervals, but not too remote from each other, our armed vessels should visit this coast. A sloop of war and a schooner would be amply sufficient, if conducted by a judicious commander. They should arrive on the coast in March, and remain until October. Every pepper port should be visited, and conferences should be held with all the principal rajahs, explaining to them the nature of our commerce, and the principles on which we always conduct our trade; impressing on them the necessity of acting with justice, and of restraining their dependants from acts of outrage. It should be particularly and emphatically represented to them, that an awful responsibility rests upon those in authority for any act of piracy that may be hereafter committed on the coast; and that an adequate punishment will assuredly tread close upon the heels of the offenders.

The officers of our vessel, while engaged in this service, might also devote a share of their time and attention in making additional surveys on the coast; while much useful information in other departments of knowledge might be collected. Something might thus be done towards removing the reproach, that we have contributed nothing to improve the hydrography of the Indian Seas. In the event of a war, to which contingency, in common with other nations, our country is ever liable, we shall feel the want of a more perfect knowledge of those remote places to which our commerce is extended.

As it respects climate at the pepper ports on the west coast of Sumatra, we have an interesting fact before us: that of one hun-

dred and fifty seamen employed in that trade during the year eighteen hundred and thirty, in ten vessels, very much exposed as they usually are on the coast, only one died in the space of four months; and his disease was not malignant in its character. In selecting an anchorage, a close harbour should be avoided. Rigas Bay should not be entered unless from necessity. As a general rule, it would be imprudent to anchor where the breezes blow over low land, and water from the wells is generally brackish and unwholesome. That article, however, can be procured, of an excellent quality, from streams which flow from the mountains.

Again we repeat, that the result of the most patient inquiry, from sources which we believe could not lead us astray, has left no doubt on our mind, that our interests on the coast of Sumatra have been placed on a footing of security hitherto unknown. The policy which directed the Potomac to that coast, to be lasting in its effects, must be followed up at all hazards and at any expense; though there exists no reason why either the one or the other should be formidable.

In every port of India to which our commerce has extended, our vessels of war should occasionally make their appearance; for it is always better by a wise policy and timely foresight to prevent the effusion of blood, than to be under the painful necessity of avenging it!

Let our intelligent shipmasters, supercargoes, and officers, whose adventurous spirits lead them to visit the ports of semi-barbarians, reflect that they too have an important part to perform. They should never forget that they are American citizens; and in those remote situations, often the only representatives of our national character. Let them study to elevate that character in the estimation of the natives by an honourable intercourse, a just and fair competition in trade. For while our government shall continue ever vigilant and ready to protect its citizens in their lawful trade, and to avenge their wrongs at the most distant points of the globe, however difficult and hazardous to approach by heavy-armed vessels, considerations of honour, justice, and humanity require that we should always be in the right.

An evil still exists on the pepper coast of Sumatra which requires correction, while we confess ourselves at a loss to propose

a proper remedy. We allude to the want of a regular standard of weights. The Malay picul is one hundred and thirty-three and a third pounds; but so far is this from prevailing in all the ports, that the standard of weight is as much a matter to be regulated by contract, as the price of the pepper itself. The consequence must be obvious; the Malay will sand or wet his pepper, and the trader will provide against loss by endeavouring to procure greater weight. The trader in a neighbouring port, fearing that his competitor will get better measure than himself, and thus enter the home market to better advantage, will exert himself in his contract, so as to guard against such a contingency. While this state of things exists, difficulties will occasionally occur; and though not of great importance, they are still annoying and perplexing, without bringing profit or advantage to any one.

We have conversed with no one interested in this subject, who does not feel anxious that this difficulty should be removed by the establishment of some standard; and it can make but little difference what that standard is, so that it be uniform. By concert of action, in one season the difficulty might be settled. This concert, however, is hard to bring about; for while all feel the necessity, who shall begin the reform?

There can be no impropriety in having this question decided and put to rest by government. An armed vessel, visiting the coast, might be provided with a standard of one hundred and thirty-three and one third pounds weight, to be left with the rajahs of the principal ports, with a plain explanation of its object, and every cause for cavil or dispute would be immediately removed. We offer this as a suggestion, in the adoption of which our merchants and traders would, we have no doubt, most cheerfully acquiesce.

But we have lingered long—perhaps the reader may think too long—upon the Island of Sumatra. If there be any of this opinion, we beg them to reflect that forty years—a large portion of our national existence—have now passed away since the commencement of our trade on that coast; that as early as eighteen hundred and three, thirty vessels, small ones it is true, were in the trade; that it has been continued with varied success and occasional interruptions to the present time; employing from six

hundred to twelve hundred thousand dollars capital annually; that the direct and circuitous trade springing from this island, has formed no inconsiderable item of our commercial prosperity; that if the aggregate of the whole trade could be ascertained, it would probably not fall far, if any, short of a sum equal to the entire capital of the Bank of the United States; and yet, only a short time since, when it became necessary to despatch an armed vessel to that point, a chart of the coast was not to be found in the possession of our government! And though the inquiry was not actually to be made, in what part of the world Sumatra was located, yet almost every thing that was known of it beyond the circle of those who were engaged in the trade, will be found in the Appendix marked A. and B.

This is not the only point to which these remarks might be applied; for many others could be named, were it our present purpose to do so. The genius of our people is strongly and decidedly imbued with the spirit of maritime adventure; and it is hoped, for the honour of our country and the American name, that the time has at length come, when the knowledge and protection of our government shall at least keep pace with, if not lead in, the enterprise of its citizens.

Previous to the Potomac, no public vessel had visited India and China for the special protection of our commerce, since the Congress frigate in eighteen hundred and twenty-two; and none had passed through these seas since, except the Vincennes, on her return from the Pacific in eighteen hundred and thirty. Following in the track of the Potomac, the Peacock and Boxer have both been in the east, and through a commercial agent, who went in the Peacock, we have understood that some new channels of trade have been opened, and obstructions in old ones removed. There is still room for further action; while further comment is reserved for another place.

An ample supply of wood and water, and fresh provisions from Soo-soo, had now been taken on board; and the rajahs of the neighbourhood continued to pay their visits to the commodore, or to send their deputations with professions of peace, and the promise of their future good deportment towards the Americans. It might have been well, had time permitted further con-

ference; but that was impossible. Other places in the east were to be visited, and the wide Pacific was to be crossed, ere the Potomac could reach the place of her original destination; so that on the morning of the eighteenth of February, the word was given to get under way.

"The anchor upheaves, the sails unfurl,
The pennons of silk in the breezes curl;
And the crest of the billows before her flung."

CHAPTER XIV.

Passage to the Strait of Sunda—Centennial Anniversary of Washington's Birthday—Patriotic Reflections—Enter the Strait—Prince's Island—Java Head—Flat Point—Keyser's Bay—Lampoon Bay—Rajah Bassa Peak—Hog Point—Mew Bay and Island—Pepper Bay—Anger Roads and village—Cap and Button—Bantam, or St. Nicholas' Point—Shores of Bantam—Beautiful Prospect—Bantam Hill, bay, town, and villages—Traffic with the natives—Perilous adventure of the Commodore—The Thousand Islands—Burial of the dead—The Potomac anchors in Batavia Roads—Beacons in the Strait of Sunda.

As stated at the conclusion of the preceding chapter, the Potomac left the coast of Sumatra on Saturday, the eighteenth day of February, eighteen hundred and thirty-two, and for four days afterward was constantly tantalized with light and variable winds. Although at considerable distance from land, on the morning of Wednesday, the twenty-second, and within the usual range of the regular monsoon, the latter was found to be so much affected by the influence of alternate land and seabreezes, that the frigate was virtually deprived of the benefit of both. Hence, she was almost constantly becalmed, and the slightest breeze was hailed as a welcome visiter—all hands running on deck to meet it.

Besides, this day, the twenty-second of February, eighteen hundred and thirty-two, was the centennial anniversary of the birth of Washington! How many manly and patriotic hearts on board that gallant ship, were throbbing with fervid emotion, responsive to the reflections which naturally suggested themselves! —"What a glorious day is this, in our own country, where it is consecrated by patriotism, and hallowed by the gratitude of millions of independent freemen! What multitudes are now met together, indulging in pleasing recollections of the past, and in fond anticipations of the future! A century! One hundred years! What a little point in the annals of time!—what a small space in the age of a nation! What was our country, and what were we as a people one hundred years ago! What changes—what eventful vicissitudes have we passed through! If true to ourselves, what high destinies await us!

"'O Washington! dearest and best of our race,
Thy deeds through the night-cloud of ages shall lighten;
Thy name on his banner the soldier shall trace,
To hallow his death, or his triumph to brighten.'"—SPRAGUE.

"Insulated and distant as we are from our homes and the soul-exciting ceremonies and festivities of the day,—with nearly the whole diameter of the globe between us—still we exult in the proud name and privileges of American citizens, and feel that the national tie which binds us to that beloved region, strengthens by distance. Though antipodes to those of our joyful countrymen who are now united in celebrating the birthday of Washington, we are with them in heart, and warmly embrace them with the arms of affection, gratitude, and patriotism. We pledge them in the deep musings of the silent heart; and between the change of watch, and the pressure of a tropical sun, we honour the day as well as our nautical duties will permit."

Such doubtless were the unexpressed feelings of many on this interesting occasion; neither were the brave tars forgotten, on whose valour and steadiness the efficacy and glory of our navy depend. They were treated by the commodore to an extra exhilarating draught; or, in language more technically correct, they were all called to "splice the main brace."

But they were recalled from the pleasing visions of their distant homes and national festivities, by the sadder duties incidental to their present situation. The sick-list had begun to swell on board the Potomac, and now comprised more invalids than it had at any former period since she left the United States. Some of these new cases were dysentery,—that ruthless scourge of seamen in the East Indies, and brought on, perhaps, in this instance, by change of diet, and drinking the river-water of Sumatra; but all things considered, the ship's crew might even then be termed very healthy.

From the last-mentioned date until the first of March, the Potomac stood along the outer channel, from the north, almost constantly beset by squalls, particularly for the last two or three days. But even these changes were acceptable, as they cooled the air, and relieved the redundant pulse and throbbing temple. On Thursday, the first of March, the wind was again fresh and steady, so that the ship was once more throwing the spray and

curling the water under her bows, in the fine style of ten knots an hour. In the evening, land was again announced from aloft, which proved to be the Island of Engano, the most southerly of the large islands on the west side of Sumatra. We lay to during the night with the maintopsail to the mast. On the following morning we again made sail, and stood for the Strait of Sunda, which has two channels leading into it from the northward:—viz., the small channel between the west end of Java and Prince's Island, and the great channel to the north of this island, between it and the south coast of Sumatra.

The channel between Prince's Island and Java Head is about four miles wide. This island, which is called by the natives *Pulo Poutaugh*, is the largest of any at the mouth of the strait, and yet not more than five leagues in extent, lying in latitude 6° 30′ south, and longitude 105° 10′ east. Near its centre are some hills of moderate elevation, but near the shores the land is low, particularly on the west side, fronting the open sea. The Dutch were formerly in the habit of traversing this narrow channel, considering it the safer passage of the two. Many ships continue to do the same, although the other and wider channel between Prince's Island and Crockatoa is most generally frequented.

At eight o'clock on the morning of Friday, the second of March, Java Head was in sight; but did not present, as was expected, the appearance of a high bluff or promontory, although elevated land was seen over it, which may have been often taken for Java Head itself. A little to the eastward of it the land is also high, with steep cliffs facing the sea.

Java Head lies in latitude 6°48′ south, and longitude 105° 11′ east, and 1° 41′ west from the city of Batavia. The coast of Sumatra, in a soft blue mist, was visible on the west, and the strait was expanding directly ahead, to the northeast. At this moment a wreck was reported, which brought all hands on deck. The unfortunate stranger could be distinctly seen lying on her beam ends, with stump-topmasts extending out horizontally. Even the suffering survivers could be distinctly discerned clinging to the helmless hull, and the sympathies of all were quite awakened, as the Potomac's course was altered to bear down upon it. This amiable excitement, however, was but of short duration; as, on nearing the object of solicitude, it proved to be the trunk of a large pal-

metto-tree, which had loomed so largely that all were astonished at the deception.

A most beautiful and perfectly-defined circle appeared round the sun this morning, of a dark cloudy colour, with its edges tinged with the brightest yellow and pink. Some say that this phenomenon is indicative of a gale. Such an appearance around the moon, we believe, is always considered, both by seamen and landsmen, as the precursor or premonitory symptom of an impending storm. Thus Falconer, in his beautiful nautical poem of the Shipwreck—(a dreadful disaster, in which the poet himself was a participator and one of the few survivers)—describes the phenomenon alluded to in the following lines:—

> "The waning moon, behind a watery shroud,
> Pale glimmered o'er the long protracted cloud;
> A mighty ring around her silver throne,
> With parting meteors cross'd, portentous shone;
> This in the troubled sky full oft prevails,
> Oft deemed a signal of tempestuous gales."

By noon, Prince's Island was close aboard, and the Island of Crockatoa began faintly to pencil its outlines on the distant horizon. About four P. M., the wind hauled aft, and directly into the strait. The frigate was now standing up the passage, before the wind, with yards across, and the breeze fresh, moving at the rate of twelve knots, all steering sails set, and the water foaming and curling around her bows. The ship's band was playing in a lively and animating style. Every officer and man was at his post on deck, land was in view on every side, comprising some of the most picturesque landscapes in nature. On the left, the great Island of Sumatra was expanding her arms as if to meet the similar advances of her neighbour Java, while a numerous progeny of lovely little islands were smiling between them—the clouds above, at the same time, arched with several rainbows, the effect of different squalls. In one word, the *coup-d'œil* of the picture was beautiful beyond description; and though perhaps not equal in grandeur and sublimity to the mountain scenery which surrounds and enriches the view at Rio Janeiro, yet in softness, gayety, and mellowness of appearance, it is not inferior to that or any other in the world.

Our frigate had now fairly entered this highly interesting pas-

sage, called the Strait of Sunda, which is formed by the near approximation of Java to Sumatra, the western extremity of the one approaching to within a few leagues of the southeastern extremity of the other. These two extensive, but comparatively narrow islands, were probably once united at the point where this very passage now exists; and this supposition is strengthened by the fact, that the channel between them is speckled with numerous little islands of various dimensions. This strait is between fifty and sixty miles in length, and varying from twenty to fourteen in breadth. The features of the two grand islands are presented to the spectator while passing between them, and distinguished by the peculiar luxuriance, softness, and amenity of their native teints of verdure. On both these great islands, and particularly on Sumatra, which forms the western boundary of the strait, all is vegetation and verdure—all repose—all silent, monotonous, and unvarying; there is no particular point for the eye to rest on. Like the new and virgin isles of the west, when first discovered by Columbus, the prospect presents one continued extent of soft and luxuriant green—communicating refreshment to the eye, but conveying no cheering sentiment to the heart. Such to the first man might have been the aspect of the earth prior to the formation of his helpmate. It is associated with such a cheerless idea of solitude, of loneliness, and of the total absence of social affections and intercourse, that one might well exclaim with the poet—

> "* * * * Woman—oh woman! whose form and whose soul,
> Are the spell and the light of each path we pursue;
> Whether sunned in the tropic, or chilled at the pole,
> If woman be there, there is happiness too."

On directing the eye to the east side of the strait, the coast of Java (particularly the shore of Bantam) presents a different aspect. The forests have been broken in upon by the arts of civilization, and the intermediate patches of cleared ground exhibit evident testimony of the progress of agriculture, imparting variety and beauty to the prospect, and teaching the wanderer to feel that civilized beings are near him, ready to participate with him in those social enjoyments, debarred from which every place is a desert.

The wind had slackened some, but still our well-trimmed vessel

moved on at the rate of eight knots, and every one expected to reach Lampoon Bay, which is situated on the Sumatra side of the strait, on the following day. At ten o'clock, P. M., however, the wind had become so light that it was necessary to come to anchor, which was done in sixty-two fathoms of water, and about five miles distant from the Island of Crockatoa. At daylight the next morning, Saturday, March the third, our ship was again got under way, and as the wind was dead ahead from the northeast, the whole day was employed in beating up towards Lampoon Bay. As this process afforded an excellent opportunity for examining both sides of the strait, we shall here give a short description of that interesting avenue, which leads from the Indian Ocean into the China Sea.

The southwesternmost extremity of Sumatra, which bounds the west entrance to the Strait of Sunda on that side, is called Flat Point, and is in latitude 104° 40′ east, distant about three leagues southeast from Fortune Island. Flat Point is a long neck of land, jutting out and projecting several leagues from the mainland of Sumatra, and forming the southwest side of Keyser's Bay. The south part of this neck of land is low and woody, and its extreme point is sometimes called Tanjong Chinna. Vessels have anchored on the east side of this point in seventeen fathoms, where they were sheltered from northwest winds, and procured a supply of water.

On proceeding further up the strait, the coast of Sumatra is found to be indented by two large bays; one of which is Keyser's, just mentioned, and the other, further north, Lampoon Bay. There are also, along this side of the strait, several islands and rocks of various dimensions. Keyser's Bay projects into the land about five leagues, in a northwesterly direction, and is about three leagues wide, having water of various depths, from fifty to one hundred fathoms, inside along the western shore, and at the upper part, where the anchorage is good, over a muddy bottom. The village of Borne stands close to the northwest end of he bay, where there are some shoal rivulets. The shores are generally low, and the lands marshy near the sea; but in some places there are pepper plantations. A little inland from the northwest angle of the bay, rises a high conical mountain, called Samanca, or Semanco Peak, also Keyser's Peak. There are other moun-

tains eastward, between this peak and Lampoon Bay, the most elevated of which is called Lampoon Peak. These mountains can be seen a great way at sea in clear weather, by vessels running for the Strait of Sunda.

In the middle of the entrance to Keyser's Bay is Tubooan, or Keyser's Island, which is high, bold, and safe to approach, the channel on either side being spacious and clear of danger; but the water is deep, and the bottom rocky in some places. On the northeast side of the island, there is anchorage in fifteen or sixteen fathoms, sandy bottom, about a mile from the shore. Near the east point there is a salt water creek, six feet deep at the entrance, with fresh water at the head, where a supply may be procured. There are some pepper plantations on the island; and at the east end are tall trees, fit for masts. There is an excellent harbour, with five, six, and seven fathoms water in it near the east point of Keyser's Bay, which may be known by some islets close to the entrance, one of them resembling a sugarloaf.

Lampoon Bay, which the Potomac was now endeavouring to reach, is further up the strait, on the same coast, about thirty miles from Flat Point and Keyser's Bay. It is formed between Tanjong Tekoos on its west, and Rajah Bassa on its east side; and is not less than twenty miles wide at its entrance, and extends northward into the land nearly the same distance. From Tanjong Tekoos, the west point of the bay, a chain of islands extends a considerable way to the eastward, having channels between some of them, and also between them and the point, with soundings from forty to twenty fathoms. Other islands line the western shore of the bay inside, between which and the main there are several good roads or places of shelter, formed by the adjoining islands and shoals, with small villages opposite to them on the main.

The outermost and largest island near the entrance of the bay, is called Pulo Lagoondy, and is separated from Tanjong Tekoos by a channel about half or three fourths of a mile wide, with thirty or forty fathoms water in it, and no soundings outside in the entrance, which seems to render it rather intricate for large ships, as it is formed by high land, liable to produce eddy winds, accompanied at times by strong currents. But with a leading land-breeze in the morning, a ship may run out through it with safety.

On the north side of Pulo Lagoondy is a small bay called Naanga Harbour, with the small island of Pulo Patappan in the middle of its entrance, on the east side of which is the best passage into the harbour, by borrowing near the shore of Pulo Lagoondy. The depths are here from fifteen to ten fathoms, and inside the harbour from twelve to seven fathoms, where a ship may moor secure from all winds, and careen, if necessary.

Rajah Bassa Road, situated directly under the highland called Refreshment Head, which forms the east side of Lampoon Bay, is an excellent place for procuring good water with facility; together with refreshments, such as turtle, fowls, buffaloes, oranges, plantains, &c. But the purchaser must always be on his guard against treachery. Large vessels ought not to anchor in less than ten fathoms; for although the soundings decrease regularly over a soft bottom to six or seven fathoms in general, yet the shore is fronted by a rocky bank, which projects out to five or six fathoms in some places, and is also quite steep.

Rajah Bassa Peak, also called Ejow Peak, is about one thousand six hundred feet in height. The anchorage of the road opposite is in latitude 5° 50′ south, and it is about seven miles east of Crockatoa Peak, or in longitude 105° 32′ east. The water deepens to twenty-five and twenty-seven fathoms towards the Three Brothers, three isles which are situated about four miles west-by-north from Cocoanut Point, which is the south extremity of Rajah Bassa Road. There is a depth of eighteen fathoms in the gut between the middle and south Brothers. In coming from the eastward, these three islands appear as one, and do not begin to open until the vessel approaches Rajah Bassa Road. The depths in crossing Lampoon Bay to Pulo Lagoondy are from thirteen to nineteen fathoms, regular soundings and good anchorage.

Cocoanut Point is low, overhung by cocoanut-trees, from whence the coast tends easterly, forming a concavity between it and Hog Point. The land is rather low near the latter, but rises gradually to an elevated peak, about a league eastward of Cocoanut Point.

The northeastern boundary of the Sunda Strait, on the Sumatra side, is a sharp projection of land, called Tanjong Toca, or Hog Point, which is situated about four leagues to the southeast

of Lampoon Bay, in latitude 5° 54′ south, longitude 105° 43′ 30″ east, or 1° 8′ 30″ west from Batavia, by chronometer. This point forms the southeast extremity of Sumatra, and here is the narrowest part of the strait, it being only fourteeen miles across to Java.

There is a rock six or seven feet above water, two miles northwest from Hog Point, called Collier's Rock, being about fifty feet in circuit, and fifty distant from it lies a coral rock under water. These two dangers are about a mile distant from the shore, with fifty or fifty-five fathoms close to them on the outside. There is another rock above water bearing south from Hog Point, distant two thirds of a mile, with sixty-five or seventy fathoms outside of it, and deep water between it and the point, which is very bold, and surrounded by deep water.

Fronting the Sumatran shore to the northeast of Hog Point, are Zutphen Islands, which are sometimes called Hog Islands, and sometimes the Hounds. Between them and the main are several shoals and islets, with anchorage among them in some places. The largest of these islands, and part of the coast adjacent, are high land, mostly covered with wood; to the southward they are very steep, having from forty to fifty fathoms of water very near them, where they ought not to be closely approached; but towards the northernmost of the group there are from twenty-three to thirty fathoms, and here ships might occasionally anchor, particularly off the north end of this island, which lies in latitude 5° 50′ south. A river empties its waters near this place, and about a mile and a half from its mouth stands a village called Tangrea, with rice-fields around it, cattle, poultry, and plenty of cocoanuts. But the natives are not to be trusted.

Having thus taken a brief look at the Sumatran shore on the northwest side of the Strait of Sunda, we now beg the reader to accompany us "on the other tack," and take a peep at the Java coast, which lines the southeast side of the same strait.

We have already stated that there are two channels to enter the Strait of Sunda from the Indian Ocean, one between Java Head and Prince's Island, and the other outside of Prince's Island, the latter being the one selected by the Potomac. The channel between this island and the shores of Java is about four miles broad. It is called Prince's Strait, and sometimes the Behouden, or Safe Pas-

sage of the Dutch. It is not so much frequented as the other, but is always adopted if a ship intends to water at Mew Bay, which is more convenient for that purpose than Prince's Island.

Java Head, which bounds the southwestern entrance to the Strait of Sunda on the Java side, is a projection of land, not pointed, but about twelve miles wide at its extremity. It is generally high and steep, projecting a little in the middle.

About six miles north of Java Head is a projection of land known by the name of "First Point of Java," otherwise called Tanjong Jungkulan; and this is the south point of the entrance of Prince's Strait. It is easily known by a remarkable rock off it, called the Friar, which lies nearly southeast-by-south, about five miles from the Carpenters, which bound the other side of Prince's Strait. The First Point is in latitude 6° 44′ south, about two leagues north of the Head, and the coast between them, which forms a bight, is fronted by high rocks, in some places stretching out about a mile. On these rocks, as also on the Friar and Carpenters, the sea beats high during westerly winds or in bad weather. Ships proceeding through Prince's Strait during the northwest monsoon, should keep near to Prince's Island and the Carpenters, particularly in working out against westerly winds; for a current will then generally be found setting out in their favour. During the other monsoon, when winds prevail from the southeast and south, vessels ought to keep nearest to the Java shore and the Friar; which rock may be approached within one or two cables' length.

About a league northeast of First Point is Mew Island, situated in a bay of the same name. This island, which is also sometimes called Cantœ, lies in latitude 6° 43′ south, and is small and hilly, abounding with wood. Between it and First Point there is an islet near the Java shore, and regular soundings over a sandy bottom are found to stretch along the side of Prince's Strait. There is a safe but narrow channel between Mew Island and Java, with various soundings from five to eight and ten fathoms, in mid-channel, over a sandy bottom, where a ship may lie land-locked, sheltered from all winds.

Second Point, or Tanjong Along-along, is in about latitude 6° 36′ south, and three leagues to the northeast of Mew Island. It may be approached to fifteen or sixteen fathoms, about one and a

half or two miles distant. On the east side of the point lies Welcome Bay, extending a great way into the land, and containing several islets and shoals, particularly on the west side. The eastern side is more clear, with good shelter in the southeast monsoon; but in the westerly monsoon this bay ought to be avoided.

Third Point, or Tanjong Lussong, is in latitude 6° 27′ south, separating Welcome Bay from Pepper Bay, the latter being situated on the east side of this point, and it bears nearly northeast-by-east-half-east, five or six leagues from Second Point. To the eastward of the point there is an islet inside of Pepper Bay, with a shoal to the northwest, rendering the approach to it dangerous, which is the case throughout Pepper Bay, the water being generally shoal. When a ship is abreast of Third Point, about a league distant, a small island is seen at the northeast part of Pepper Bay, bearing about east-by-north, but will then be confounded with the contiguous coast. If intending to touch there, it will be prudent to steer across the bay, keeping the island on the starboard bow, and not borrow towards the shoal water near the Java shore. This little island is called Seriguy, or Paulo Papapale.

Fourth Point, or Tanjong Cicorang, is situated about four and a half leagues north-by-east from Seriguy. This point is low to seaward; and most of the coast between it and Welcome Bay is low, interspersed with hills in some places, and abounding with cocoanuts. On coasting along between Seriguy and Fourth Point, a ship should keep a league or more from the shore, in soundings from twenty to thirty fathoms, in order that she may be enabled to come to anchor, if calms and contrary currents should render it necessary. If a ship, having entered Prince's Strait, be abreast of Second Point, she ought to steer a direct course for Fourth Point, bearing nearly northeast from the former, distant about thirteen leagues; or, having entered by the great channel to the north of Prince's Island, she should run for the same point if she intend to stop at Anger Road, or is bound to Batavia,—for it will be prudent to keep near the Java coast during the monthly monsoon, and to pass between it and Thwart-the-Way, whether bound to Batavia or Banca Strait. From Second Point to Fourth Point there is generally good ground for anchoring, occasionally in eighteen to twenty fathoms.

Anger, or Angere Village, is in latitude 6° 3′ 30″ south, longitude

105° 54′ east, about two leagues eastward of Fourth Point. It is not easily perceived in coming from the westward, being situated in a bay where the houses or huts are scattered among the cocoanut-trees, and nearly obscured by them, and by an elevated chain of inland hills. The most easterly of these is a sharp-peaked hill, called Anger Peak, directly over the village. Ships frequently touch at this place in the southerly monsoon, to procure refreshments; but the road is not considered safe or convenient in the opposite season, for it is then dangerous landing, on account of the high surf. Here may be procured buffaloes, hogs, poultry, vegetables, and sometimes turtle. The common anchorage is in Anger Road, in from nine to fourteen fathoms, abreast of the village, and water may be had by employing boats for that purpose.

John Barrow, Esq., who was here with the English embassy to Cochin China in February, 1793, very warmly recommends this place, in preference to any other in the strait, for procuring water and refreshments. After mentioning the low prices at which they procured fowls, capons, and buffaloes, he adds—"The natives usually come off in their canoes, to ships which may anchor here, with plentiful supplies of the fruits peculiar to the island, and other vegetables that may be in season. The air is dry and pleasant; and a cool refreshing breeze descends from the high lands of Java, spreading its fragrance to a distance much beyond the anchorage of the ships. Yet because this side of the strait is occasionally subject to calms, which may sometimes have caused the delay of two or three days at the utmost, few of the outward-bound China ships touch at *Anjerie*, preferring to take in a fresh supply of wood and water at North Island, or rather on the Sumatra shore opposite to this island, where only wood and water are procurable, and where numbers of seamen yearly fall a sacrifice, either to Malay treachery, from the plunderers who are always lurking among the forests on this part of the coast, or to the unhealthiness of the place, occasioned by the heavy nightly fogs that hang over this low marshy shore, and the noxious vapours arising from the putrefactive fermentation of vegetable matter; an operation which, in this region of the world, is incessantly carrying on." These observations were made many years ago; and whether they be applicable now, we are not prepared to say, as the Potomac did not touch on either side to procure

refreshments. We hope, however, to be excused for making another short extract from this close observer and elegant writer.

"Of the many little islands scattered over the surface of the strait we visited only two, that are situated at no great distance from the shore of Java. They are known to seamen by the names of the *Cap* and the *Button*. In a deep cavern, worked by the sea into the side of the former, we disturbed such a multitude of bats and swallows, that we were literally driven back by the successive volleys in which they assailed us. The bats, in particular, were excessively troublesome, by flying entirely at random, owing to their imperfect vision on encountering the light at the mouth of the cave. The swallows were of that species which, in the *Systema Naturæ*, is called *esculenta*, from the abundant use made of their nests in Chinese cookery. We found some thousands of these nests attached to the sides of the cavern, some containing young birds, and others eggs. The nests were of an oval shape, slightly joined to each other at the extremities of the longest diameter. Their external coating appeared to be the filaments of some species of seaweed, cemented together by a viscous substance, which was collected probably on the seashore; stripped of this coating, they were about the eighth of an inch in thickness, had much the appearance of a piece of hard glue, semi-transparent, and evidently composed of the same kind of gelatinous matter which kept together the interior fibres, and with which the stones and marine plants on the shores of the island were covered. On the Button Island we shot an *inguana*, which measured four feet in length, and the flesh of which, when roasted, was as white and delicate as that of a chicken."

Cap and Button Islands are about six miles from each other. The first is called by the Malays Pulo Oolar, or Snake Island, which bears north-northeast from Anger village, distant about four or five miles, and nearly east-southeast from the south part of Thwart-the-Way, between which and the Cap is the channel, having various depths of water, from twenty to fifty fathoms, over an uneven and generally rocky bottom. The Button, or Great Cap, as it is sometimes called, is situated in latitude 5° 53′ south, and two leagues north from the Small Cap, of similar appearance, but larger and higher, steep, and covered with small trees.

Seven miles east-by-north from the Button is Bantam, or St.

Nicholas's Point, in latitude 5° 52′ south, longitude 106° 2′ east, or fifty miles west from Batavia by chronometer. It is a high, bold headland, and on each side of it, close to the shore, are some small islands. The soundings of this part of the coast are generally regular, and ships may anchor in some places in twenty fathoms, clay or sand, about two or three miles from the point. The coast is high between St. Nicholas or Bantam Point, with indifferent anchorage in the channel, until the latter is approached. This point is the northern boundary of the Strait of Sunda.

On Saturday, the third of March, as before mentioned, the Potomac was beating up the strait, against a head wind and opposing current. She passed Crockatoa Island on its eastern side, enjoying a beautiful prospect of the Java shore. This island, which is about six or seven miles in length, and four or five in breadth, extending nearly northwest and southeast, is elevated and imposing in its appearance, steep on the south side, but sloping gradually to the water's edge on the north and western sides. Although every one had been enraptured with the scenery on the preceding day, all were still more delighted with the prospect which presented itself on Saturday evening, about sunset, which was far more soft, rich, and lovely, than any which had yet been seen in these waters. The atmosphere was now clear and transparent, while numerous high, various, and fancifully-shaped peaks, tinged by the setting sun, whose parting beams were fading away on the richest vegetation, displayed a landscape not to be equalled by the pencil of art.

A new-invented apparatus was this day completed and put in successful operation, for pumping the foul air from the hold of the ship. It is a very ingenious contrivance of Lieutenant B. Wilson, and perfectly answers the purpose for which it was intended. But little headway was made by the Potomac this day, owing to the lightness of the wind, and an opposing current, which set about west by south, at the rate of two miles an hour; and the frigate was again compelled to come to anchor. The tides in this strait seemed to be so much influenced by the wind as to resemble currents.

The whole of the following day, which was Sunday, the fourth, was exhausted in a vain attempt to beat up to the frigate's anchorage in Lampoon Bay. Not being able, however, to stem the

current with a light northeast wind, she at last came to an anchor in a bight formed by a low flat island and Crockatoa, about a league distant from them.

The frigate did not leave her anchorage on Monday, the fifth, as there was no prospect of making any headway. A boat was lowered, however, and several officers went to try their luck in fishing, but were not rewarded with any very flattering success. They afterward attempted to land, but found it very difficult, as the whole island was surrounded by a coral rock. They at length reached the shore on a small sandy beach, where they procured some shells; but the jungle was so thick that they could not penetrate twenty yards from the water's edge. Birds of exquisitely rich plumage were seen in great numbers; and on firing a gun, the growling of tigers was thought to be heard but a short distance from the party. The weather was pleasant on the frigate's deck, while over the shores the clouds hung low, and the rain fell in copious showers.

The wind blowing fresh and fair on Tuesday morning, March the sixth, the Potomac once more weighed anchor, and "spreading her bellying canvass" to its impulse, stood to the northeast, passing Lampoon Bay at about ten o'clock, with a fine leading breeze, which came up the strait, and wafted her onward at the rate of nine miles per hour. She soon came up with and passed Thwart-the-Way, an island which the Malays call Pulo Renyang, lying in the nearest part of the strait, but somewhat nearer to Hog Point on its western side than to the Java shore. This island is moderately elevated, and about four miles in extent. Not far from this island, near the Java shore, are the Cap and Button before mentioned.

As the frigate moved gracefully along the shores of Bantam, the western aspect of Java, as far as the eye could reach, opened on the view with a richness beyond conception, the land stretching in the distance in alternate hills and valleys, clothed with luxuriant and variegated verdure. Numerous hamlets, surrounded by shadowing groves, appeared scattered over the undulating surface; while tangled vines and creepers, laving their tendrils in the crystal stream, added new charms to the exhilarating picture. The hand of man had been here—of civilized, social man. The features of the country proclaimed the fact—divided into square

fields, and neatly hedged around. At length, after sailing along this coast for some time with a smart breeze, the frigate emerged from the strait, doubled Bantam Point, and came to anchor on its eastern side, about two miles from the shore, and not far from Bantam Bay, where she anchored on the day following, about two and a half leagues southeast from St. Nicholas or Bantam Point.

Bantam Bay is extensive, containing several islands, the largest of which is Pulo Panjang, covered with trees, and situated in the west part of the entrance. A ship intending to anchor here may pass on either side of this island; but the eastern channel is greatly to be preferred. On the following day, the vessel's birth was changed for Pangoriang, as being a convenient place to obtain a supply of fresh water, and only four miles east of Point St. Nicholas. The anchorage in this spot is in fourteen to sixteen fathoms, and was much frequented by the English vessels during the short period that Batavia was in their possession. There is a passage of four fathoms within two small islands called Pulo Kaly, and safe anchorage for small vessels. These islands lie about half way between Pangoriang and the red bluff which forms the extreme west side of Bantam Bay, which the reader will bear in mind is situated on the north side of Java, a few miles east of the strait.

Here the surrounding scenery continued to be an inexhaustible source of enjoyment, in its endless variety of features, and the mingled softness and brilliancy which enriched its ever-varying hues. The land of Java, as it recedes from the shore, gently ascends with a billowy, undulating surface of hill and dale, to the distance of about a mile, all divided into fields, and cultivated to the hill-tops. Towering its foliage-crested head proudly above the rest, rises Bantam Hill, cultivated like the humbler eminences around it, with the exception of its summit, which is surmounted with a coronet of majestic trees, like a forest in the air. Between the foot of the hill and the shore are human habitations, almost entirely hid in a grove of cocoanut, plantain, and banana-trees, which are also scattered in clumps over all the landscape. The fields of rice and gardens of pepper vines which climb the hill-sides or checker the flats and bottoms, present the changing aspects of the young and green blade, just sprouting through the variegated soil, to the yellow and matured crop, ready for the hands

of the gatherer, while the borders of the beach were lined and fringed with bamboos and shrubbery to the water's edge.

On the following morning, which was Thursday, the eighth, some of our boats visited a couple of islands to look for curious shells, in which pursuit they were quite successful, bringing off with them a large and well-assorted collection. During the whole day the frigate was only visited from the shore by one canoe, which only brought off a few fish of an indifferent quality. The natives seemed to feel, and they certainly evinced, but little curiosity on account of the Potomac's first appearance on their coast; but rather seemed disposed to keep aloof from holding any intercourse with their strange visiters.

The town of Bantam, which was formerly the capital of the kingdom and the seat of royalty, is situated on the bank of a small river which empties into the bay. The English and Danes had factories here until 1682, when they were expelled by the Dutch, who deposed the native monarch, erected two forts to defend it against any subsequent intruder, and soon monopolized the entire traffic of the country. It was then populous and flourishing—it is now a poor place, and its commerce is transferred to Batavia. It is in latitude 6° 20′ south, longitude 105° 26′ east.

An officer of the frigate was sent next day to wait on the rajah, and to inquire if a supply of wood and water could be furnished for the ship. The chief not only willingly acceded to this request, but treated the messenger and his companions with great politeness, and even kindness. On the same day the boats were hoisted out, and this service was commenced under the charge of proper officers. Wood of a good quality and in great abundance was easily procured on the beach, and the carpenters were all set to work at cutting it up, ready for passing it on board; while another party was successfully occupied in procuring water from some of the numerous little streams which came tumbling down the sides of the hills to the water's edge, rendering the operation convenient and easy by the application of a hose. While this was going on, the officers embraced every opportunity to extend their perambulations, and observe whatever was interesting, for some distance in the interior.

From fifty to one hundred yards from the beach, the soil was thickly covered with underbrush and trees of various kinds. Be-

yond this, for about the distance of a mile, there was nothing but rice-fields, accommodated to the rising ground, surrounded and intersected by numerous little canals, adapted to the purpose of irrigation, as the different stages of the crops required. The rice looked well, some of it being nearly matured, and other portions just springing from the soil. Beyond the lowland rice-fields the land began to swell into hills, the sides of which were partially covered with fine groves of cocoanut-trees. Numerous paths were seen leading back from the shore, each of which terminated in a small Malay village, built of bamboos, and containing from fifty to two hundred inhabitants. The huts were miserably constructed, each containing two or three sleeping apartments, and a substitute for a kitchen, in one corner of which were the fire and some cooking utensils, but no chimney, the smoke being allowed to escape as it could through the loose texture of the bamboos, imparting to the whole establishment a sooty and filthy appearance. It will be seen, in the sequel, that there is a striking difference between the Malays and the Javans, who are cleanly, neat, and industrious.

The Malays in the villages, if they did not actually resent their intrusion, were evidently not very highly delighted with our officers' visits; and all the women immediately deserted their houses on the appearance of the strangers. When welcomed by woman, "dear woman, the manifested form of love and hospitality," the wanderer is ever perfectly at home; but if her cheering smile be lacking, he feels too sensibly that he is an intruder indeed! The features of these people are by no means displeasing in the young, but extremely so in those who are far advanced in life. Their complexion is a yellowish brown, with black hair, some of which is of the finest texture; their eyes are black, quick, and penetrating. Their teeth are regular, well set, and carefully filed, but generally black, from the nauseous habit of chewing the betele-nut, as in Sumatra.

Their dress, in the villages above alluded to, consisted of the coarsest materials, and was quite indifferent; and in no respect are these Malays to be compared in appearance with those of Sumatra. The children were entirely naked; and the men carried no arms, nor did they appear to be in possession of any, except a large curved knife, for cutting rice and bamboos, trimming

cocoanut-trees, and such other uses as are required in their husbandry. This implement in several instances was suspended from the neck, hanging down the back; in others, guarded by a sheath, and attached to a belt. But though behind their neighbours of Sumatra in personal appearance, they are certainly superior to them in temper and character; being more mild and honest, and far less savage, vindictive, and treacherous in their dispositions. They seemed rather inclined to be courteous and amiable; and where they did form attachments for any of our officers, evinced no little degree of liberality.

But industry is not one of their virtues; for no people can be more lazy, if general report be true, than the Malays of Bantam. This trait in their character is doubtless the result of local circumstances. The climate and soil itself may tend to produce it, as there is little inducement to labour where all the necessaries of life are spontaneously produced. All their movements are slow, and they appeared to our officers to be incapable of deep emotion or great excitement of any kind, either of curiosity, fear, or revenge. Nominally Mahommedans, they yet appear to pay very little attention to the rites and ceremonies of that persuasion, or indeed of any other, being probably infidels at heart, and giving themselves no concern whatever on the subject of religion, or a future state of existence. They resemble the Turks in an aversion to have their women exposed to the view of strangers. Few of them were ever to be seen during the period of the Potomac's visit, and those few were dressed very similar to the men, and were not much better looking, excepting that their complexion was somewhat lighter.

Though shrinking from exertion on ordinary occasions, some of them have taken considerable pains to perform good offices and acts of courtesy to such of our ship's company as they happened to take a fancy to. While on shore with his fowling-piece, one of the officers was met by a native who appeared to take great pleasure in showing him the birds, and who was anxious to have him shoot them. He also climbed a cocoanut-tree, more than fifty feet in height, and procured a nut for him, the milk of which is very refreshing in so warm a climate, being only six degrees south of the equator. This polite and attentive native adhered to the side of his new acquaintance while passing through the

villages, talking and chatting all the time, and assiduously directing the attention of his visiter to whatever he thought would be deemed worthy of notice. He finally accompanied the officer to the water's edge, lingering and delaying his departure to the last moment. All this friendly attention was voluntarily bestowed, apparently without any interested motive or expectation of reward, as he appeared to experience unanticipated pleasure on receiving a few toys in requital for his kindness. They all appear very fond of trinkets, though possessing very few.

At our watering-place on shore, and also on board the ship, we were daily visited by small parties from the neighbouring villages, with fruits and other articles for sale or barter. In exchange they received knives, handkerchiefs, and naval buttons; some of our middies stripping their jackets to buy cocoanuts, chickens, and other palatable productions. These natives seem to have some, though very imperfect, knowledge of the value of money. If one of them with half a dozen fowls was asked the price of the lot, his reply was, invariably, "*dollar*," and precisely the same answer would be made by another with a lot of double the number. Though very shy at first, their boats were now almost constantly alongside the frigate, with every kind of refreshment that this part of the island could furnish.

Independent of a great variety of fruits and vegetables, they have the flesh of buffaloes, goats, and sheep; pork of course is forbidden in the Mahommedan code. Their buffaloes are large and fat, and are kept tied by small cords, passed through a perforation made between the animals' nostrils. They are tame and docile to the natives, but wild and restiff whenever any of our countrymen approached them.

The canoes of the natives are constructed of a single piece of timber, the trunk of a large tree, cut or burned out, and elevated at the head and stern. The mast, yard, and paddles are made of bamboo, and the sail of matting; they will carry two or three, and sometimes four persons. They have also larger boats, or *proas*, some of which were daily seen passing along the coast, probably from Bantam, filled with Malays, and bearing the Dutch flag.

On Tuesday, the thirteenth of March, not having yet completed her supply of wood and water, the Potomac still lay at her an-

chorage in Bantam Bay. At five o'clock in the morning the commodore, accompanied by an officer, left the frigate on a boat-excursion to a small island about four leagues distant, in search of shells, with which the waters and shores of these islands abound. Indeed, conchology appeared to be the favourite study of all the officers when off duty; and the commodore, ever since his arrival in the eastern Archipelago, had evinced much interest, taste, and industry, in adding to his already valuable collection.

In the afternoon a smart little squall occurred, which terminated in a breeze so fresh that it was found necessary to give the ship more cable. As night set in, there was no appearance of the commodore's boat returning to the vessel, which occasioned much solicitude on board on account of his safety. The squall had been sudden and severe, and it was feared that his boat had been capsized, or that some other accident had befallen him. Rockets were let off, and blue-lights burned during the whole night, to point out the situation of the ship.

It appears, that after having landed and been successful in procuring some rare and beautiful specimens of conchology on the Island of Pulo Baby, the commodore left, at about five o'clock in the evening, with the view of returning on board the frigate; but had not proceeded far, when he found that there was not only a strong current, but a fresh wind directly against him: so much so, that in three hours of hard pulling, not more than two miles of headway had been made. At this time a squall struck the boat with such violence, that it was found impossible to keep her head to the wind by the utmost exertions of the men tugging at their oars; and in falling off she was several times on the point of being swamped, and was, with the utmost difficulty, kept afloat. Fortunately, the squall subsided in less than half an hour, though the wind still continued fresh, with an ugly, sharp sea, so that it was still impossible to pull to windward.

The commodore's situation now became exceedingly uncomfortable; exposed as he was in an open boat to the rain, which fell in torrents, in a climate where such exposure is deemed fatal to the *unclimated* stranger. A return to the Island of Pulo Baby seemed to offer no safety, as the ocean, broken by the numerous rocks and coral reefs surrounding the island, was now white with foam. Sail was then made on the boat, in the hope of being able

to weather the reef, which makes out about five miles north from the cape, forming the east side of Bantam Bay, and, if possible, find shelter under the lee of some of the small islands lying in that direction. The run across the bay was one of fearful uncertainty; the land was hid from view by the rain and thick weather, so that the boat, close-hauled on the wind, was the only guide.

Thus he continued for several hours, relieving the boat by bailing, as she took in water. At length, land was seen; and a moment after, the breakers on it, by which the commodore knew that he had either gone to windward, or fallen sufficiently to leeward to escape the extensive and dangerous reef. About one o'clock in the morning, the land seen turned out to be a small island, the lee of which furnished a neat little bay, into which the boat was run, and, greatly to his relief, he found her completely protected from the storm, though the rain still continued to fall in drenching showers. At seven in the morning he left the little harbour, which the boat's crew insisted upon calling "Ariel Bay," after their boat, which had behaved so well the night before. About nine he returned on board the frigate, greatly exhausted from fatigue, having been wet to the skin for more than twelve hours; from which, and even sleeping a short time in the boat, he fortunately suffered no bad effects.

On Friday, the sixteenth, the Potomac still remained at her anchorage near the watering-place. Although the wind was this day very strong from the south and south-by-east, which sometimes increased into powerful puffs, yet so strong was the current, that the ship at no time rode by the wind. The natives this day continued to visit the ship for traffic, and in greater numbers than on any former occasion; bringing such supplies, and selling so reasonable, that the finest poultry was to be seen on the tables of all the messes. No buffaloes, however, were procured, though no doubt such an arrangement might have easily been made, as all the villages abound with them. Numerous monkeys, procured by the sailors, were now on board, affording great diversion to all hands by their endless chatter and amusing antics.

News came on board this day, from some of the natives, that there was a pirate in the strait, and that two Dutch men-of-war were in pursuit of her. The subsequent report of distant cannon rendered the rumour quite probable.

On Sunday, the eighteenth, there was a little improvement in the weather, which for the two preceding days had presented little else than a succession of squalls, attended with considerable rain, thunder, and lightning, while the height of the surf on the shore had much retarded the progress of procuring a supply of water. But little rain, however, had fallen near the anchorage of the frigate, as the clouds appeared to be attracted by the lofty summits and peaks of the neighbouring mountains. In the meantime, our officers had been much on shore, and seen considerable of the natives, visited the villages, and rambled over an interesting section of the ancient kingdom of Bantam. It was easy to perceive that the Dutch had much power over the natives, and exercised it with no little rigour. No inducements are held out to encourage their advance in knowledge, refinement, and the arts of civilized life; but they appear to be kept in such a state of servile degradation, that they still remain almost as wild and uncultivated as they did before the island was first visited by Europeans. They are slaves to their own rajahs, who are, in their turn, slaves to the Dutch colonists.

The town of Bantam, at the head of the bay, would perhaps have afforded good anchorage for the frigate, had not the commodore preferred to remain in an open position, in order that he might more readily get under way in case of a typhoon.* In

* Typhoon, from the Chinese word Ty-foong, signifying great wind. Ty, is great or mighty, and Foong, signifies wind. They are dangerous tempests which often happen at the equinox, in the northern part of the China Sea, near Formosa, Bashee Islands, also the north of Luconia, and sometimes between Formosa and the Japan Archipelago. They are liable to happen in either monsoon. September is a month much dreaded by sailors in these seas, particularly if the change or perigee of the moon coincide with the equinox.

To be able to prognosticate the approach of these winds would be very favourable to navigators, but this cannot be done with certainty, for they frequently commence without giving much evidence of their proximity. The clouds' having a red aspect is not a certain warning of the approach of a typhoon; for at the rising, but more particularly at the setting of the sun, the clouds, in settled weather, are sometimes tinged with a red colour, by the reflected light, especially those opposite the luminary. A hazy atmosphere, preventing land from being seen at a great distance, is no unfavourable sign on the coast of China, for this is generally its state in medium or unsettled weather. Neither is an irregular swell a good criterion to judge of the approach of a typhoon; for, near the coast of China, a cross swell frequently prevails during steady, settled weather. A serene sky, with the horizon remarkably clear, should not be considered as an indication of a continuation of favourable weather; for a series of

addition to this, it was requisite to lie in a situation where were greater facilities for taking in wood and water than the town could afford, and a more favourable spot for that purpose than the one selected could hardly be desired. At any rate, it was decidedly preferable to Batavia, where such duty must have greatly exposed both officers and men to the baleful effects of insalubrious exhalations which surround the Dutch capital; besides the gratification derived from an opportunity of seeing so much of this out-of-the-way portion of the island. It is even doubtful whether the water in the vicinity of Batavia be wholesome for a ship's use. Mr. Barrow, before quoted, says, that "a glass of water taken out of the canal of Batavia, becomes, in the course of a few hours, a mass of animated matter, the minute portions of which, multiplying by division and subdivision, move about with astonishing rapidity. The bay (of Batavia), swarming with myriads of living creatures, exhibits, in the night-time, a phosphorescent light like a sheet of fire. The stream of fresh water which falls into it, being more highly charged with animal life, is distinctly traced in the bay, by a train more luminous and brilliant than the rest of the surface, appearing like another milky-way in the midst of a firmament of stars."

Having now completed her supply of wood and water, the Potomac got under way on the morning of Monday, the nineteenth, and shaped her course for Batavia Roads, a distance of more than twenty leagues east from her recent anchorage. This was a passage of unusual beauty and interest, the surface of the sea being thickly studded with little evergreen islands, of almost every shape and variety. The indolent Dutch colonists, despairing of ever furnishing a name for each, have lumped the whole group, and given it the name of the Thousand Islands. The French did the same at the head of the St. Lawrence. The sea here,

fine weather and calms, favouring an increase of heat above the mean temperature, is liable to be succeeded by a typhoon.

When the horizon is very clear in some parts, and the summits of the hills or islands obscured by dense black clouds, there is some irregularity in the atmosphere, and stormy weather may be apprehended; but in reality typhoons are seldom preceded by any certain sign or indication. Marine barometers, if well constructed, seem to afford the best means to anticipate these tempests; for the mercury is sometimes liable to a greater fall on the south coast of China, than might be expected within the tropics.

on the northern coast of Java, when calm and unruffled, resembles a sheet of silver on which have been promiscuously scattered emeralds of different sizes, every one of these numerous islets being completely clothed with an ever-varying teint of the liveliest verdure. They are all based on a calcareous foundation, and owe their origin to the zoophites of Linnæus. The weather was pleasant, and moderate breezes from the north and west wafted the frigate gently along her sinuous course among the Thousand Islands; around which were dangerous shoals, which rendered it necessary to keep a boat out ahead, feeling the way for the frigate. The lead was kept going in from fifteen to twenty-two fathoms. At three P. M., took in the royals and hauled up the foresail. The coast of Java, from Bantam Mountain to Batavia, is flat and low; and though ever changing, ever new, and ever beautiful, exhibits few of those remarkable outlines which form points of remembrance, until the frigate approached Lampoon Island; a small and solitary spot, but beautiful in its solitude, near which she anchored about sunset, in fifteen fathoms, and veered out forty-five fathoms of chain cable. Several villages were now seen lining the shore, and paddee fields extending as far as the eye could reach, all gilded by the oblique rays of the setting sun.

The passage selected by the commodore in approaching the anchorage was not the one generally adopted. When Maneater Island bore southeast-by-east, instead of pursuing the track north, between the Great Cambuys and Angenilla, he bore off more to the south, and ran between the former and Maneater Island, passing within half a mile of Little Cambuys, and discovering a shoal southeast of it, not laid down or noted in any of the most recent charts. Soundings vary in the passage from a quarter less nine to eleven fathoms. He then ran for the Island Dapour, soundings thirteen fathoms. At seven P. M., shortened sail and came to anchor as before stated, with Dapour Island bearing northwest-half-north; Amsterdam Island, southwest-by-west, and Edam Island, east-by-south-quarter-south.

The weather continued pleasant throughout the night, with gentle breezes from the north and west. On Tuesday morning, the twentieth, at five A. M., just as the call of "All hands, up anchor!" resounded through the ship, a report was made that one of the seamen had just departed this life, so that the order to get

under way was countermanded. At nine o'clock the body of the deceased was committed to the deep, with the usual religious ceremonies. It was a source of deep regret to all, and of gloomy forebodings to some, thus to lose one of our best men at this time, and in such a place, by a disease which has often been so fatal in this part of the world; though thus far we had certainly been more healthy than has often fallen to the lot of many ships' crews of equal numbers.

Immediately after the performance of this melancholy duty, the frigate was again got under way, with a fine breeze, and stood for Batavia Roads. At eleven she once more came to anchor, about seven miles from the city, outside of all the shipping, in nine and a half fathoms of water, and veered out forty-five fathoms of chain cable; Batavia bearing south-by-east; Leyden Island, east-by-north-half-north; Enkhuysen Island, northeast-quarter-north; and Edam Island, northeast-by-north. The commodore was induced to anchor thus far from the city, to avoid the pestilential atmosphere generated by the stagnant water, in and adjacent to the marshy site of that Dutch Venice, which, if conflagrated, would "hiss in its foundations;" so low indeed is it, and so thickly planted with cocoanut, tamarind, canary, and a variety of other trees, that no part of it except the cupola of the great church could be seen from the deck of the Potomac.

Before she reached her anchorage, the frigate was boarded by a boat from the city, bringing several American gentlemen, who communicated the agreeable intelligence that Batavia was unusually healthy. News of the Potomac's intended visit had reached the city, and "rumour with her hundred tongues" had blazoned far and near the account of her exploit at Quallah-Battoo; all had been in daily expectation of her arrival. There was only one American vessel here; the French brig which the Potomac spoke off St. Pauls had arrived, and again left the harbour; of Dutch vessels there were about twenty of all descriptions, including one or two men-of-war. As is usual and always advisable for foreign vessels at this port, a number of Malays were engaged to man the frigate's boats, intended to ply between the ship and the shore; thus saving our men from exposure and probable sickness.

A boat was sent on shore with an officer to wait on the au-

thorities and regulate the salute; and on her return, the first intelligence was confirmed of the present health of the city; so that the commodore changed his anchorage by moving to a more pleasant birth, within about four miles of the commercial capital of Java.

As this chapter has been principally devoted to a description of the Strait of Sunda, and the Potomac's passage through it on the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh of March, eighteen hundred and thirty-two, we cannot more appropriately conclude it than by adding the following document, containing a table of the beacons, twenty-two in number, on the shoals in the navigable waters of the Strait of Sunda, to and from Batavia Roads, replaced by order of the Dutch government, June sixth, eighteen hundred and thirty-two, three months after the Potomac's visit. The names of the shoals marked with an *asterisk*(*) have a beacon with a cross; those marked thus (†) have only a cross.

The beacons with crosses, are beams, with a crosstree painted white; those without are single beams, painted white, both kinds extending twelve feet above water. In case one or more of the beacons should be removed by violence of the weather or otherwise, bamboo stakes, fifteen or twenty feet above water, with baskets covered with cloth painted black and white, will be placed in their stead, until they can be replaced by proper wooden pillars. Beacon number eleven stands upon a rock not laid down on any chart, to which the name of Mathilda Rock has been given, it being known in Malay language by the name of Karang Prol. The rocks on which beacons eighteen and twenty are placed, have hitherto had no Dutch names, they are now called the Wrange and the Midden Rock. The native names are in parentheses. The number of feet mentioned after the situation of the beacon, shows the depth at low water.

Father Smit's Bank† (Poeloe Poetrie), situated on the northeast point, nine feet; Leyden bearing north-northwest-half-west, and the beacon on Neptune's Shoal bearing west-quarter-south. Neptune's Shoal† (Karang Passier), on northwest point, twelve feet; Leyden northeast-quarter-north; eastern point of Hoorn north-northwest-three-quarters-west. The Pasop† (Karang Tanglam), on northeast point, twelve feet; Leyden northeast-half-north; eastern point of Hoorn north-northwest-quarter-west. Rhynland

Shoal† (Karang Tahan), on east point, twelve feet; Hoorn north-by-west-quarter-west; Kuiper northwest-by-west-half-west. Rygersdaal Bank† (Karang Camal), on east point, nine feet; Hoorn north-northeast-quarter-east; Kuiper north-northwest. The Arms of Purmerend† (Karang Djalan), on east point, thirteen feet; eastern point of Hoorn north-by-east; Rotterdam northwest. The rocks bearing west of the Island of Hoorn† (Karang Poeloe Ayer), in the centre, twelve feet; northern point of Hoorn east-half-south; Rotterdam west-quarter-north. The Reef of Rotterdam† (Karang Poeloe Obie), in the centre, fifteen feet; southern point of Hoorn east-three-quarters south; western point of Onrust Kerkhof south-half-west. The Reef of Purmerend† (Karang Poeloe Sakiet), on southwest point, nine feet; southern point of Purmerend north; Kuiper west-northwest-quarter-west. The Stone of Onrust† (Karang Poeloe Kelor), on west point, nine feet; Rotterdam north-northeast-quarter-east; Kuiper southeast-by-south. The Mathilda Rock* (Karang Prol), on northeast point, twelve feet; southwestern point of the Kuiper southeast; eastern point of Rotterdam northeast-three-quarters-north. The Reef of Onrust* (Karang Poeloe Kapal), on west point, nine feet. The two points of the reef bearing northwest of the Island of Kuiper* (Karang Poeloe Kuiper), on northwest point, nine feet; the Reefs of Onrust, and the two points of that bearing northwest of the Island of Kuiper, extend to the Islands of Onrust and Kuiper. The Reef of Ontong Java† (Tanjong Ontong Java), on north point, thirteen feet; Haarlem east; western point of Middelburg north-by-west. The Reef of Middelburg† (Karang Poeloe Ramboet), on southeast point, fifteen feet; and the same Reef† (Karang Poeloe Ramboet), on southeast point, fifteen feet; the coral reef on which these beacons are placed is connected with the island. The Wrange Rock† (Karang Sepat), on west point, twelve feet; south point of Middelburg southeast-by-east-half-east; Poeloe Dapoor northeast-half-north; at a cable's length to the westward from this is another rock, eleven feet below the surface. The Myndert's Shoal† (Karang Gosson), in the centre, twelve feet; Klein Kombuis northwest-quarter-west; Poeloe Dapoor northeast-by-east. The Middle Rock† (Karang Loemboeng), on southwest point, twelve feet; Klein Kombuis northeast-by-north-half-east; south point of the Great Kombuis northwest-

by-west-three-quarters-west. The Reef of the Great Kombuist (Karang Poeloe Lantjang, or Karang Papedjie), on west point, fourteen feet; south point of the Great Kombuis east-southeast-half-east; eastern point of Maneater Island southwest-three-quarters-west. The Southeast Rock† in the centre, fifteen feet; eastern point of Maneater Island south-half-west; northern point of the Great Kombuis northeast-three-quarters east; beacon on the Great Kombuis southeast-by-east-three-quarters-east.

The Potomac passed the Strait of Sunda in March, eighteen hundred and thirty two. The following is a list of the whole number of vessels which were reported at *Anger*, or *Anjere*, a village on the Java shore, as having passed the strait in the same year, viz :—Dutch, fifty-eight out, fifty-four home; English, twenty-eight out, twenty-seven home; American, twenty-nine out, twenty-nine home; French, two out, one home; Hamburgh, two out, one home; Russian, one out; Swedish, one out; Danish, one home. Total reported, two hundred and thirty-eight. This list is doubtless imperfect, as many that passed without touching at Anger could not have been reported; but it shows the great proportion of American vessels trading in these seas.

CHAPTER XV.

Java and Sumatra once connected—Origin of the name of Java—Size and location of the island—Origin of the inhabitants—Pagans and Idolaters—Java successively visited by the Siamese, Arabs, Malays, and Chinese—Arab missionaries—Conversion of the inhabitants to the Mahommedan faith—The Portuguese visit the island—The English—The Dutch at Bantam—At Batavia—The English at Bantam—Massacre of Amboyna—Dutch oppressions—Massacre of the Chinese at Batavia—Americans visit Batavia—Governor Daendel's Administration—Antiquities of Java—Description of the Javans—Their dress—Origin of the *kris*—Character, habits, and manners—Early marriages—Frequent divorces—Cookery and food—Amusements—Useful arts and manufactures—Houses, furniture, employments, agriculture, and commerce—Government, literature, &c.

In our description of the Strait of Sunda, in the preceding chapter, an idea was suggested that the islands of Sumatra and Java had probably once been united at some very remote period, and formed but one island. Indeed, there is a tradition recorded in the annals of Java, which says—"It is related that in former times the islands of Sumatra, Java, Bali, and Sumbava were united, and afterward separated into nine different parts; and it is also said, that when three thousand rainy seasons have passed away, they will be reunited." Admitting for a moment the fact of their former union, the hypothesis might very naturally be extended still further, including in the same semicircular range the Malay Peninsula on the northwest, together with the islands on the east, including Lombok, Flores, Timor, Timorlant, Arroo, and New Guinea. By those are formed that great chain or barrier, which locks up the China Sea on the south and west, and probably once completely separated it from the great Indian Ocean. The waters of the latter have in divers places either forced or insinuated themselves through this circling arm of continental Asia, or the mighty ridge has been severed and shivered by some terrible convulsion of nature,—forming those numerous straits which are now the avenues of communication and commercial intercourse between the Atlantic ports and the Celestial Empire. Thus, that elongated portion of the broken ridge which bears the

name of Java, is washed on its western end by the Strait of Sunda, which is at one point only fourteen miles in width; and by the Strait of Bali, on its eastern extremity.

This *division*, or breaking up of the great eastern peninsula, is supposed by some writers to be alluded to in the book of Genesis, where the sacred penman, in his account of Noah's descendants, and their various locations in the postdiluvian world, says—"And unto Eber were born two sons; the name of one was Peleg; for in his days was the earth divided." Speaking of the sons of *Javan*, it is written—"By these were the isles of the gentiles divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations." From this passage it has been inferred, that the island under consideration was named "after the family" of *Javan*, or *Java*. That caravans of merchants once traded and held intercourse with a rich country in the east called *Javan*, appears from Ezekiel, who describes them as traders in "the persons of men, and vessels of brass, to the market of Tyre, and who, *going to and fro*, occupied in her fairs, brought bright iron [steel], cassia, and calamus." One of the sons of Javan was called Elishah; and the prophet speaks of "blue and purple from the isles of Elishah." His brother's name was Tarshish;—"Tarshish was thy merchant by the reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches, with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they all traded in thy fairs." The brothers of *Javan* were called Mecheck and Tubal:—"*Javan*, Tubal, and Mecheck, they were thy merchants; they traded the persons of men and vessels of brass, in thy market." A nephew of *Javan* was called Togarmah:—"They of the house of Togarmah traded in thy fairs with horses and horsemen, and mules."

In all these passages, some writers see, or think they see, a direct allusion to the extensive caravan-routes, formed at an early period, for conveying the fine manufactures of the east into the kingdoms of the west. Although "the embroidered work and chests of rich apparel bound with cords," mentioned by Ezekiel, are said to have been brought from depots on the banks of the Euphrates, yet it is not supposed that they were manufactured there, but drawn from more distant countries of eastern Asia; probably from the great chain of islands now under consideration.

But all this is curious and amusing speculation; and we shall

leave it to those who are better versed in the subject to trace the connexion between the *Javan* of Holy Writ, and the *Java* of modern times, the location of which we now proceed to describe.

The whole Island of Java extends in a direction nearly east and west, with only a slight deviation to the north and south; its western extremity being in longitude 105° 11′, and its eastern in longitude 114° 33′ east. The length of the island is about seven hundred miles, while its breadth varies from sixty to one hundred and forty miles; and it is estimated to contain an area of about fifty thousand miles, with a population of five millions; including Javans, Chinese, Arabs, Moors, Bugis, Malays, and the Dutch colonists.

The Island of Java occupies a considerable space in the history of commerce. Three centuries before the Dutch had penetrated to the east, Java had been visited by the celebrated Venetian traveller Marco Polo. Tradition says that about eight hundred years after the Christian era, a vessel was cast away on the coast of Java, while attempting to cross from Siam to the Straits of Macassar, the crew of which travelled over much of the island. These people, on their return to Siam, gave such a glowing account of the countries they had seen, that the son of the King of Siam was induced to visit Java, and soon after colonized it. Since then, many other tribes from India came and settled on it, particularly Arabs, as Marco Polo, who visited both Jaya and Sumatra in twelve hundred and ninety-six, mentions several of them. Another tradition says that the first inhabitants came in vessels from the Red Sea, and that in their passage they coasted along the shores of Hundustan; that peninsula then forming an unbroken continent with the land in the Indian Archipelago. These people are supposed to have been banished from Egypt, and to have been idolaters of various descriptions.

But whatever might have been the origin of the inhabitants, it is pretty generally conceded, that they were all idolaters until about the year thirteen hundred and seventy, when the Arab missionaries came among them, and commenced the work of conversion with their usual zeal, but with less violence than had heretofore marked the rapid spread of the Mahommedan faith. They possessed a knowledge of medicine, which enabled them to effect several cures of persons of high rank, as well as many of the

common people, of dangerous and what were then considered fatal disorders. This gained them a reputation for superior and supernatural attainments, which furthered their missionary projects to the extent of their wishes.

About the year fourteen hundred and twelve, according to the Javan records, a considerable number of Chinese emigrants obtained a settlement in the island. Mild and inoffensive in their manners, and backward to resent acts of oppression, they were subject to many restrictions and exactions from which the natives were exempt. They often intermarried with the Javans, however, and thus introduced a mixed breed, which are called by the Dutch *Pernakans*. The Chinese still remained distinct from the natives, from whom they were distinguished by being more intelligent, more laborious, and more luxurious. They were, in fact, the life and soul of the commerce of the country. The Malays obtained a footing much earlier than the Chinese, though we cannot refer to the exact date. They were from the Malayan peninsula, which was then overrun with pirates and Arabian freebooters. These were viewed as honourable occupations, worthy of being followed by young princes and nobles. No wonder that their descendants are fond of navigation, war, plunder, emigration, adventures, and gallantry; talk incessantly of their honour and bravery, while in their habits and conduct they are the most treacherous and ferocious people on the face of the globe.

After the Portuguese had discovered a new route to India, by the Cape of Good Hope, they soon visited all the principal islands of the Indian Archipelago, for the ostensible purpose of opening a commercial intercourse with the inhabitants, but with the ulterior view of obtaining territorial jurisdiction for their sovereign in the east. Success attended their measures, though blood and desolation too often tracked their progress. In fifteen hundred and eleven, the enterprising and victorious Alphonso de Albuquerque, having conquered the city of Malacca, on the western coast of the Malay peninsula, opposite Sumatra, which island he had previously visited, sent envoys to announce to such islanders as had been in the habit of trading with Malacca, inviting them to continue their intercourse, and making liberal promises of encouragement and fair dealing. To Java he sent Antonio de Abrew, who landed, it is supposed, at Gresik, on the northeast coast, in the

Strait of Madura. After delivering his message, and obtaining a favourable reply, Abrew sailed on the same errand to the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, lying further east. The final result of this embassy was the erection of a Portuguese factory at Bantam, where then reigned a Hindoo prince, although Mahommedanism was rapidly spreading over the whole island.

In fifteen hundred and thirteen, Joan Lopez Alvrin was sent to Java by the Governor of Malacca, on commercial business, and was well received at every port where he touched, but particularly at Sidaye, which lies north of Gresik, then belonging to a prince who had been defeated at Malacca. About this time Albuquerque was superseded in his command, which disgrace broke his heart, and he died on his passage to Goa, on the sixteenth of December, fifteen hundred and fifteen. About six years afterward, Antonio de Brito, a Portuguese, with six vessels under his command, bound to the Spice Islands, touched at Gresik, in the Strait of Madura, where he remained seventeen days; during which time he sent a boat across the strait to the Island of Madura, for the purpose of exploring it; but the men landing incautiously, were surprised and made prisoners. They were subsequently ransomed with much difficulty.

The first notice with which Java was honoured by the British, was in fifteen hundred and seventy-nine; and that was merely a flying visit, as Sir Francis Drake only sailed along the coast, without holding any intercourse with the inhabitants. But eight years afterward, in fifteen hundred and eighty-seven, Cavendish coasted the island, and opened a friendly communication with some of the chiefs. This event occurred subsequently to the reign of a sovereign in Java, called Pananbaham Senapati, who reduced the provinces of Madion and Branaraga, and built a palace, the walls of which are still standing at Krapiac, a place at the foot of a range of hills lying along the South Sea, a short distance from Matarem. He died after a reign of twelve years, esteemed on account of the general tranquillity which prevailed after the firm establishment of his government.

His successor, who was distinguished by the title of Agung, or the great, commenced a flourishing reign by a victory which brought all the eastern provinces under his subjection; and shortly afterward brought the whole of the western chiefs to acknowl-

edge his supremacy. Thus the whole island was now under his dominion, to which he soon after united the Island of Madura.

In the meantime, while the victorious monarch was pursuing this career of success, a new and more insidious enemy had obtained a footing on the island. The Dutch, after having driven the Portuguese from Ceylon, and other places where they had settled, availed themselves of the divisions and convulsions by which the empire of Java was distracted, and established themselves at Bantam, with whose prince the Portuguese were then at war. Admiral Houghton, who commanded the Dutch fleet, offered his assistance to the king, and obtained, in return, permission to establish a factory, which was erected in sixteen hundred and two, being the first Dutch settlement in the east. They subsequently subdued, by force of arms, the neighbouring province of Jacatra; and having a powerful force at their command, they determined to build a city, which should become the capital of their Asiatic possessions, and the centre of their political and commercial transactions. They fixed upon their newly-conquered province of Jacatra, on the north side of the island, about ninety miles from the Strait of Sunda, where they founded a city in sixteen hundred and nineteen, which they called Batavia, from the ancient appellation of their own country, and soon rendered it a great and flourishing station.*

* The Javans at Jacatra say that the Dutch played off a foul stratagem on them. In order to ascertain the strength and resources of the place, the captain of a Dutch ship landed with his officers, disguised with turbans, &c., and after making their observations, entered upon trade, offering astonishing liberal terms, and making many presents. Intimacy was soon established with the prince, who granted them leave to bring their vessel up the river, where she was privately scuttled and sunk, a pretence for further delay. They then asked for a small piece of ground, on which to erect a shed to store the sails and other property, until they could raise the sunken vessel. This was also granted. They then raised a mud wall around the piece of ground, so that no one might see what they were about, all the while courting the friendship of the prince, of whom the captain requested as much land as could be covered with a buffaloe's hide, on which he might build a small *pondok*; this being complied with, he cut the hide into strips, and claimed all the land he could enclose with them. To this, also, the prince, after some hesitation, consented. The captain then went on with his buildings, engaging that he would pay all expenses. When all was ready, the mud wall was removed, batteries were unexpectedly displayed, and, under their protection, the Dutch refused to pay a dollar. War was the consequence, and the Dutch, after slaughtering thousands of the natives, remained masters of the field. Having thus secured a foothold at Jacatra,

Previously to this, however, the English East India Company, following the example of the Dutch, fitted out a fleet for the east, the command of which was given to Captain Lancaster, who sailed from London in sixteen hundred and one; first to Acheen, in Sumatra, as stated in a preceding chapter, where he procured part of his cargo, and entered into a treaty with the king, of which a copy is yet in existence. From Acheen he proceeded to Bantam, where he established a factory, which was the first possession of the English in the East Indies. Captain Lancaster took home a letter from the King of Bantam, addressed to Queen Elizabeth, in sixteen hundred and two, which is said to be still on file in the English state-paper office, and to which the virgin queen made a most gracious reply.

Another English fleet of four ships, commanded by Captain, afterward Sir Henry Middleton, arrived in Bantam Roads near the close of December, sixteen hundred and four. Here the vessels separated, two of them remaining to take in a cargo of pepper, one going to Banda, while Middleton himself proceeded to the Spice Islands. He found the Moluccas the seat of a most ferocious war between the Dutch and Portuguese; the former assisted by the King of Ternate, and the latter by the King of Tidore. The King of Ternate was prevailed upon by the Dutch not to permit any commercial intercourse with the English, whom they represented as a mere band of pirates, and boasted that the King of Holland was more powerful at sea than all Europe beside. Of course Middleton effected no trade at the Moluccas.

In October, sixteen hundred and twelve, Captain John Saris, commanding a fleet in the service of the East India Company, arrived at Bantam, which was still considered as the chief English factory in the east. But as he could not procure cargoes, he steered for the Moluccas; where the dreadful tragedy was soon after enacted by the jealous and envious Dutch, celebrated by the name of "the Massacre of Amboyna," in which the English Captain Towerson and nine others, after being most cruelly tortured, were put to death. The news of this ruthless and bloody catastrophe caused great excitement in England, who made reprisals

they prepared to build a city, and called it Batavia: this story, at least, has the recommendation of classical allusion!

on the Dutch ships in her ports, and it was many years before the aggression was atoned for. The English, however, still maintained their settlement at Bantam, which they had even made the capital of their eastern possessions. But the constantly increasing power of the Dutch, and the greater attractions presented to the English on the continent of India, induced them gradually to relinquish their insular stations, with the exception of a few on the coast of Sumatra. They finally withdrew their establishment from Bantam, in sixteen hundred and eighty-three.

The Dutch, now without a rival on the island, monopolized the whole trade, and became more insolent than ever. They had always assumed a high tone from their first landing, which was the cause of all the quarrels, massacres, and other acts of atrocity of which they were perpetually guilty. Such is ever the case with colonial rulers situated so far from the immediate reach or control of the mother country. But there was a period when the government of Holland seriously contemplated the project of transporting its wealth, its enterprise, and its subjects to another hemisphere, and fixed upon Batavia, already the seat of its eastern commerce, as the capital of its new empire. This plan was in agitation in the summer of sixteen hundred and seventy-two, when the French troops under Louis the Fourteenth had overrun the territory of Holland. But what that republic only contemplated, the King of Portugal afterward put in practice. Had the government of Holland removed to Java, it is probable there would not have been so much cause of complaint against the cruelty and injustice of their Batavian governors, as now stains the page of their colonial history.

The Chinese emigrants and their descendants in Java, have been and still are subject to restraints and extortions from the Dutch government at Batavia, as unnecessary and impolitic as they are unjust; for this class of inhabitants are the most inoffensive and the most industrious on the island. And yet the Dutch affect to be suspicious of them, and often punish them without a cause, on pretence of their being concerned in some conspiracy against the government. Such an event, says Barrow, occurred in the year seventeen hundred and seventy-two, when the supposed chief of such a conspiracy, who we believe was a Dutchman, with twenty of his alleged adherents, were condemned to suffer

death "by being stretched on a cross,—the flesh of their legs, arms, and breast torn away with redhot pincers,—their bellies ripped up, and their hearts thrown in their faces,—their heads cut off, and stuck upon poles; and their mangled carcasses exposed to be devoured by the fowls of the air, &c. &c. And after this sentence was put in execution, a solemn thanksgiving was proclaimed; and the following day thirty more were broken on the wheel."

In seventeen hundred and forty, as we find by a reference to the same author, the Governor of Batavia, Valkanier, was guilty of a still greater outrage, in order to get rid of a redundance of population, which had begun to create suspicion and alarm. Disappointed in not being able to extort a large sum of money from the Chinese chiefs for permission to celebrate some particular feast, the governor accused them of a treasonable plot against his authority and life. The Chinese chief, whom he chose to designate as the leader of the conspiracy, was dragged to the stadthouse, where the most horrid torture was employed for the purpose of extorting from him the confession of a crime which he never thought of; and at the same time five hundred of his countrymen were cast into prison, where they were most inhumanly butchered. About four hundred who fled to the hospital, a building of their own construction, shared the same fate. An indiscriminate slaughter of the Chinese was at the same time going on in the streets, which literally ran with blood. Escape was impossible, as the gates were doubly guarded, and all the sailors had been landed from the ships in the road, to assist in this horrid tragedy; in which neither age nor sex was spared. The timid Chinese made no resistance, but, according to the Dutch account, in their public records, "suffered themselves to be led as sheep to the slaughter." The number stated to have perished is computed in the same records to be twelve thousand souls! A day was immediately set apart by the governor as a public thanksgiving to the God of mercy, for their happy deliverance from the hands of the heathen!

In seventeen hundred and ninety-two, the English embassy to Cochin China stopped at Batavia for several days. Mr. Barrow was of the party, and he gives a melancholy account of the broken spirit of the Javan chiefs and people, the native lords of the island.

He represents their state and condition as by no means enviable. Sunk into the lowest stage of apathy, they seemed to be utterly incapable of any great exertions. "Their princes are prisoners to a handful of Dutchmen, and the landholders are slaves to the princes." The ambassador and suite endeavoured to pay a visit to the King of Bantam, but were prevented by a Dutch officer, who commanded the *fort* in which he resided.

In seventeen hundred and ninety-seven the Americans began to frequent the market of Batavia, and it was principally through them that the trade was carried on till the conquest of the island by the British, except during the short interval of the peace of Amiens. From that time until eighteen hundred and fourteen, during the existence of the odious "orders in council," and the retaliating decrees of Milan and Berlin, the American trade was carried on with Batavia to the greatest extent. Our adventurers then purchased the Java coffee at a very low rate, and by a circuitous route carried it into the French ports, where they found a ready market for it at an advance of one hundred per cent.

After Louis Bonaparte ascended the throne of Holland, in eighteen hundred and six, he appointed Lieutenant-general Daendels, whom he had previously loaded with well-deserved honours, Governor-general of Batavia, who held that important office until Java was taken by the British, in eighteen hundred and eleven. During the administration of Daendels, whose liberal and enlightened policy did much for the moral regeneration of Batavia, justice was distributed with a milder and more impartial hand; and if slavery was not abolished, through respect for private property, the condition of that unfortunate class was greatly ameliorated. If commercial prosperity was not restored, the health of the city was greatly improved, to the salvation of thousands of human lives. That prisonhouse of contagion and pestilence, which had been locked up for nearly two centuries, was now thrown open to a free circulation of air; and all such nuisances removed, as were the obvious causes of disease. But more of this in another chapter.

In the year eighteen hundred and eleven, Holland was united to France, and the French flag was hoisted at Batavia; and on the eleventh of September, in the same year, the British government was declared supreme in the Island of Java, by a proclamation

of that date signed by the Earl of Minto, Governor-general of Bengal. On the seventeenth of the same month a capitulation was entered into, by which all the dependances fell into the hands of Great Britain. But on the thirteenth of August, eighteen hundred and fourteen, the whole were restored to the Dutch by treaty, at the general pacification of Europe. The flag of the Netherlands was hoisted again at Batavia, on the nineteenth of August, eighteen hundred and sixteen.

The Javans, as we have already stated, are Mahommedans. Indeed, as early as the year fourteen hundred and twenty, during the reign of Pangeran Trangana, the Moslem faith so far prevailed, that a mosque had been completed, and the Hindoo idolatries almost entirely exploded. But the ruins of their ancient temples are still to be seen, with thousands of antiquities and inscriptions, which, no doubt, if correctly understood, would throw much light on the early history of Java.

Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, who was for some time lieutenant-governor of that island and its dependances, and president of the Society of Arts and Sciences at Batavia, published an excellent history of that country in eighteen hundred and seventeen, accompanied with a complete map and a quarto volume of plates, illustrating the antiquities of the island, consisting of curious specimens of sculpture on stone, and casts in brass; the ruins of temples, images, figures, inscriptions on stone and copper, tombs, coins, &c., with copious scientific and plausible remarks on their origin and purpose. We acknowledge ourselves indebted to this work for many valuable facts, which could be obtained from no other source.

On the whole there can be no doubt that the original inhabitants were of Hindoo origin, and that the religion of Mahommed was induced or forced upon them by the Arabs at the time they carried their conquests to the eastern shores and islands of Asia, overspreading those delightful regions like the locusts of their own deserts. But notwithstanding they were compelled to embrace a new religious faith, the Javans even to this day are still devotedly attached to their ancient institutions, and retain a high respect for the laws, usages, and national observances, which prevailed before the introduction of Mahommedanism. And though the Javans, in general, acknowledge that "there is one

God, and Mahommed was his prophet," they are not much acquainted with the tenets of the Moslem faith, and in fact care very little about them. Although they practise the rites of the faithful, yet all classes drink wine, and other inebriating liquors, whenever they feel disposed; and those who abstain are not actuated by any religious motives.

Not only the features, the manners, and the remains of the civil and religious institutions of the Hindoos are still apparent among the Javanese, but it is said that they have preserved the fragments of a history, according to which they derive their origin from Vishnoo. This history terminates with the account of a dreadful deluge which swept away a vast portion of mankind. In the interior of the island, it is well known that they still observe a scrupulous abstinence from every kind of animal food, under the old Hindoo idea of a transmigration of souls. They are in no respects so strict in the religious observances of Mahommed as they appeared to be when the Dutch first established themselves on Java; at that time the natives, including their princes, were in the habit of making pilgrimages to Mecca, the birthplace of the prophet. But this practice was kept in check as much as possible by the Dutch, as was also the admission of Arab missionaries; not so much from any pious desire to promote Christianity in opposition to the Mahommedan faith, but to prevent the natives' acquiring a character for sanctity, that might give them an importance among themselves dangerous to the power and tranquillity of the Dutch.*

But from whatever stock the Javans may have originally sprung —whether from the Hindoos, the Tartars, or, according to one of their traditions, from a species of ape, their personal appearance

* "The religion of the Javans is in general Mahommedan, but mingled with superstitious doctrines derived from the ancient pagan worship. The Javans, however, are far from bigots to their religion, as other Mahommedans generally are. They are mild and tractable by nature, and although they do not easily forget or forgive an injury, they would be a quiet, well-disposed people under good laws and a mild government. The murders and other crimes which are now committed in some places, are to be attributed more to the present faulty administration than to any bad dispositions in the people. The same may be remarked of the indolence and indifference which now characterize them. Property in the land, with personal and commercial freedom and security, would soon render them industrious."—*Hogendorp's Memoir on Java*, 1800.

may be stated in a few words. In stature they are rather below the middle size, well shaped, and erect in their figures; with hands, feet, wrists, and ankles remarkably small. An instance of deformity is scarcely known among them; though females, in the arrangement of their toilet, often injure the luxuriant symmetry of the bust, by drawing that part of the dress too tightly over the bosom. The colour of their skin is a deep brown, inclining to yellow. Their bards and lyric poets compliment their mistresses as having complexions of "virgin gold." The forehead is high and smooth; the eyebrows well defined and arched, and not too near to the eyes, which are generally black and prominent. The nose is not very protuberant, but rather broad and somewhat flattened; the cheek bones are unusually prominent. The mouth is well formed, the upper lip a little projecting, not much thickened, but highly arched. They have but little beard, and the hair of their head is generally lank and black; though it is sometimes seen waving in curls, and partially tinged with a deep reddish brown. The *tout-ensemble* of the person is pleasing, and the countenance is mild, placid, and thoughtful; easily varying to express respect, gayety, earnestness, indifference, bashfulness, or anxiety. They have a firm steady gait, and seem to feel, at least to affect, a superiority over the other inhabitants of the island. They anoint the head, face, and other parts of the body which are exposed to the view, with a composition of cocoanut oil and sandal-wood dust, as a preventive against a too copious perspiration, and the biting of moschetoes and other annoying insects.

The women, as usual among demi-barbarians, in general are not so good looking as the men; and when advanced in years, are actually ugly, according to our standard of female beauty. This circumstance, however, as regards the lower classes, is in a great measure owing to the severe duties which they have to perform in the field, exposed to a sultry climate, carrying heavy burdens, &c. The higher orders, who are exempt from such drudgery, and kept within doors, are often beautiful in youth, and comely at all periods of life.

The dress of the Javanese is like that we have already described in our account of Sumatra, and is, in fact, common to all classes in the Archipelago. The same kind of short drawers, a close waistcoat without sleeves, the loose gown, and the *sarong*,

which is either worn slung over the shoulders as a sash, or tucked round the waist and descending to the ankles, so as to enclose the legs like a petticoat. The higher ranks sometimes display, on particular occasions, an article somewhat like the *sarong*, but much larger, and not united at the ends, which is worn in the same way; but from its size, and the manner of its being tucked up, it assumes the form of drapery, which is peculiar to Java. The females, also, vary very little in their dress from those of the same rank in Sumatra. Both sexes of all classes, wear rings on their fingers.

But like the Sumatrans, a Javan is not considered dressed without his *kris*, or dagger. This weapon is believed to have been first introduced into the oriental islands by Panji, a Javanese prince, who is supposed to have flourished about A. D. eight hundred and twenty, and for whose name the Javanese have such a reverence, that they represent him as an incarnation of Vishnoo; and some maintain that all the countries in which the *kris* is now worn, acknowledged his supremacy. Another tradition attributes the introduction of this weapon to Sa Putram, one of the early Hindoo sovereigns, who is said to have come into the world with a *kris* by his side. At all events, the Javans appear to have a great reverence for this ancient weapon, and many unthinking writers have condemned them unheard, because "they invariably use the deadly *kris*." But the fact is, though sometimes resorted to by the Javans, this weapon is worn by them almost exclusively as a personal ornament, especially when in full dress, as small swords are worn at every court in Christendom.

The children of the lower orders go naked, from the age of fifteen or eighteen months to six or seven years. Females sometimes wear rings or bracelets round the wrist, chains about the neck, and chaplets of flowers in the hair, which is generally done up in a knot, with an appendage of large studs, either of buffalo-horn or brass, which they use for ear-rings. The dress of females of rank does not in fashion differ essentially from that of the lower orders; but the fabrics are of finer texture and richer quality; gold studs and rings, and ornamented precious stones, being substituted for those of inferior metals. Both sexes of the higher classes wear sandals, shoes, or slippers, in the house. Neither sex cut their hair, but allow it to grow to its natural length;

whereas, the Malays and Bugis always wear it short. The men generally gather it up on the crown of the head, twist it round, and fasten it by means of a semicircular tortoise-shell comb fixed in front; but among the higher classes it generally flows in curls, which is considered as a mark of respect in presence of a superior. All classes anoint their hair with oils and "precious ointments," as is the custom with all oriental nations; they also perfume their dresses, and are addicted to the use of musk. In the houses of the higher orders, they are in the habit of burning incense of benjamin and other odoriferous gums. The dress of the priests is white, with turbans on their heads, after the fashion of the Arabs. The court-dress and war-dress vary in many respects from that of the common inhabitants.

In common with the Sumatrans and other inhabitants of the Archipelago, both sexes of all ranks adhere to the singular and painful custom of filing and blackening the teeth, as they consider it disgraceful to have white teeth like dogs and monkeys. The object of filing, it seems, is to make the front teeth concave, and more susceptible of the black die. This cruel and barbarous custom, which generally takes place at the age of eight or nine years, tends to destroy the teeth at a very early period of life, although it is said that their rapid decay is not attended with any pain.

The character of the Javans is generally amiable; we allude to the middling classes, who have not been corrupted by indulgence on the one hand, or spirit-broken and stripped by oppression on the other. They are a generous and warm-hearted people. In their domestic relations they are said to be kind, affectionate, gentle, and contented; in their public ones they are obedient, honest, and faithful. In their intercourse with society they display, in a high degree, the virtues of honesty, plain dealing, and candour. They are ingenuous almost to a fault, and their simplicity and credulity are proverbial. Had this not been a prominent feature in their character, the Arabs would not so easily have laid the yoke of Mahommed upon their necks. They easily become the dupes of any religious fanatic, and credit, without scruple or examination, his claim to superior powers. They are ever prone to be influenced by omens, to prognostics, to prophets, and to quacks. They are great observers of lucky or unlucky

days, and regulate the time of an enterprise or a journey accordingly. Eclipses, earthquakes, and other phenomena of nature, fill them continually with superstitious fears and unnecessary alarms.

The Javans are conspicuous for the amiable qualities of social order, politeness, hospitality, and temperance. They are a sort of patriarchal people, still retaining many of the virtues, and all the simplicity, which distinguish that state of society. Their village settlements constitute detached societies, in which the greatest internal concord prevails, all its members paying due respect and deference to their local chief and priest. This patriarchal spirit is further manifested in the almost instinctive veneration which they pay to age, experience, rank, and superior attainments. In manners they are easy and courteous, and respectful even to timidity; but they have a great sense of propriety, and are never rude or abrupt. In their deportment they are pliant and graceful, the higher ranks carrying with them a considerable air of fashion and elegance.

Hospitality has always been celebrated as an oriental virtue, some affecting instances of which are recorded in sacred as well as profane history. But in no country are its rites and duties more strictly enjoined by institutions, or more conscientiously and religiously observed by custom and practice, than by the Javans. By the custom of the country, good food and lodging are ordered to be provided for all strangers and travellers arriving at a village. But the Javan institutions go still further. "It is not sufficient," say they, "that a man should place good food before his guest; he is bound to do more: he should render the meal palatable by kind words and treatment, to sooth him after his journey, and to make his heart glad while he partakes of the refreshment." This is the refinement of hospitality.

The Javans are remarkably temperate in their diet, which forms a great contrast with that of their oppressors, the indolent and luxurious Dutch. A principal part of their food consists of rice, sometimes fried in oil, and sometimes boiled in plain water, with which are used a few capsules or heads of capsicum or cayenne pepper, and some salt, to render it a little more palatable. With animal food the Javans are generally unacquainted, and of milk they are very sparing, except the vegetable milk of the cocoa-

nut. They are a sober people, although Europeans, in order to serve their own purposes, by inducing some of the chiefs to drink wine to excess, have partially succeeded in corrupting the habits of some individuals in this respect. The use of opium, it must be confessed with regret, is too prevalent among them.

Though not much addicted to excess, and of rather a moderate temperament, they are, in general, expensive according to their means, seldom hoarding their wealth, or betraying a penurious disposition. Fond of show and pomp, they lay out all their spare money in dress and equipage. They are proud to a fault, if we may take the Dutch testimony for the fact; and not only so, but if one be a person of rank, or in affluent circumstances, he is, on such testimony, "superstitious, proud, jealous, vindictive, mean, and slavish towards his superiors—but haughty and despotic towards his inferiors." We have reason to dissent from this opinion; and also from that expressed by Jono de Barros, who says, the "Javans are so proud, that they think all mankind their inferiors; so that if a Javan were passing along the street, and saw a native of any other country standing on any hillock or place raised higher than the ground on which he was walking, if any such person did not immediately come down until he should have passed, the Javan would kill him, for he will permit no person to stand above him; nor would a Javan carry any weight or burden on his head, even if they should threaten him with death."

This we take to be the romance of early travellers and wonder-makers. That the Javans have pride, we are sensible; but we must have stronger evidence than we yet possess, to believe that it was ever carried to such ridiculous excess. "Their nationality," says Raffles, "which is very strong, although it delights in the traditionary narratives of ancient Javan exploits, and supports a hope of future independence, which they are not backward to express, does not lead them to despise the character, or to undervalue the acts of strangers." It is true, that those of the higher ranks esteem it disgraceful to be engaged in trade; but the common people are industrious in their several callings, and the chiefs are ever ready to encourage the labours of agriculture.

On the whole, the Javans are a mild, quiet, and domestic people, justly proud of their ancestors, and, like the Jews, are confidently looking forward to the fulfilment of some traditionary

expectation of being restored to their former magnificence and power. They are, however, very little given to adventure or foreign enterprise, not easily roused to violence or bloodshed, and little disposed to irregularities of any kind. The character of treachery and revenge, so justly applicable to the Malays, by no means applies to the Javans.

The character of Javanese females has been represented in a highly favourable light, as daughters, wives, and mothers—alike amiable and exemplary in all their domestic and social relations. Raffles assures us that it is part of their domestic economy, that the women of every family should spin and weave all the cloth necessary for the apparel of the men; and that this rule prevails, from the first consort of the sovereign to the wife of the humblest.

> "Royal Penelopes each day resume
> The curious labours of the mystic loom."

In every cottage there is a spinning-wheel and a loom, and in all ranks a man is accounted to pride himself on the beauty of a cloth woven either by his wife, mistress, or daughter. These occupations of the women are performed on an elevated veranda, or kind of open portico, in front of their dwellings, where they are protected from the rays of a vertical sun by an extended projection of the pitch of the roof, like many of the Dutch houses in the United States.

The females of Java soon arrive at maturity, and enter early into the married state. They are considered marriageable at the age of ten or twelve, and the other sex at sixteen. There are no pecuniary obstacles to these early conjugal connexions. The conveniences which the young married couple require are few and easily procured. Subsistence is easily obtained, and even comforts are not wanting. If they be blessed with children, and we have never heard of any exception, the latter are not long a burden, but soon become the means of assistance, and ultimately the source of wealth. Their food, clothing, and education, cost them comparatively nothing. The women of all classes nurse their own offspring, if we except the wives of the regents or the sovereign. So that each fair Javanese matron, even in a pecuniary point of view, may point to her children, and say with the mother of the Gracchi—"Behold my jewels!"

Marriage contracts are all made by the parents, relations, or guardians, apparently without much respect to the inclinations or tastes of the parties most immediately concerned. After the negotiation has advanced to a certain stage, the intended bridegroom sends a present corresponding to his means to the bride elect, and her acceptance of it renders the contract binding. Should the lover, however, afterward evince any reluctance to fulfil his engagement, the present is forfeited to his betrothed; but if she express a similar disinclination, she is bound to return it to the donor. A period of several weeks generally elapses between the betrothing and the marriage, for which all parties are very careful to select *a lucky day*. The marriage ceremony appears to be a mere civil contract, liable to be dissolved on certain specified contingences. After leaving the mosque, not forgetting to pay the priest the marriage fees,* a procession is generally formed, consisting of the new-married couple, with their parents and relations, which moves through the town, attended by a band of music and accompanied by the firing of cannon. A feast is given in the evening at the house of the brides' parents. Such festivities last sometimes for several days.

Notwithstanding the Javanese females marry at so early an age, they generally continue to bear children until a late period of life; so that it is not uncommon for a mother to attend the accouchement of her own grandmother. The wives of the Javans, however, are not so prolific as many women of other countries; though instances are not wanting of one of them being the mother of thirteen or fourteen. Half a dozen may be taken as an average; but the early formation of new families is a continual check to the numerical increase of the parental household. An unmarried man, past the age of twenty, is seldom to be met with, and an old maid is considered a *rara avis in terra*. The labour of the women in Java is estimated almost as highly as that of the men, and thus a married couple can maintain eight or ten persons; and as a family seldom exceeds half that number, they have com-

* According to strict Mahommedans, the priest's marriage fee ought not to exceed fifteen stivers. In most instances, however, they are raised to five times that sum in money; besides a fowl, a hank of cotton-yarn, four katis of rice, two cocoanuts, fruit, &c. There is very little in the ceremony conformable to the Mahommedan precepts.—*Raffles' Java.*

monly half of their earnings applicable for the purchase of little comforts, for implements of agriculture, for clothing, and lodging.

We have said that the marriage contract was liable to be dissolved by certain contingences; and perhaps there is no part of the world where divorces are more frequent than on the Island of Java. Whenever a woman becomes dissatisfied with her husband, she may demand a dissolution of the marriage contract, by paying him a sum established by custom, according to the rank of the parties; say from twenty to fifty dollars. It is true, the husband is not bound to accept it; but he is generally induced to do so from a consideration that the opinions and customs of the country require it; that he could not be happy with a wife who disliked him, &c. &c. A widow may marry again at the expiration of three months and ten days after the death of her husband. Polygamy is of course permitted in Java by their religion, but is not practised to any great extent. Public opinion is opposed to it, and were it not, it is very seldom convenient for a man to have more than one wife at a time.

The food of the Javans is very simple, being principally of a vegetable character, of which rice is the most prominent article. Still, however, fish, flesh, and fowl, are daily served up at their meals, according to the circumstances of the parties. They eat no amphibious animals, and abstain from pork, milk, butter, cheese, and spirituous liquors. They eat the flesh of the buffalo, the ox, the deer, the goat, and even the horse, when maimed or unfit for service. Salt is obtained in abundance throughout every part of the island, and sugar is made from the sap of the palm-trees, like the maple-sugar of our own country. In addition to these, they eat salted eggs, white ants, and various species of those worms which are so much esteemed by the Chinese, and are found in teak and other trees. The cooking utensils are of the most simple kind, being either of coarse pottery or copper. Rice is boiled or steamed; Indian corn is roasted in the ear; and they have pastry and sweetmeats in profusion. They eat all their meals on the ground, which is covered with a mat for that purpose. They have but two meals a day, and sometimes a slight lunch in the morning.

The amusements of the Javans are various, and all partake more or less of their national characteristic simplicity. They

consist principally of stated religious festivals, and occasional civic feasts, musical concerts, dancing, dramatic exhibitions, equestrian exercises, chivalry, tilting and tournaments, tiger-fighting, together with a variety of games of skill and chance.

The musical instruments of the Javans, together with the various exhibitions which still form so essential a part of the popular amusements, are all supposed to have been introduced by Panji, to whom is also attributed the introduction of the *kris*, as before mentioned. These instruments are peculiar in themselves, and it requires from ten to fifteen to form a band. The general principle on which the sounds are generated, is the vibration of metallic bars, when, as manifested on a small scale in our music-boxes, struck with hammers. Among the tones produced are some corresponding to those of the guitar, harmonica, musical glasses, the spinet, and other stringed instruments; the flagelet, and the pandean reeds; together with tambarines, bells, triangles, and the Chinese gong.

Many of the Javanese musical instruments, when played separately, produce very sweet, soft, and melodious sounds; but it is the unison and harmony of the whole united which gives to the music of Java its peculiar character among Asiatics. However simple and monotonous their airs may appear when played by themselves, with no accompaniment, they never tire on the ear when performed by a full band; and it is not unusual, on some occasions, for a band to continue their performances for days and nights in succession. They have no written music, but play altogether by the ear. The Javans say that the first music of which they have an idea was produced by the accidental admission of the wind into a bamboo tube which was left hanging on a tree; the idea is poetical at least.

Dancing, with the Javans, as it is with the Asiatics in general, consists principally in graceful attitudes of the body, and in the slow movement of the limbs, particularly of the arms, even to the hands and fingers. It is emphatically the "poetry of motion." Feats of agility and muscular activity form no part of a Javanese dance, which is a total stranger to *pirouettes*, and every other caprice of the modern French school. The music is slow and solemn, to which every motion of the dancer exactly corresponds, and such movements as might become a holy oriental monarch

in dancing before the ark of his faith. To dance gracefully is an accomplishment expected in every Javan of rank; and on days of festivity, all the chiefs are accustomed to join in the exercise alternately, commencing with the youngest.

Their dramatic entertainments are of two kinds; the *topeng*, wherein the characters are represented by men who generally wear masks like the ancient Greek performers; and the *wayang*, in which they are represented by shadows, something like the spectacular entertainments exhibited by Professor Martin. The subject of the *topeng* is invariably taken from the life and adventures of the celebrated Panji, the favourite hero of Javan story. In the performances before the sovereign, where masks are not worn by the actors, the several characters themselves rehearse their parts; but in general, the manager recites the speeches, while the players have only to suit the action to the word. These performances are somewhat melo-dramatic, as the music of a band accompanies the piece, and varies in expression, according to the nature of the action, or the kind of emotion to be executed. Buffoonery is sometimes introduced, as it is on our own stage, for the sole purpose of raising a laugh; but in Java, it is never suffered to interfere with the regular course of the performance. The actors are engaged by the night, for about ten rupees and a supper.

Jousts, tilts, or tournaments, constitute another favourite amusement of the Javans. They are generally exhibited before the sovereign on the great square fronting the palace, on which occasions all the princes, nobles, and public officers are present, and the assemblage of the people is generally very great. The weapons with which the champions perform their shamfights are blunted spears; and they themselves are mounted on horses richly caparisoned, with splendid trappings and housings, and go through their exercises and feats with no little address and dexterity.

There are several other manly exercises to which the Javans are addicted; among which we will merely name (our limits will not permit a description) that of hunting the stag, which they pursue on horseback, and kill with a spear and cutlass. They have also a favourite national spectacle, often exhibited—which is a combat between the buffalo and the tiger, in a large cage expressly prepared for the purpose. It seldom fails that the buffalo is triumphant; and one buffalo has been known to destroy several full-

grown tigers in succession. A combat between two bulls is a common amusement, as is also a contest between the ram and wild-hog. Cockfighting, and other similar amusements, are principally confined to the Malays, of whose character they are certainly characteristic.

Among the games of skill in which the Javans indulge themselves, may be mentioned those of chess, backgammon, and draughts, besides several minor ones, played on boards of a similar construction. The throwing of dice and other games of chance are numerous; and betting is very common.

But though the Javans are fond of amusements, they seldom permit them to interfere with the calls of duty and industry. The Javans, by their ingenuity, application, and docility in working under European direction, have made no inconsiderable progress in many of the common arts and handicrafts appertaining to civil life.

In Raffles's History of Java we find a list of thirty, for which they have terms in their language, and in many of which they are highly proficient:—viz., ironsmith and cutler, carpenter, kris-sheath-maker, carver, spear-shaft-maker, mat-maker, turner, brush-maker, stone-cutter, lime-maker, wayang-maker, musical instrument-maker, brazier, coppersmith, goldsmith, potter, distiller, bookbinder, weaver, cotton-printer, dier, oil-maker, diamond-cutter, paper-maker, tailor, embroiderer, seamstress, draftsman, painter, and tooth-filer.

In constructing a habitation for himself and family, the Javan is sufficiently expert for all the purposes required to accommodate every rank, from the peasant to the prince. The cottage or hut of the poor man, is invariably built on the ground, with the sleeping-places a little elevated above the level of the floor, and accord in simplicity with other parts of the dwelling. The sides or walls are generally formed of bamboo, flattened and interwoven, which also forms the partitions, if any such there be. The roof is thatched, either with grass or palm-leaves. In the western districts, where the materials are more easily obtained, the frames are generally made of timber instead of bamboo, and the interior of the building, as well as the front veranda, are raised about two feet from the ground. They require no other light than what is admitted by the door, as all their domestic operations are carried

on in the open air, and in that climate shade is more requisite than shelter. In short, the cottage of the humblest Javanese peasant presents a greater degree of convenience and comfort than those of a similar class on continental India.

The dwellings of the petty chiefs are distinguished by having eight slopes, or roofs; four superior, and four secondary; and those in which the chiefs and nobles reside are of larger size, with supporters and beams of timber. Such light structures as those just described, are well adapted to the climate and the means of the lower orders; but they do not necessarily imply an ignorance of more durable materials; for bricks are manufactured in almost every part of the island; while the ruins of temples, and other antiquities of the country, afford abundant testimony that the arts of architecture, sculpture, and statuary in stone, at one period reached a very high pitch in Java.

The palace of a Javanese prince or sultan, which is in fact a rectangular fort or castle, comprises an extensive square, surrounded by a high wall, lined on the top with cannon, outside of which there is generally a moat or ditch. Both in front and rear there is a large open square for promenades, and the exercise of feats of arms and horsemanship. Its interior is handsomely finished and tastefully furnished.

The furniture of the houses or cottages of the lower orders is of course simple, and comprises but few pieces, and those such as necessity demands. Like the Sumatrans, they attach more importance to the bed than to any other article of convenience, comfort, or luxury. We like their taste; for the couch of repose is the sweet requiter of the toils and the sorrows of the day: "let that give peace, and we forget the rest."

> "——————————— Impartial as the grave,
> Sleep robs the cruel tyrant of his power,
> Gives rest and freedom to the o'erwrought slave,
> And steals the wretched beggar from his want."—LILLO.

If the spirit of ornament enter the cot of a Javan at all, it lights first on his bed—for the hand of fond, confiding, and devoted woman, can always there be traced. The bed of a Javan, whatever be his pecuniary circumstances, is a fine mat (and sometimes several piled upon each other), with a number of pillows, tastefully fringed at the ends, together with a kind of canopy and val-

ance of variegated colours over the head. Such a bed is fit for a prince. Tables, chairs, &c., are not wanted, as they always sit cross-legged on a mat like the Turks, and generally convey the food to their mouths with the thumb and finger. Knives are unnecessary, except for carving. The houses of the higher classes are furnished more conveniently, and, of course, more expensively. Some even indulge in the luxury of tables, chairs, and looking-glasses, in imitation of the European settlers on the island.

But the Javans not only know how to build habitations suitable to their wants, and to furnish them comfortably, but they also know how to manufacture many conveniences and luxuries, for which they are indebted to their own ingenuity and industry;—such, for instance, as cutlery, bricks, thatch, mats, cotton, cloths, dies, leather, cordage, paper, salt, saltpetre, gunpowder, &c. They likewise fell trees, hew timber, make boats, build ships, and work in various kinds of metals. Their fisheries are very ingeniously and profitably conducted; and their markets are well supplied with these treasures of the deep, both fresh and salt; as they are also with poultry, meat, vegetables, &c.

Agriculture is an art in which the Javans are all, more or less, interested; as rice is not only their principal diet, but a conspicuous article in the export commerce of the island. They have been called, and are emphatically, "a nation of husbandmen;" and the whole island is a great agricultural garden. All its wealth is drawn from its soil, the produce of which answers every purpose in Java that money does in other countries. Rice, however, is the grand staple of the island, and to the cultivation of this, every other species of husbandry is subordinate. It is seen in vast fields gilding the slopes of mountains, smiling on level plains, and lining most valleys with the freshest verdure—gracefully waving to the fragrant breeze—

> "Blushing and shrinking, like a bashful nymph,
> From fickle Zephyr's soft and amorous sighs,
> But blessing, with the sweetest smile, the god
> Who woos her in the shape of mountain rill."

Rice cannot flourish without water, and the hill-sides of Java generally furnish it with a plentiful supply; and where this is not the case, artificial irrigation is easily substituted at very little

labour or expense. But the prospect is not confined to, or limited by, rice-fields alone; it is occasionally relieved by corn-fields of yellow maize, and enclosures of palma christi, cotton, tobacco, indigo, sugarcane, coffee-plants, pepper-vines, and wheat; frequently interspersed with gardens rich in vegetables of almost every description.*

A cultivator requires but little farming stock; a pair of buffaloes, or a yoke of oxen; a number of sheep, goats, fowls, &c., with a few rude implements of husbandry, comprise the whole. The buffalo, like the ox, "lends his patient shoulder to the yoke," and becomes very useful in ploughing and other agricultural exercises where strength is requisite. He is of smaller size than the buffalo of Sumatra, but he is also a strong, tractable animal, capable of long and continued exertion when not unreasonably exposed to the heat of the mid-day sun. Though sensitively shy of Europeans—and we do not wonder at it—he submits to be managed by the smallest child of the family in which he is domesticated. He is instinctively partial to the golden teint of a Javan's skin, though he himself is either white or black; those of the latter hue, being of larger size, are generally considered superior to the other. Either from the luxuriance of the pastures, the greater care of the keepers, or a climate more congenial to their nature, both the buffalo and the ox appear in much better condition on the Island of Java, than they do in Sumatra or any other part of India. But though the ox thrives well, the cows do not, being a degenerate breed, affording little or no milk beyond what is barely sufficient for the nourishment of the calf. They also bow their necks to the yoke of labour, in imitation of their oppressed masters.

With respect to commerce, the Javans, like every other half

* "Nothing can be conceived more beautiful to the eye, or more gratifying to the imagination, than the prospect of hill and dale, of rich plantations and fruit-trees or forests, of natural streams and artificial currents, which presents itself to the eye in several of the eastern and middle provinces, at some distance from the coast. In some parts of *Kedù*, *Banyumás*, *Semárang*, *Pasúruan*, and *Málang*, it is difficult to say whether the admirer of landscapes or the cultivator of the ground will be most gratified by the view. The whole country, as seen from mountains of considerable elevation, appears a rich, diversified, and well-watered garden, animated with villages, interspersed with the most luxuriant fields, and covered with the freshest verdure."—*Raffles' Java.*

civilized, half savage people, are limited in their knowledge of those arcana on which alone its success and prosperity generally depend; and were this not the case, they would stand but little chance in competition with the Dutch colonists, who directly or indirectly command all the resources of the island. The Javans were by nature intended for a mercantile people; and, in obedience to her dictates, they opened, at a very early period, a commercial intercourse with merchants of the continent for the interchange of articles, to supply their mutual wants; the manufactures of India and China being received in payment for the natural productions of Java. To this intercourse, and to the fertility of the soil, which soon rendered the island an agricultural country, may be attributed the high degree of civilization and of advancement in the arts, which it is evident it once attained; for the arts and sciences ever follow in the train of commerce.

"Gay commerce waved her flag, her sails unfurled,
And dove-eyed science civilized the world."—FAY.

Japora, a seaport on the northeast of the island, with a good harbour, was the capital of a considerable kingdom when the Dutch first established themselves at Java. At that time three hundred merchant vessels, none of which were less than two hundred tons, were accustomed to sail to and from that port alone. Like every thing else, this trade also fell into the hands of the all-grasping Dutch colonists; and from that period may be dated the decline and fall of Javanese commerce. No doubt that it had been carried on principally in foreign bottoms, and under different flags. So much the better; the Javans were never intended for daring maritime adventurers, but for a quiet agricultural people; and their country has long been considered as the granary of the eastern islands.*

The native internal and coasting trade of the Javans is still considerable. The produce and manufactures of the country are conveyed from one district to another, and to the principal sea-

* "They contented themselves with enjoying all the advantages of a trade in which they incurred no chance of loss; and thus, though their own country yielded neither gold nor jewels, they are said to have been plentifully supplied with these and other valuable articles on their own shores, in exchange for the produce of their tranquil industry and their fertile soil."—*Raffles' History of Java.*

ports, both by water and land-carriage, as good roads and navigable streams intersect each other throughout the island in many and various directions. Bazaars, or public markets, are established at convenient sites in every district, and are held several times a week. At these markets, which in Europe would be called fairs, are frequently assembled some thousands of people, chiefly of the softer sex, on whom devolves the duty—would it were not so—of conveying thither the various productions of the country. Sheds, shanties, and other temporary coverings of bamboo or thatch, are generally prepared for the accommodation of the people, to protect them from the rays of the sun. Refreshments of every kind, including victuals ready cooked, and comprising most of the fruits and vegetables of the country, occupy a considerable space in the fair, and find a ready sale.

There are many articles imported into Java from other islands in the Archipelago, among which are—camphire, tortoise-shell, edible birds'-nests, *biche de mer*, bees'-wax, and gold-dust. These are exchanged for opium, iron, steel, tobacco, rice, salt, European and India goods, &c. Here are also collected, at the principal ports, for re-exportation, Banca tin, gold-dust, diamonds, camphire, gum-benjamin, and other drugs, birds'-nests, *biche de mer*, rattans, bees'-wax, tortoise-shell, dying woods, sandal-wood, nutmegs, cloves, mace, and other spices.

The government of the Javans, when administered on its original principles, is a pure, unmixed, and absolute despotism. The sovereign, or sultan, appoints subordinate and delegated governors to preside over the several provinces; and these, like their master, though tenacious of power, are ever willing to surrender it for ease and pleasure. Their prime minister, or vizier, is the actual ruler of the country, while the sultan is satisfied with flattery, pomp, and the seraglio. The same remark will apply to the provincial governors, who all have their subordinates on a small scale. The people and the soil are in fact the property of the sovereign, but his right in this respect is not generally exercised; and there are customs of the country, of which the people are very tenacious, and which the sultan seldom invades. Yet he being considered as the sole proprietor of the soil, all lands are held of him, under the tenure of military service, and a certain proportion of their

produce. But since the sultan and his delegates are all more or less subordinate to the Dutch colonial government, the cultivators of the soil are made to feel the evil of a multiplicity of masters. The several chiefs not only oblige the peasantry to cultivate particular articles suitable for exportation, but take from them such portion of the produce as will not only liquidate their own tribute, but also meet the terms of their agreement with the Dutch. Formerly they exacted one half of the produce, by way of rent, but they are now said to demand at least two thirds of the crop. Pepper and coffee are the two principal articles that are required to be cultivated, as best suiting the purpose of the Dutch, to whom they are delivered by the Javanese princes at a low rate. The doctrines of the Koran are the laws of the land; while the executive and judicial powers are exercised by the same individual.

Since the whole island has submitted to the Dutch supremacy, the military spirit which formerly characterized the Javans has gradually subsided. By the existing treaties between the Dutch and the native princes, the latter are restricted to the number of troops which they may maintain. Those of the sultan are limited to a body-guard of one thousand men. Such further number as may be requisite for the tranquillity of the country, the European government undertakes to furnish. Before the sultan was under this restriction, he used to raise such force as he wanted by a requisition upon the government of each province, for a specified *quota;* in the same manner as the President of the United States calls on the several states when the militia are required to act in the defence of the nation. Thus, in a country like Java, where every man wears a *kris*, or dagger, and where the spear or pike is the principal military weapon, an army was easily collected in a few days. The gatherings of the Highland clans in Scotland were never effected with much greater facility.

The naval power of the Javans was at one period quite formidable. Previous to the arrival of the Dutch, warlike expeditions, consisting of many hundred vessels, are often reported to have been fitted out against Borneo, Sumatra, and the peninsula. But the sun of her naval glory is eclipsed.

Of the literature of the Javans, our limits will not permit us

to say much. Like most of the orientals, they *think* in poetry, and consequently cannot fail to speak and act it. Their progress in the fine arts has been limited and retarded by obvious circumstances; but with proper culture, Heaven has endowed them with sufficient mental faculties for any thing. Our allotted course, however, compels us to leave this interesting people, and pay our respects to the citizens of civilized Batavia.

CHAPTER XVI.

Bay and City of Batavia—Former Commerce, Wealth, and Magnificence—Unexpected Reverses—Description of the City—Cause of its Unhealthiness—Improvements by Marshal Daendels—Beauty of the Environs—Villas and Roads—Blue Mountains—Village of Buitenzorg—Ruins of Pajajaran—Population of Batavia—Number and Condition of the Slaves—Chinese Industry and Festivals—Balians, Javans, and other Classes—Dutch Population—Frightful Mortality—Health of the City improved—Biographical Sketch of Daendels—European Provinces of Java—Native Provinces—Total Population—Face and Appearance of the Country—Mountains, Volcanoes, and Minerals—Rivers, Climate, Soil, and vegetable Productions—The Bohun Upas—Origin of the Fable—Poison made from the Sap of the Anchar—Animal Productions—Commerce, Revenue, and Political State of the Country.

THE city of Batavia stands at the head of the spacious bay in which the Potomac now lay at anchor; the numerous islands by which the shipping is sheltered, rendering it one of the finest harbours in the world. It is a remarkable fact, that during the long period it has been in the possession of the Dutch, not a vessel has ever been lost in the roads. The capacity of Batavia Bay is sufficient to contain almost any number of vessels; and its waters have often supported, at one time, an almost impenetrable forest of foreign masts. The principal islands that surround it are those which bear the names of Onrust, Purmerent, Kuiper, and Edam; most of which are clothed with trees. On the first are the naval arsenal, dock-yard, storehouses, saw-mills, and workshops of the artificers. This is the great marine depot, where ships, when they require repairs, are hove down by cranes erected on the wharves. It is a busy, bustling place, and abounds with inhabitants.

Batavia, as before mentioned, was founded in the year sixteen hundred and nineteen, and rose rapidly into importance on account of its excellent harbour, and its advantageous position for European and oriental commerce. Nor was it without reason that the Dutch selected this spot for the capital of their new empire in the east. In adverting to this subject, Adam Smith thus expresses himself:—"What the Cape of Good Hope is between Europe

and every part of the East Indies, Batavia is between the principal countries of the East Indies. It lies upon the most frequented road from Hindostan to China and Japan, and is nearly about midway on that road. Almost all the ships, too, that sail between Europe and China, touch at Batavia; and it is, over and above all this, the centre and principal resort of what is called the country trade of the East Indies; not only of that part of it which is carried on by Europeans, but of that which is carried on by the native Indians; and vessels navigated by the inhabitants of China and Japan, of Tonquin, of Malacca, of Cochin China, and the Island of Celebes, are frequently to be seen in its port. Such advantageous situations have enabled these two colonies to surmount all the obstacles which the oppressive genius of an exclusive company may have occasionally opposed to their growth; they have enabled Batavia to surmount the additional disadvantage of, perhaps, the most unwholesome climate in the world."

During the eighteenth century, Batavia was deemed the finest European settlement in all Asia; and although justly considered unhealthy, from circumstances purely local, its wealth, trade, and commercial splendour procured for it the titles of "Queen of the East," and the "Tyre of the Oriental Archipelago." It was doubtless at the climax of its glory at the breaking out of the French revolution; and continued to retain that pre-eminence until nearly the close of the century. But the various European wars which successively grew out of, or flowed from that tremendous event, produced effects which were ultimately felt at the remotest corners of the globe.

The same extraordinary state of things which gave such an unparalleled onward impulse to the mercantile enterprise of the United States, partially paralyzed that of every foreign competitor. Those were the "golden days" of our commercial prosperity; and Columbia might have exclaimed, with Lady Macbeth—

> "That which hath made them drunk, hath made me bold,
> What hath quenched them hath given me fire."

Batavia, however, had not very sensibly felt the effects of those devastating conflicts in seventeen hundred and ninety-three. But soon after the invasion of Holland by the French, in the beginning of seventeen hundred and ninety-five, when the stadtholder

and his family took refuge in England, it was plainly perceived in Europe that the political troubles of the mother country must sooner or later very sensibly affect the commercial interests of her colonies in the east. But they, luxurious and indolent, were the last to perceive the impending evil; they forgot that the sun of their prosperity might not always remain unobscured by a cloud; while their proud city seemed to say in her heart, "I sit as a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow"—until it came upon them like the suffocating sirocco of Syria, to the sudden prostration and almost total annihilation of their commerce. The roads of Batavia became nearly deserted by shipping, while trade and business of all kinds were at a complete stand. Population declined in a corresponding ratio; of which some idea may be formed from the fact, that in seventeen hundred and ninety-three, the city and immediate suburbs of Batavia contained, of all classes, a grand total of one hundred and fifteen thousand nine hundred and sixty souls; while, by a census of eighteen hundred and fifteen, the whole population was less than sixty thousand.

A more eligible site, in a commercial point of view, could not have been selected for the city of Batavia, than the one on which it stands; nor could a worse one have been chosen on account of health. To whatever section of the globe the Dutch emigrate, it has always been their endeavour to make the tastes and prejudices of their *faderland* assimilate with the soil and climate of their new location. There were certainly some insurmountable obstacles to the indulgence of this propensity on the elevated banks of the Hudson; but the temptation which presented itself on the low marshy shores of the *Jacatra*, in Java, proved to be irresistible. Here was a glorious opportunity for the display of dikes and canals, and they eagerly seized upon the facilities. It was an extended level of rich alluvious land, with a copious river serpentining through it, with so indolent a current that it could be diverted from its original course, and conducted in any direction at pleasure. This river has its rise in the Blue Mountains, about fifty miles south of the bay, into which it empties; its mouth abounding with sharks and alligators, the latter having been known to upset boats, and devour the unfortunate inmates.

The first operation of the colonists appears to have been to divide the stream of the Jacatra into two branches, sufficiently

separated to leave a spot of ground between them large enough for the site of their projected city. These branches were again united below, and the insulated space enclosed with a quadrangular wall of coral rock, twenty feet in height, flanked with twenty redoubts for the mounting of cannon. Four great gates on each side opened upon drawbridges, which led to the suburbs. The citadel, or castle, was erected on the north side of the city, without the walls, but surrounded by a wall of its own about thirty feet in height. This fortress was flanked by four bastions, the names of which are indicative of the vain-glorious affectation of their sponsors—the Diamond, the Pearl, the Sapphire, and the Ruby. But let it not be inferred that these *precious* appellations corresponded with the building materials, which were nothing but calcareous coral rock, and the indurated lava of some crater among the mountains. The walls of the citadel included the residence of the governor-general, the chapel, and most of the public offices.

The coral rock for these works was brought from some of the neighbouring islands, as there is no stone of any kind to be found for many miles or in any direction around the city. The marble and granite used in the public edifices, were brought hither from China. But the patient Dutch think nothing of such importations. New-York was first built with bricks from Holland. Bricks also are liberally used in Batavia, but they are manufactured on the island. A part of the town wall is built of dense lava, from the central mountains of Java.

Many of these useless high walls, enclosing natural laboratories of pestilential miasmata, have been removed by orders of the late Governor-general Daendels; who, during his short administration, did much and projected more for improving the health of Batavia, as well as facilitating internal intercourse and native trade throughout the whole island. That the health of Batavia at the period of the Potomac's visit was such as to warrant the commodore's removing the frigate to an anchorage nearer to the city, and himself and officers daily visiting their friends on shore, is mainly attributable to the changes and alterations effected by the liberal policy of Marshal Daendels; and had his administration continued until his great conceptions had all been realized, Java would have had reason to honour him as a philanthropist and a public benefactor.

It was he who established the new cantonment at Weltervreden, about three miles east of the city, and removed the troops thither, being convinced that the great labour and vast wealth which had been expended on the castle of Batavia were worse than thrown away, as far as health and life are concerned. The large and commodious citadel was therefore abandoned; and the health of the troops at Weltervreden, where they have since continued, honours the sagacity of the governor.

But notwithstanding these heterodox innovations in the *costume* of the "Queen of the East," the city of Batavia still greets the eye of a stranger with many attractive beauties, which become more pleasing as he approaches it. Its form, we mean the ground plan, is an oblong square, and the streets are laid out in a corresponding manner, crossing each other at right angles. Each street has its canal in the centre, the sides of which are faced with smooth stone walls, rising in parapets on the two margins, eighteen inches or two feet above the level of the street. A row of trees, dressed in perpetual verdure, which is in most cases mingled with fragrant blossoms and odoriferous flowers, runs parallel with the canal on each side of it, and about six feet from its margin. Along this shady promenade of two yards in width, there formerly stood, "in olden time" as we are informed, pleasant little arbours or pavilions, at convenient distances, where the luxurious burghers used to sit with their friends in the cool of the evening to enjoy their pipes, drink their beer, and muse upon the wealth, strength, and magnificence of their high-walled city; each one at the same time inhaling a sufficient quantity of marsh *miasmata* to send an *unaclimated* American to his long home.

The street on each side of the canal is from thirty to sixty feet in width, and is a fine gravelled road, lined on the opposite side near the footpath with a corresponding row of shady and flowering trees. This is the general carriage-way for wheeled vehicles of every description, horses, cattle, &c. The flagged sidewalk, or *trottoir*, is about six feet in breadth; so that the whole width of the Batavian streets, including the canal, carriage-ways, and sidewalks, varies from thirty-eight to sixty-eight yards. There were said to be twenty such streets in the city in seventeen hundred and ninety-three, with about thirty stone bridges over the canals. The style of architecture is, generally speaking, that of the Nether-

lands, the houses being principally of one story, with high walls. But there are some pleasing exceptions; as Batavia contains many buildings which may lay claim to architectural taste and elegance. The stadt-house, churches, Mahommedan mosque, and Chinese temple, are all worthy of a stranger's inspection.

We wonder not that the Dutch were prone to boast of Batavia, in the brightest days of its commercial prosperity. They were just the people to be proud of such a city. With what condescending self-complacency would a high born-burgher then act as a *chaperon* to his European guest! He would point out as a master-piece of elegance in its design, the large octagon church, with its magnificent and fine-toned organ; its pulpit of teak-wood; its curious carving and laborious workmanship; and with affected *nonchalance* mention that it cost a mere trifle, eighty thousand pounds! Then would follow the citadel, the stadt-house, the governor's mansion and chapel, the Lutheran and Portuguese churches, the mosque, the pagoda, the spin-house, the infirmary, the orphan-house, the market, and some of the burghers' dwellings, the canals, the city gates, the drawbridges, and the suburbs. The European would doubtless be dazzled, and inclined to envy his hospitable host, the luxurious Batavian.

But a very few days' experience, and a more critical investigation would convince the startled stranger that this fair city —this boasted mart of the world—this great emporium of oriental commerce—was but a garnished sepulchre,—a splendid lazar-house, teeming with contagion, pestilence, and death. Such was pre-eminently the case in the days of its brightest glory and proudest magnificence! How could it be otherwise? Look at its position! So near the equator,—surrounded on all sides by stagnant waters, fens, bogs, and oozy ditches—every street intersected by canals, bordered with trees, into which *every description* of filth was thrown, with vegetable and animal remains, there to undergo decomposition in the sun, or find their tardy way to the sea, by channels which had scarcely any current!*

* Independent of their noxious and unwholesome effluvia, these canals were also sources of danger of a different and still more appalling character. Captain Amasa Delano, of Boston, who visited Batavia in seventeen hundred and ninety-two, has recorded the following incident:—"I was standing, at noonday, in the door of the principal hotel, on one side of a canal seventy or eighty yards from the spot, and saw an alligator take a child off from the steps, the opposite side, and eat it!"

Such circumstances might possibly exist with impunity in the latitude of European Amsterdam, but never between the tropics. Add to these,—the country, for miles around Batavia, was one complete sheet of tope and rice-fields, which could not fail to produce unwholesome exhalations. Many of these nuisances have been corrected or abated.

Nothing, perhaps, can be more gratifying to the eye, than the general appearance of the fertile country which surrounds the city of Batavia; diversified with plantations, fields, and gardens, and embellished with villas in the oriental style, which are surrounded by trees loaded with the most delicious fruits, and shrubs covered with the most fragrant flowers. The roads in the environs are very numerous, and invariably lined with trees on each side, which not only give them a beautiful appearance, but render them very refreshing to those who make rural excursions twenty or thirty miles from the city. Our officers frequently extended theirs to the distance of forty miles.

Besides the several lesser roads intersecting each other at various points, and interspersed with several little villages and country-seats, there is one which was commenced by Marshal Daendels, and afterward carried to completion by the English, for many miles from Batavia, through the low country of Krawang, intersecting, near Cheribon, the great military road, which crosses the Blue Mountains from Buitenzorg to Cheribon, and from thence along the north side of the island to its eastern extremity. Along this road, at intervals of less than five miles, are regular post stations and relays of carriage-horses.

On the Jacatra road, which runs directly south from the city to Buitenzorg, near the Blue Mountains, there is, besides other elegant buildings, that of Goonong Sarie, the former residence of the old Dutch governors. The building, and the grounds belonging to it, are spacious. To the east, the eye is gratified by fertile plains and luxuriant rice-fields, exhibiting all that is cheerful and pleasant to the senses for administering to the comforts of human life; while, on the opposite side, a dismal contrast presents itself in the vast cemetery filled with Chinese sepulchres, spreading to a great and melancholy extent. Numerous villas and country-seats also adorn the environs of Batavia in every direction;—to the east, as far as Chillingchug; and to the west, as far as Tan-

gerang, which is the boundary of the kingdom of Bantam; while to the south of the city, they are scattered over a distance of forty or fifty miles.

The village of Buitenzorg, on the Jacatra road, is about five miles northeast of Mount Salak, which is more than half way across the island, from Batavia on the north, to Wyn Cooper's Bay on the south. It was formerly an active volcano, and its last eruption was in seventeen hundred and sixty-one. The southeastern foot of Mount Salak is connected with Mount Gede, over the northeastern limb of which the great road was originally made. This laborious pass, however, occasioned great delay and inconvenience to the passengers, which induced Governor Daendels to project the new road, along the lowlands, from Batavia to Cheribon, by which the former inequalities are all avoided, and a distance saved of fifty miles. The route is now so level that it might be converted into a railroad, or be accompanied with a canal by the side of it.*

Mount Salak and Mount Gede are plainly to be seen from the shipping in Batavia Roads; and from the appearance they exhibit, are usually termed the Blue Mountains, where the Jacatra takes its rise, about sixty miles south of Batavia. Near the village of Buitenzorg are the celebrated ruins of the ancient capital of Pajajaran, among which, several curious antiquities have been found. This city, according to Javanese tradition, was founded about the year thirteen hundred, and soon became the capital of the kingdom and seat of the royal court. It was overthrown by the Mahommedans, in their conquest of Java, and many of the inhabitants fled to Cheribon. Among the curious relics which have been discovered among its ruins, were several rude images and inscriptions on stone. Sir Thomas Raffles mentions, also, an ancient manuscript, a copy of which he took home to England, containing drawings of pagan deities, the twelve signs of the zodiac, and numerous other astronomical (or astrological) devices.

* This line of roads now extends from Anyer, on the west side of Bantam, to Batavia, from thence to Cheribon, and thence to within twenty miles of Banyuwangi, the eastern extremity of the island, being a distance of not less than eight hundred statute miles. But we regret to add, that twelve thousand natives are said to have perished in the construction of this great work, from the unhealthiness of marshes and forests through which it passed!

He also mentions the remains of intrenchments by which the city was defended, and which are still plainly to be seen near the ruins. The Jacatra road is cut through several of them.

The population of Batavia and its immediate vicinity, according to a census taken by the British government, in the year eighteen hundred and fifteen, is computed at sixty thousand. At the period of the Potomac's visit, in eighteen hundred and thirty-two, it was said to amount to ten thousand more, but probably overran that number. We will therefore proceed on the supposition that Batavia and its suburbs contain seventy thousand souls. This population is divided, or divisible, into several different classes, of which the slaves are by far the most numerous, and therefore deserve to be first noticed.

The slaves on the Island of Java are either foreigners themselves, or the immediate descendants of foreigners; as the native Javans are never reduced to this condition; or, if they should happen to be seized and sold by pirates, a satisfactory proof of their origin would be sufficient to procure their enfranchisement. The slave-merchants have, therefore, been under the necessity of resorting to the neighbouring islands for a supply, and the greatest number has been procured from Bali* and Celebes. These slaves are the property of the Europeans and Chinese alone; the native chiefs never require the service of slaves, nor engage in the traffic of slavery. There are not less than twenty thousand of these unfortunate beings in Batavia.

The next class of foreigners which claim our notice, both for numbers and industry, is composed of *Chinese*, either emigrants or their mixed descendants, as they are not allowed to bring any Chinese women with them. About a thousand or more used to arrive annually at Batavia, from China, in Chinese junks, carrying from three to five hundred each, without money or resources, who by dint of their industry, soon acquired comparative opulence.

* "This disgraceful traffic, it may be hoped, will soon be entirely annihilated. While it existed in its full vigour, all prisoners taken in war, all who attempted to evade the laws by emigration, all insolvent debtors, and a certain class of thieves, were subjected to the sad condition of slavery. These laws still subsist, and are enforced, as formerly, for the purpose of procuring the home supply; but the diminution of the foreign demand must limit exceedingly their exercise, and in a short time ameliorate the state of the unhappy individuals who have suffered by them."—*Raffles' Java.*

From the city, many of them dispersed over the whole island, which possibly now contains more than one hundred and fifty thousand of them. Many return to China annually in the junks, but comparatively a small proportion. There are at least sixteen thousand of this class in Batavia, who live in a separate *compong*, under a chief of their own nation. They are among the most useful and industrious of the inhabitants; indefatigable in their pursuits, and eagerly bent on making money. In their hands are all the manufactures, and nearly all the retail trade of the city, or of every other place where they are located; and their labours contribute largely to the prosperity of the island. They are hated by the Javans and Malays, because they are constantly overreaching their less industrious and unsuspecting neighbours; and hence it is not to be wondered at that these tribes should seize every opportunity to inflict wrong and even outrage upon them. From the Dutch they have suffered many unjust exactions and cruel oppressions, which have more than once goaded them into acts of insurrection and rebellion, for which they were dreadfully punished. Witness the massacre of seventeen hundred and forty.

The Chinese *compong* comprises the whole of the southwestern suburbs, and is very extensive. Among them, every house is a shop, and the streets exhibit a constant scene of noise and bustle. Their captain, or *hingho*, has a number of lieutenants under him, who assist in regulating the police of this numerous population. As the emigration of Chinese females is expressly prohibited by the government, they either marry among the natives, or purchase slaves for their wives. They are called great cheats by the natives, although in their intercourse with foreigners they are polite and wellbred. Among the colonists they are not usually employed as servants. They are distinct from the natives; and are, in a high degree, more intelligent, more industrious, more enterprising, and much more luxurious than the Javans or Malays. They are, in fact, refined epicures in their way; and their tables, three times in a day, are loaded with rice, curry, fish, pork, fowls, ducks, together with all kinds of vegetables. The higher orders, especially, indulge in every luxury, and spare no expense in procuring any thing calculated to please the palate. Edible birds'-nests, *biche de mer*, and other luxuries, however costly, are always

found on the table of a wealthy Chinese voluptuary; and they are acknowledged to be hospitable.

Their festivals are very grand and imposing, especially the one in celebration of the new year, which continues from the first to the twentieth of February. On this occasion, the streets in the Chinese *compong* are thronged with carriages and crowds of men, women, and children, of all classes, countries, colours, and denominations, who parade the illuminated streets until late at night. For eight or ten days during this festival, business is at a stand, and every house is a scene of festivity. The wealthy spread richly-furnished tables, at which the Europeans frequently partake; while the hosts, by every means in their power, try to show how much they are pleased with the attendance of their guests. Various mountebank exhibitions are performed on large stages erected for the purpose. Their marriage ceremonies are conducted with great splendour; and though the most of them have been colonized in the island for centuries, they retain, in all respects, their national customs.

Next to the new year, the burials are the greatest festivals among the Chinese in Java; and these are solemnized according to the rank of the individual deceased. An immense multitude attend the interment, carrying images of men and women resembling the deceased members of the same family, while a numerous procession of priests, accompanied by musical instruments, precede the corpse. The cemetery of the Chinese extends over an immense surface of soil on the southeast side of the city. They allot a separate piece of ground for each subject, and raise over it a mound of earth in shape of a crescent, carved and ornamented according to the wealth and importance of the deceased.

To these sacred repositories, the Chinese, as an indispensable duty, pay an annual visit; which mournful ceremony takes place in April. Stages are erected, from which the priests deliver their funeral orations in honour of the dead; and the neighbourhood of Jacatra, over which their cemetery extends, exhibits the affecting spectacle of multitudes of people prostrate before the numerous tombs, which are decorated with flowers; spreading viands and fruits as offerings, and bowing their faces to the earth. Although they have a temple, in which are placed images and burning tapers, they do not appear to attend to any particular

form of worship. Every house has, probably, its own altar, and its own collection of idols, as in China; the form, number, and quality of which are generally in proportion to the taste of the head of the family to select, and his ability to purchase.

The third class of aliens, adhering to the same numerical decrease in numbers, is composed of *Balians*, or *Baliers*, who originally sprang from the inhabitants of *Bali*, a small island on the east of Java. They are very different from those of their unfortunate countrymen who have been sold to slavery, which condition ever, more or less, degrades the human character. In their native state of freedom, they are active and enterprising, and free from that listlessness and indolence which are observable in the Javans. Although of the same original stock, they exhibit several striking differences in their characters, features, and personal appearance. Their manners are said to appear abrupt, unceremonious, coarse, and repulsive to a stranger; but upon further acquaintance this becomes less perceptible; and their undisguised frankness commands reciprocal confidence and respect.

In their domestic relations they are amiable, respectful, and decorous. Their wives are treated with tenderness and respect, and their children with mildness and gentleness, and they are strangers to the vices of drunkenness, libertinism, and conjugal infidelity. In a word, they are distinguished for energy, honesty, and an irrepressible love of independence. There are probably above ten thousand of this class in the city of Batavia and its suburbs, who are divided into *compongs*, under their respective overseers. The Balian slaves are valued highly in Batavia, on account of being considered more trustworthy than others, particularly the females, from among whom the Chinese of note generally choose their wives.

The Javans, of whom there are about four thousand five hundred in the city of Batavia, occupy two *compongs*, each under the immediate control of separate and independent chiefs. Some of them are fishermen; but in general they are cultivators of the soil.

There are probably near four thousand Malays in Batavia, who are generally traders, navigators, and builders of small *proas*, in the construction of which they are said to be very expert. As before intimated, they are passionately fond of cockfighting, and

almost every other species of gambling, and do not hesitate to risk their last possession on a single bet; being often driven by their losses to acts of desperation and horror. Gambling-houses are licensed by the Dutch, from which they derive considerable revenue; thus tolerating these nurseries of vice, and then sitting in judgment, and punishing with torture the victims of crime and guilt. The Malays have their quarter of the town allotted to them in the same manner as the Chinese, and are subject to the immediate authority of their respective captains.

The Macassars, originally from the Island of Celebes, where the Dutch have a considerable settlement called Fort Rotterdam, are another class in the city of Batavia, amounting to more than two thousand of both sexes. Their countenances, particularly those of the females, more nearly resemble the Tartar features than any other. The intercourse of these islanders with the natives of Java seems to have been ancient and frequent; and they are represented as active and enterprising traders.

The *Buggis*, or *Bugges*, are from part of the same island, and their number in Batavia is supposed to be about equal to that of the Macassars. They are represented as a treacherous, quarrelsome, and revengeful race; the same may be said of the *Macassars*, whom they in many respects resemble. Their valour has been often tested, and the reputation which they hold in the east is a parallel to that which the Swiss formerly held in Europe; on which account the Dutch formerly enlisted many of them into their army.

The *Arabs* are not numerous in Batavia—perhaps not over five hundred; and there are numbers of them also in Palembang, or Balambuan, at the eastern extremity of the island, on the Strait of Bali. They are generally engaged in the coasting trade, and are represented as by no means deficient in commercial intelligence.

There are also here about two hundred and fifty *Sumbáwas*, from an island of that name on the east of Java, the third from Bali; about the same number of *Mandharese*, from the district of *Mandar*, in the Island of Celebes; perhaps one hundred *Ambonese* and *Bandas*, from Amboyna and Banda; and a few *Timorese* and *Butanese*, from the Island of Timor, &c. The number of Moors in Batavia is not supposed to exceed one hundred

and fifty. These are natives of the Coromandel and Malabar coast. They appear to be the remnant of a once extensive class of settlers ;. but their numbers have considerably decreased since the establishment of the Dutch monopoly. The *Amboynese* occupy a *compong* on the left of the Jacatra road; some of them are Christians,—are less stubborn than the *Bugges*, and have in modern times been found to make better soldiers. The *Mardykers* are natives of different nations or tribes, who, having obtained their freedom, live in the city. Many of them are employed in the coasting trade, and others are successful cultivators of the soil.

The burgher class comprehends the Dutch population at Batavia, but is so much mixed up with Portuguese and Malay colonists, that, as a mass, they can scarcely be called Europeans. The same may be said of other towns on the coast, indeed of the Dutch settlements in general throughout the east. To a large proportion of these residents the mother country is only known by name; particularly to the ladies, few of whom have ever been in Europe. Their features, and the contour of their faces, bespeak European origin; while their complexion, character, and mode of life approach nearer to those of the natives. Though fair, they have none of that healthful ruddy hue seen in Europe and the United States; but a pale sickly languor overspreads their countenances. The number of this class in Batavia, always including the suburbs, is probably now not more than three thousand, though in seventeen hundred and ninety-three it exceeded six thousand, at which period the whole population was estimated at one hundred and sixteen thousand; out of which died annually four thousand.

The fatality of the Batavian climate has been without a parallel in history. This city has been designated the storehouse of disease; with how much justice, a few melancholy but authentic facts will clearly demonstrate. Between the years seventeen hundred and fourteen and seventeen hundred and seventy-six, a period of fifty-two years, there perished in the hospitals of Batavia above eighty-five thousand sailors and soldiers; and from the year seventeen hundred and thirty to seventeen hundred and fifty-two, a period of twenty-two years, the total amount of deaths was more than a million!

The physical and immediate causes of this mortality are ob-

vious, and have already been alluded to; but the more remote moral and political causes must be sought for in that mistaken policy of the colonial government, which, in order to maintain its commercial monopoly, kept the European population confined within the narrow walls of this unhealthy city—where they were compelled to reside as prisoners in a pesthouse. But from the moment that a more liberal and humane policy was introduced under the administration of Governor Daendels, when the walls of the city were demolished, the drawbridges let down, and free egress and ingress to and from the country permitted, the population began to migrate to a more healthy spot; and they had not to go above one or two miles beyond the precincts before they found themselves in a different climate.

Since the date of these changes and the clearing of the country in the vicinity, together with the draining off the surrounding stagnant waters, Batavia has been, and still is, a comparatively healthy city; completely so in the daytime, and all persons of respectability get through their business and retire to their villas in the neighbourhood before the heavy dews of evening begin to descend, and meet and mingle with the rising vapours of the city's marshy foundation. Few places in the east, or between the tropics in any part of the world, are more healthy and beautiful than the neighbouring villas and country-seats. Had the Dutch adopted this plan in season, how many thousands of human lives had been preserved or prolonged! But we will dismiss this subject with a few words respecting Governor Daendels.

William Herman Daendels was born in the year seventeen hundred and sixty-two, at Hattem, a town of Holland, in Guelderland, seated on the Issel, four miles southwest of Zwoll. At the age of twenty-five, he took an active and important part in the troubles which began in Holland in seventeen hundred and eighty-seven, on the side of the patriots, with a number of whom he was compelled to take refuge in France. In seventeen hundred and ninety-three, he was appointed to the new legion of volunteers, and was of great service to Dumourier, in his expedition against Holland. He rendered still greater service to Pichegru, in the campaign of seventeen hundred and ninety-four, which made the French commander master of all Holland. He now became lieutenant-general in the service of the new Batavian republic,

and took an important part in the change of the government. When Louis Bonaparte became King of Holland, in eighteen hundred and six, at the age of forty-four, he was appointed Governor-general of Batavia, as before stated. He was recalled by Bonaparte in eighteen hundred and eleven, and afterward published a history of his colonial administration in two volumes, quarto, which we believe has never been translated into English.

The next subject which naturally presents itself for our consideration is the manner in which the Island of Java has been divided.

The two natural and grand divisions of Java are the eastern and western, which are nearly two equal portions of the island; separated by the river Losari on the north side, and the river Chitandui on the south, in long. 108° 52′ east, about two hundred and forty miles from Java Head, in the Strait of Sunda. That part of the island which lies east of the Losari is called Java by the natives, who designate the western division by the name of Sunda. Such was the division when the whole island comprised only two distinct kingdoms, each governed by a powerful and independent sovereign; and between the descendants of those two nations there is still a marked and striking distinction. Those provinces which are now under the immediate authority and administration of the European government, are the western, the northern, a few inland districts, and the Island of Madura, on its northeast coast; the rest of Java, comprising the southeastern provinces, is still subject to the native princes.

Those portions of the island which are under European authority, are divided into sixteen residences, or separate administrations, including the seat of the colonial government.

1st. *Bantam*, comprising three thousand four hundred and twenty-eight square miles, and containing two hundred and thirty-one thousand six hundred and four inhabitants. This division comprises the northwestern section of the island, being washed on three sides by the sea and the Strait of Sunda, including several dependant islands scattered along its shores, with bays and harbours. The town has been deserted by the European establishment, which has removed about seven miles inland, to a more elevated and healthy station, called *Sirang*, or *Ceram*.

2d. *Batavia* and its environs, including Buitenzorg, comprising

two thousand four hundred and eleven square miles, and four hundred and eight thousand three hundred and twenty-seven inhabitants. This division comprises what formerly constituted the native province of Jacatra. The city of Batavia is the capital, and the seat of the colonial government.

3d. *Batavian and Priangen Regencies*, comprising ten thousand square miles, and two hundred and forty-three thousand six hundred and twenty-eight inhabitants. This division, which is extremely mountainous, lies southeast of that just mentioned, and extends from the Blue Mountain ridge to Wyn Cooper's Bay on the south coast, and from thence eastwardly to the river Chiwulan.

4th. *Cheribon*, comprising thirteen hundred and thirty-four square miles, and two hundred and sixteen thousand inhabitants. This division extends across the island from north to south, at the point where its breadth, by an abrupt indentation of both coasts, is suddenly reduced from one hundred to fifty miles, its narrowest part, except one across the province of Probolingo, near the east end of the island. Cheribon, on the north coast, is the capital.

5th. *Tegal*, comprising twelve hundred and ninety-seven square miles, and one hundred and seventy-eight thousand four hundred and fifteen inhabitants. This division, which is bounded on the north by about fifty miles of seacoast, extends southwardly to the centre of the island, with Cheribon on its west and Pakalongan on its east. The town of Tegal, on the north, is the capital.

6th. *Pakalongan*, comprising six hundred and fifty square miles, and one hundred and fifteen thousand four hundred and forty-two inhabitants. This division, which is also bounded on the north by the Sea of Borneo, extends southwardly between Tegal on the west and Semarang on the east. Ulujami, on a river of the same name, is the capital.

7th. *Semarang*, comprising eleven hundred and sixty-six square miles, and three hundred and twenty-seven thousand six hundred and ten inhabitants. This division is bounded by Japara and the sea on the north, Pakalongan on the west, Kedu on the south, and Grobogan on the east. Kandal, on the river Bodri, is the capital.

8th. *Kedu*, comprising eight hundred and twenty-six square miles, and one hundred and ninety-seven thousand three hundred and ten inhabitants. This division is bounded by Semarang on

the north, Kertasura on the east, and the native provinces on the south and west. Probolingo is the capital.

9th. *Grobogan* and *Jipang*, comprising twelve hundred and nineteen square miles, and sixty-six thousand five hundred and twenty-two inhabitants. This division is bounded by Japara on the north, Gresik and Surabaya on the east, Kerta Sura on the south, and Semarang on the west. Grobogan is the capital.

10th. *Japara*, comprising one thousand and twenty-five square miles, and one hundred and three thousand two hundred and ninety inhabitants. This division comprehends a peninsula which juts out on the north side of the island, at the point of its greatest breadth; it being here one hundred and thirty-five and a half miles wide, between the southwest point of Pachitan Bay and the north point of Japara. Japara is, of course, washed on three sides by the sea; which, with Rembang, bounds it on the east, Grobogan being on its south, and Semarang and the sea on its west. Jawana, on its northwest, is the capital.

11th. *Rembang*, comprising fourteen hundred square miles, and one hundred and fifty-eight thousand five hundred and thirty inhabitants. This division is bounded by the sea on its north, by Gresik on the east, by Jipang on the south, and Japara on the west. Rembang, on a river of the same name, is the capital.

12th. *Gresik*, comprising seven hundred and seventy-eight square miles, and one hundred and fifteen thousand four hundred and forty-two inhabitants. This division includes Point Panka, the northeastern extremity of the island, at the entrance of Madura Strait. It is, of course, bounded on the north by the sea, on the east by the strait, on the south by Surabaya, and on the west by Rembang. The town of Gresik, on the strait, is the capital.

13th. *Surabaya*, comprising twelve hundred and eighteen square miles, and one hundred and fifty-four thousand five hundred and twelve inhabitants. This division is bounded on the north by Gresik, on the east by the Strait of Madura and the sea, on the south by Pasuruan and the native provinces, and on the west by Jipang. The town of Surabaya, which has an excellent harbour, is the capital. It is near the principal mouth of a river of the same name, the second in magnitude of the whole island, which discharges itself into the Strait of Badua by five outlets, which form as many separate rivers.

14th. *Pasuruan*, comprising nineteen hundred and fifty-two square miles, and one hundred and eight thousand eight hundred and twelve inhabitants. This division is bounded on the north by Surabaya and the sea, on the east by Probolingo, on the south by mountains, and on the west by the native provinces. The town of Pasuruan, near the coast, is the capital.

15th. *Probolingo*, comprising two thousand eight hundred and fifty-four square miles, and one hundred and four thousand three hundred and fifty-nine inhabitants. This division is bounded on the north by the sea, on the east by Banyuwangi, on the south by the Indian Ocean, and on the west by Pasuruan. The town of Probolingo, on a river of the same name, is the capital.

16th. *Banyuwangi*, comprising twelve hundred and seventy-four square miles, and eight thousand eight hundred and seventy-three inhabitants. This is the last European division, and is the eastern extremity of the island; bounded on the north by the sea, on the east by the Strait of Bali, on the south by the Indian Ocean, and on the west by Probolingo. The capital is a town of the same name, on the strait.

The native provinces contain eleven thousand three hundred and thirteen square miles, and one million six hundred and fifty-seven thousand nine hundred and thirty-four inhabitants; and the Island of Madura, comprising two residences, has twelve hundred and sixty square miles, and two hundred and eighteen thousand six hundred and fifty-nine inhabitants. Total number of square miles in Java and Madura, forty-five thousand seven hundred and twenty-four. Total population, four million six hundred and fifteen thousand two hundred and seventy.

The face of the country presents a bold outline of prominent features. The same series, or range of mountains, which characterize Sumatra, is continued through the whole length of the Island of Java; varying in their height from five to twelve thousand feet above the level of the sea. The round bases and pointed conic tops of these gigantic elevations indicate their volcanic origin; and some of their craters are still in a state of partial inflammation, breathing sulphureous vapours and smoke; others are extinct. The last eruption of Mount Salak was in seventeen hundred and sixty-one; that of Chermai, in Cheribon, in eighteen hundred and twenty-five; that of Lomongon, in Probolingo, in

eighteen hundred and six; that of Gunter, in Priangin, in eighteen hundred and seven. The Papondayang, in the western part of Cheribon, was formerly one of the largest volcanoes in the island; but the greatest part of it, according to Dr. Horsefield, was swallowed up in the earth, after a short but very severe combustion. Many of the flying inhabitants were ingulfed with it.

There are, likewise, extensive ranges of mountains of an inferior elevation, sometimes connected with the larger series, and sometimes not, which are also volcanic. The whole country is traversed by ridges of hills, in various directions; and is everywhere undulating and uneven.

Although the width of the island does not admit the formation of very large rivers, still Java can boast of some of respectable magnitude. There are as many as fifty, on which, in the wet season, rafts of timber, and other rough produce of the country, are floated to the coast; and not less than half a dozen of these are navigable several miles into the interior. There are no lakes of any considerable size on the island, although in the wet season many extensive swamps assume that appearance. Although the northern coast is in many parts flat and uninteresting, the interior and southern provinces are mountainous, and present a picture of much diversified and romantic scenery. The prospects from the highlands, in many places, may challenge the world to produce any equally sublime and beautiful.

Unlike her divorced partner, Sumatra, the constitution of Java is unfavourable to metals, and neither diamonds nor precious stones of any description are to be found on the island. Many minerals of the schorl, quartz, potstone, feldspar, and trap kind, however, exist in the mountains of secondary elevation, towards the southern shores of the islands, sometimes in extensive veins. Prase, hornstone, flint, chalcedony, hyalite, jasper, jasper-agate, obsidian, and porphyry, are found in various situations.

The climate of Java is various; being hot and sultry along the seacoast, but cool and pleasant further inland. In penetrating the interior from the city of Batavia, we feel, at the end of every five miles we advance, a sensible improvement in the atmosphere and climate; at every step, we breathe a purer air and survey a brighter scene. On reaching the highlands in the neighbourhood

of Buitenzorg, we find an atmosphere that retains its freshness in the hottest season. Here the boldest features of nature are softened by the rural arts of man; for the labours of the mountain farmer have clothed the scene with the variegated garb of enchantment.

At Salatiga, in Semarang, the seventh division, and in many other inland towns, the air is said to be sometimes uncomfortably cool, and ice as thick as window-glass has been seen in the mountains. At Weltervreden, a short distance east of Batavia, the thermometer is generally at 86° during the dry season, or southeast monsoon, which extends from April to October; and from 83° to 90° during the wet monsoon, from November to March. In the mountains about Chipanas, south of Buitenzorg, and only sixty miles from Batavia, the thermometer generally stands at 65°, sometimes less, but seldom exceeding 70°. There is a constant succession of sea and landbreezes. The first prevail from ten in the morning until four or five in the afternoon, after which it is calm for two or three hours, when the landbreezes commence, and continue until near morning. The seabreezes are fresh and healthy; but not so the landbreeze, when it comes over extensive marshes and swamps, of which there are many on the north side of the island. The most pleasant and healthy season is from May until October.

The monsoons are not regular. Heavy rains do not set in, in some seasons, until December, in which case the heaviest are in the months of February and March. The wet season is naturally the period of germination, and the dry season that of fructification; and wherever there is sufficient moisture, the sun is, at all times, powerful enough to quicken vegetable life. During the rainy season there are many days free from showers, when the mornings are generally clear, as during the dry season, the atmosphere is refreshed by occasional showers, and the landscape is, at all times, covered with the brightest verdure. From all that has been said on the subject of climate and health in the Island of Java, the general inference which has been drawn by professional men is, that the country at large "stands on a level, in point of salubrity, with the healthiest parts of British India, or of any tropical country in the world." The term of life among the natives is nearly as long as it is in the United States. Many

persons, of both sexes, attain the advanced age of seventy or eighty, and some complete a century and upwards.

The soil of Java is as remarkable for its richness and its depth, as it is for the great abundance and almost infinite variety of its productions. It generally resembles the richest garden mould, and but little labour is required to cover it with a luxuriant crop of whatever the cultivator pleases. The deepest and richest moulds of Java are alluvial soils of the valleys, near the bases of the loftier mountains. In such spots they are found from ten to twenty, and sometimes to even fifty feet deep. It is scarcely necessary to observe that mountains of great height, being colder than the atmosphere at the same elevation, attract the passing clouds, abstract from them their caloric, and so cause them to descend in showers.* Thus, in these equatorial regions, perennial streams are continually pouring down the mountains' sides, teeming with the causes of fertility, by being impregnated with the mountain soil, and furnishing ample means for irrigating the plains below. To the concurrence of these causes the Island of Java is indebted for its peculiar fecundity. The richest mould is of an ash colour, and is found, as before intimated, at the bottom of valleys, between lofty mountains. On the plains and gentle declivities, the soil is of a darker hue, probably containing too great a proportion of vegetable matter, and is of an inferior quality. Everywhere, the plains and mountains are covered with gigantic forests, fruit trees, or luxuriant herbage.

The vegetable productions of Java are too multifarious for even an attempt to enumerate the whole; and we must, therefore, content ourselves with mentioning a few of the most useful and abundant, viz:—Rice, upland and lowland; maize, or Indian corn; wheat, beans, potatoes, coffee, sugar, pepper, indigo, cotton, hemp, tobacco, ginger, anise, cummin, cubebs, socha-delicious, kachang-goring, or catjang, palma christi, &c. Of fruits, we will name the mangusteen, or mangoostan, the most fascinating to the eye and gratifying to the taste of all the fruits in the east, or perhaps the world.† The mango, which grows on a large spreading

* See Dr. Metcalf's New Theory of Terrestrial Magnetism, pages 11, 12.

† The mangusteen [*garcinia mangostana*] is the peculiar production of the Indian Islands, and all attempts to propagate it elsewhere have proved unsuccessful. It has been of late years tried at Madras and Calcutta; and attempts to cultivate it in

tree somewhat like the English walnut, and has a delicious flavour. The rambootan and the poolasang, or red fruit, which are cool and agreeable, of a delicate subacid flavour, and quite refreshing in a tropical climate. The cocoanut, tamarind, pomegranate, roseapple, guava, annona, date, banana, jack-fruit, doorian, durian, or duren, boa-lansa, pineapple, lanseb, papaw, custard-apple, &c. Oranges, citrons, shaddocks, lemons, and limes, are plenty; and in some provinces, peaches, Chinese pairs, and raspberries.

The flowers of Java are celebrated for their beauty and fragrance. There is a tree called the mitchelia tchampaca, of two varieties, one of which bears white and the other yellow flowers, of exquisite odour. The coral-tree puts forth large clusters of scarlet flowers; while the magnolia, the melia, and bignonia, present a showy and elegant appearance. Among the innumerable flowers which bloom in perpetual succession, are the champaka, tanjong melati-kananga, and nagasari, which are used by the natives as ornaments, and are remarkable for their fragrance. The myrtle and rose are found in the gardens of the Europeans.

Large tracts of the island, particularly in the eastern provinces, are covered with forests of that excellent timber called teak, which has long been celebrated for its strength and durability in ship-building, &c. It is said to be in these respects every way equal to live oak, and even superior in the fineness of its grain and beauty of its colour. It is of different shades, from light to intense brown, with a cast of violet, verging sometimes to red or black; and furnishes excellent materials for handsome cabinet-work. This tree is slender and erect; shoots up with considerable vigour and rapidity, but increases in diameter very slowly, and is many years, at least a century, in arriving at maturity. It

the Isle of France were made as early as the year seventeen hundred and fifty-four. A wild variety of the mangusteen is found in the wood of Java and Celebes, but the true mangusteen appears to be a native of the western portion of the Archipelago only. It refuses to grow in some of the Spice Islands, and thrives but indifferently in others. The latitude of Lusong, in the Philippines, is the highest in which it is brought to grow. Like the more useful plants of rare occurrence in the state of nature, the mangusteen is universally, or very nearly so; having no other than manggis, manggisi, or manggusta, evidently modifications of one term. The wild fruit is known by different names from the cultivated, and those names differ in each language.—*Crawford's Eastern Archipelago.*

neither loves the mountain nor the vale, but grows at a moderate elevation above the level of the ocean.

There are several other kinds of timber-trees employed for various domestic purposes, many of which bear beautiful flowers of delicious fragrance. There are some resembling our red cedar, pitch-pine, white-wood, larch, hickory, ash, &c. There are others which resemble rose-wood and satin-wood. There are several which furnish excellent masts and spars for shipping. The kusambi is heavy, hard, and close, and is suitable for vessels' blocks, pestles, &c. The sawur resembles mahogany, but has a closer grain. The pilang is another very hard wood, and is employed instead of lignumvitæ. The pung, equally hard, is used by builders for pegs, pins, and treenails. The janglot is considered by the natives as the toughest wood produced in the island, and is always employed for bows when procurable. In short, Java produces wood of nearly every texture, weight, and colour, and suitable for all purposes. There are but few resinous trees in Java, and the camphire-tree, which abounds in Sumatra, is here unknown. The bamboo, or bambu, or *pring*, found in all tropical countries, grows here in great abundance; and from the greater luxuriance and variety by which it is here distinguished, no doubt finds a soil peculiarly congenial to its growth. The rattans are said to be inferior to those of Sumatra.

Besides the trees already alluded to, we would name the palm of numerous kinds, the mimosa of many varieties, the bread-fruit, the aren, the plantain, and the soap-tree. The fruit of the latter is used to a great extent in washing. The kasemak, which produces a varnish for umbrellas; the sampang, from the resin of which the natives also make a transparent varnish; the bombax, or cotton-tree, which bears a long pod, containing a silky substance, which is much used in stuffing pillows, mattresses, cushions, ottomans, &c. The wax-tree produces an oil resembling wax, which may be either burned in lamps, or converted into candles, as it becomes hard by age. The bendud is a shrub, and produces the substance of which the elastic gum is made, commonly called India-rubber; the art of preparing it, however, is unknown in Java. It makes excellent torches, and is used in that way by those who explore caverns to hunt for edible birds'-nests. The tallow-tree grows abundantly in some parts of the island. There

is no doubt that Java would produce many of the spices which abound in the Moluccas, particularly the nutmeg and clove. The vine was once extensively cultivated in some of the eastern provinces of the island; but the Dutch East India Company discouraged it, because they then possessed the Cape of Good Hope, where the business would be more profitable.

It is doubtless expected that before we leave this subject, a word should be said respecting the far-famed *Upas-tree*, of Java; for though the *fable*, for such it was, in detail, has long been exploded, it is not every reader that knows on what basis the romantic fiction was erected. A Dutch surgeon, by the name of N. P. Foersch, was, according to his own account, in the service of the Dutch East India Company, at Batavia, in the year seventeen hundred and seventy-six, and having heard much of the terrible effects of the poison of the *bohun upas*, resolved to ascertain the fact whether there was such a tree or not. The result of his alleged investigation was first published in an English dress, in a very popular London periodical, called the Gentleman's Magazine, in seventeen hundred and eighty-three, from which it was copied into almost every similar publication on both sides of the Atlantic. He professes to relate nothing but facts of which he was an eyewitness, as "I was resolved (says he) to trust only to my own observations."

Foersch describes the very location of this "hydra-tree of death" as being only eighty miles from Batavia, and sixty from Tinkjoe, which would place it on the map of Java in the area of a triangle formed by Mount Tankuban, Mount Maruyung, and Mount Tilo,—near the line of the great military road, occupying about the centre of our third division of Java. He says, "I have made the tour all around this dangerous spot at about eighteen miles from the centre, and I found the aspect of the country on all sides equally dreary." He conversed with the old Malayan priest who prepared the criminals to go on their perilous embassy after the poison, and was assured by him that out of great numbers he had sent, not more than one out of ten survived to return; with some of these the surgeon also conversed. He describes the *upas-tree* as the sole individual of its species, standing alone, in a scene of solitary horror, on the middle of a naked blasted plain, surrounded by a circle of mountains, the whole area of which is covered with the skeletons of birds, beasts, and men.

Not a vestige of vegetable life is to be seen within the contaminated atmosphere; not even a solitary spear of grass; and that even the fishes die in the water. But even of the progenitors of this finny tribe he gives us no information. The divinity of Darwin's muse has consecrated this fable in the following beautiful lines :—

"Fierce, in dread silence, on the blasted heath,
Fell Upas sits, the hydra-tree of death!
Lo, from one root, the envenomed soil below,
A thousand vegetative serpents grow!
In shining rays, the scaly monster spreads
O'er ten square leagues his far diverging heads;
Or in one trunk entwists his tangled form,
Looks o'er the clouds, and hisses in the storm;
Steep'd in fell poison, as his sharp teeth part,
A thousand tongues in quick vibration dart;
Snatch the proud eagle, towering o'er the heath,
Or pounce the lion as he stalks beneath;
Or strew, as martial hosts contend in vain,
With human skeletons the whitened plain."

But as even the classic fictions of antiquity, when figuratively and rightly understood, have their origin in truth, so has this more modern Dutch fable of the *bohun upas*. Vegetable poisons, it is well known, exist in almost every part of the world, particularly in the tropical regions. On the Island of Java there are several different species of shrubs and plants which exude matter deleterious to animal life. To each of these the natives have applied the appellative *upas*, which is a word in their language signifying *poisonous*. Thus the *ubi upas*, means a *poisonous potato;* and the seed of a certain tree is called *upas bidjee*, in English, *poisonous seed*. But there is a tree, says Dr. Horsefield, common to the eastern provinces, and one of the largest trees in the forests of Java, from the sap of which a poison is *made*, "equal in fatality, when thrown into the circulation, to the strongest animal poisons hitherto known. The tree which produces this poison is the *anchar*, and grows in the eastern extremity of the island. The *anchar* belongs to the twenty-first class of Linnæus, the *monœcia*. The stem is cylindrical, perpendicular, and rises completely naked to the height of sixty, seventy, or eighty feet; at which height it sends off a few stout branches, which, spreading

nearly horizontally, with several irregular curves, divided into smaller branches, and form a hemispherical, not very regular, crown. It delights in a fertile, not very elevated soil, and is only found in the largest forests. One of the experiments to be related below was made with the upas prepared by myself. In the collection of the juice I had some difficulty in inducing the inhabitants to assist me; they feared a cutaneous eruption and inflammation, resembling (according to the account they gave of it) that produced by the ingas of this island, the rhus vernix of Japan, and the rhus radicans of North America. The anchar, like the trees in its neighbourhood, is on all sides surrounded by shrubs and plants: in no instance have I observed the ground naked or barren in its immediate circumference. The largest tree I met with in Balambangan was so closely environed by the common trees and shrubs of the forest in which it grew, that it was with difficulty I could approach it. Several vines and climbing shrubs, in complete health and vigour, adhered to it, and ascended to nearly half its height; and at the time I visited the tree and collected the juice, I was forcibly struck with the egregious misrepresentation of Foersch. Several young trees, spontaneously sprung from seeds that had fallen from the parent, put me in mind of a line in Darwin's Botanic Garden:—

"'Chained at his root two scion-demons dwell;'

while in recalling his beautiful description of the upas, my vicinity to the tree gave me reason to rejoice that it was founded in fiction."

Of the animal kingdom, Java has her full share, proportioned to the size of the island. Among the beasts of prey are found several species of tiger, the leopard, the wild-cat, the jackal, and several varieties of the wild-dog. Also, the rhinoceros, and enormous large alligators, which deserve the name of crocodiles. These abound in the rivers, and are such objects of terror to the natives, that like their reputed progenitors, the Egyptians, they pay them adoration. That species of the boa-constrictor called the anaconda is also said to be found in the forests, some of them thirty feet in length, which suspend themselves from trees and swallow young buffaloes and wild-dogs whole. The woods also abound with hedgehogs, squirrels, weasels, lizards, and various

species of the monkey; among which are the orang-outang and wow-wow. Here are also found the stag, deer, wild-hog, wild-ox, and buffalo; the *rase*, which produces musk, and the bezoor.

Among the useful and domestic animals are the horse, the cow, and the ox. Neither the elephant nor the camel is a native of Java; the former is rarely imported, the latter unknown. Neither the ass nor mule is found; the island has a fine breed of small horses, strong, fleet, and well made. Bulls, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, and hogs, are plenty. Turkeys, geese, ducks, common fowls, and pigeons, abound on every farm. Here are also herons, falcons, crows, owls, peacocks, &c. The woodlands are tenanted with upwards of two hundred different species of birds, from the tiny hummingbird to the large *emen*, or cassowary, with every intermediate size; many of them are of beautiful plumage, and some of exquisite song. Here are found parrots, paroquets, Argos pheasants, crested pigeons, and the *fulica pauphrio;* also, the *oriolus*, or golden thrush; the *alcedo*, or kingfisher, the Java sparrow, or rice-bird; and several sorts of the bird of paradise. Likewise, the swallow, which builds the edible nests so highly valued by the Chinese. Besides the reptiles already mentioned, here are twenty different kinds of poisonous serpents; together with scorpions, centipedes, toads, and frogs.

The exports of the island are rice, sugar, coffee, pepper, indigo, teak, timber and plank; spices, which are brought from the Moluccas, tin from Banca, cotton, yarn, salt, edible bird's-nests, which are produced in abundance, particularly in the hilly districts stretching through the Bantam country, and in the dominions of the emperor and sultan.

The imports are European articles of every description, chintses, silks, hats, tea, Japan goods, and China-ware, opium from Bengal, tin from Banca, &c. &c. On the establishment of the British authority in Java, great changes were made in the internal policy of the country, particularly in the mode of collecting the revenues, tenure of lands, &c. The delivery of goods at an inadequate rate, and all fendal services, were abolished; and lands, according to local circumstances, were leased out for a moderate term of years.

According to these rates, the land rental, exclusive of Batavia, on the kingdom of Jacatra, amounted, in eighteen hundred and

fourteen, to three millions eight hundred and eighty-three thousand six hundred and fifty-one rupees; and after deducting the amount of lands provisionally granted to chiefs, there remained a net land rental of three millions six hundred and sixty-three thousand six hundred and eleven rupees; add to the proceeds of farms and fixed taxes, provisionally continued, and the territorial revenue of the eastern provinces alone, will amount to four millions two hundred and six thousand three hundred and forty-one rupees; in addition to this, salt, opium, and customs, including town-duties in these provinces, and the total will be five millions three hundred and sixty-eight thousand and eighty-five rupees. The other great branches of revenue of Java are the teak forests, which are extensive and valuable. Those in the central districts, ceded on the fall of Djoejocarta, afford employment to no less than two hundred thousand labourers.

The political state of Java, after all the changes and revolutions it had experienced, had settled into a quiet calm previous to the arrival of the Potomac. Since its last cession to the Dutch, in eighteen hundred and fifteen, the insurrectionary movements of one of the native princes had occasioned an intestine war, which had been, in some instances, very sanguinary. In quelling this insurrection, the Dutch are said to have lost not less than thirty thousand well-disciplined European troops. The native chief who raised this disturbance is represented as an able warrior and a desperate man; and so much was he feared by the Dutch, that they set a price on his head. Despairing of success, he finally surrendered himself with all his force, and was honourably treated by the Dutch.

CHAPTER XVII.

Leaving Batavia—Illness of the Commodore's son—Once more at sea—Calms and opposing currents—Drag the bottom for shells—Augmentation of the sick-list—Heat of the weather—Gaspar Straits—Tardy progress in the China Sea—Harassing duty—Cross the equator—Island of St. Barbe—Pulo Aor—Sickness and death—Terrific thunder-storm—Death of N. K. G. Oliver, Esq.—Funeral obsequies—Contribution for his family—Tedious calms, and oppressive heat—Increasing mortality—Dreary prospects—Cheering sight of a sail—Speak an English bark—Mutual interchange of courtesies—A vertical sun—Coast of China—Canton Bay—A Chinese pilot—Anchor in Macao Road.

THE Potomac lay anchored at Batavia, from the twentieth of March until the tenth of April, a period of twenty-one days; during which time the commodore and officers had an opportunity of seeing much of the inhabitants and of the adjacent country. They had shared the hospitality of their own countrymen, of Europeans, and of the colonists; visited all the places of interest and curiosity, and taken notes of whatever they thought worth remembering. They had witnessed the curious religious ceremony of the Chinese, in walking barefooted over coals of fire; they had made many excursions into the country, to the distance of forty miles; had visited the governor at his palace, and enjoyed the wild, rich, and luxuriant scenery of its neighbourhood. In one word, they had luxuriated on every innocent and rational enjoyment which this "garden of the east" could bestow; and yet every bosom experienced a thrill of delight when the inspiring word was given—"*all hands, unmoor!*" For every one felt suspicious of the land breezes of Batavia, and ardently panted once more to inhale the pure air of the ocean.

The commodore's little son, a fine lad, in the tenth year of his age, who accompanied his father on the present expedition, was seized with the Batavia fever on the first of April, having fallen asleep in a draught of air while in a state of perspiration on shore, at a villa some distance from the city. For several days the youthful sufferer was not expected to recover, and during this painful suspense, the commodore, who was constantly with him

on shore, delayed naming a day for the sailing of the frigate. The crisis at length took place, which was succeeded by a favourable change, so that on Monday, the ninth of April, the lad was so far convalescent as to be conveyed on board the Potomac, which sailed on the following morning.

During her stay at Batavia, the sick-list had increased to forty-one, and two had died, who were buried on a neighbouring island. The invalids on board were principally afflicted with dysentery, and young Downes, the commodore's son, was the only individual who experienced an attack of the Batavia fever, which finally, on the passage across the Pacific, changed to an intermittent, from which he did not recover until he passed through the process of having the smallpox, on the coast of Chili.

On Tuesday morning, the tenth of April, a little after daylight, the anchor was weighed and the frigate got under way. The wind being light, every sail was spread to catch its soft breathings, as the gallant ship moved slowly on the glassy bosom of Batavia Bay, standing directly north. At meridian, the South Watcher Island bore north-by-west-half-west. This island is about twenty-seven miles from our recent anchorage.

On leaving Batavia, the Strait of Sunda, or Malacca, during the months of March, April, or May, the navigator will most probably be doomed to experience a long and unpleasant passage to China. Though the strength of the northeast monsoon may have greatly relaxed in its force, the currents may still be unfavourable, and the calms which are liable to happen between the two monsoons often render a passage most perplexingly tedious. Had not the various incidents of the voyage delayed the Potomac in her departure from the Sunda Isles, the commodore would have been compelled to take another and very different route than that through the China Sea. During the months of January or February, it would have been almost impossible to make way against the northeast monsoon, either by the inner route, along the coast of Cochin China, or by Macclesfield Bank through the China Sea, so that he would have been compelled to go through the Straits of Macassar, and leaving the great Island of Borneo, as well as Luconia, to the west, again stood in to the northwest, through the channel of Formosa, and from thence to Lintin and Canton river. The lateness of the season, however, did not

make this route necessary; and though many prefer the inner passage between the Islands of Banca and Sumatra, the commodore determined to proceed through the Straits of Gaspar, and the middle of the China Sea.

On Wednesday, the eleventh, the Potomac made but little headway; the wind was light, varying from northwest to northeast: at seven in the evening she came to anchor in twenty-four fathoms water, and veered to fifty fathoms chain cable. The next morning she was under way at an early hour; wind light, but fair, and at seven o'clock A. M., passed the South Watcher Island, about three miles distant. A short distance to the northwest of the South Watcher Island lie the Thousand Islands; a group or chain of numerous small islands extending from northwest to southeast, that bound the west side of the passage between the North and South Watcher Islands. There are many dangerous shoals around them, to which a good birth should be given. Pulo Etau is the most westerly, and is separated from the other islands. A squall, with heavy rain, occurred on Wednesday night.

On Thursday, the twelfth, two Chinese junks were seen standing to the southward and eastward. The lead was now kept constantly going, finding scarcely any variation from thirteen to fifteen fathoms water. The northeast monsoon was now entirely gone, being succeeded by light winds, with sultry and enervating weather. The current too, which had been put in motion by the wind blowing several months in the same direction, still continued its opposing course at the rate of half a mile an hour. Even light showers, attended with thunder and lightning, scarcely seemed to give any relief to the oppressive influence of the sultry atmosphere. On this and the following day the frigate's drag was put in requisition, for the purpose of getting possession of such curious shells as might be found on the bottom. The experiment was successful, and many beautiful specimens of conchology were added to the collections of the commodore and his officers.

The fourteenth and fifteenth passed heavily; the frigate being most of the time anchored with a kedge, waiting to catch the first puff of air that could move her through the water. The sick-list had now swollen to the number of fifty-one, being every tenth

man on board, and one poor fellow had just been consigned to his watery sepulchre, after an illness of only twenty-four hours.

On Sunday, the fifteenth, at three o'clock in the morning, the frigate encountered a strong squall from the northwest. The heavy waters seemed to be once more in motion; but in less than three hours it was calm again; and at noon it was found, by observation, that she had only made four miles in the last twenty-four hours; that she was in latitude 4° 20′ south, and was less than one hundred and twenty miles from her starting-place at Batavia. The weather this day was excessively warm, the thermometer in the shade standing at 84°.

On Monday, the sixteenth, the frigate's progress was accelerated by what the sailors call *cat's-paws*, light puffs of wind, which pushed her forward to within ten miles of Entrance Point, which is the southeast angle of the island called Pulo Leat, or Middle Island, separating Macclesfield's Strait from Clement's Strait. These two straits, generally known under the single appellation of Gaspar, the name of the Spanish captain who made the passage in seventeen hundred and twenty-four, are formed by the Island of Banca on the west, and Billiton Island on the east. These two islands are about fifty miles apart, and between them are two smaller ones, called Long Island and Middle Island, the first being near Billiton, and the other near Banca. Gaspar Island is about twenty-five miles further north. The passage between Banca and Pulo Leat, or Middle Island, is the one which is generally called Macclesfield's Strait, and the one through which the Potomac passed into the China Sea. She entered this strait on Tuesday, the seventeenth, which placed a distance of only two hundred and twenty-five miles between her and Batavia. The passage between Middle Island and Long Island is called Clement's Strait; and both together form Gaspar Straits, in the plural number.

On Wednesday, the eighteenth, the frigate had so fine a run as to pass sixty miles to the north of Gaspar Island, which is in latitude 2° 25′ 30″ south, and is the principal landmark in passing this strait; as it has a high peaked hill rising from its surface, which may be seen at the distance of thirty miles. The Potomac was now about three hundred miles north of Batavia.

On Friday, the twentieth, it was a perfect calm; and the sea

was so utterly motionless, and at the same time so clear and glassy, that it had the appearance of an immense circular mirror, or a huge girandole, bounded by the horizon. It reflected the rays of the sun with a fervour painfully intense to the eyes, when they chanced to encounter the angle of incidence. A number of sea-snakes were seen playing round the ship, and pursuing their gambols, regardless of the mighty mass of spars and canvass which was towering above them. During four tedious days, the ship's headway did not average one knot per hour. The heat was oppressive; no variety to relieve the dull monotony; the sick-list was large, and still increasing. The history of one day is a specimen of the rest.

From one to three A. M., calm; the ship riding by her kedge-anchor. The day advances—the sun attains his meridian, and passes over—no intervening cloud to avert or intercept his direct and scorching rays—no curl, no ripple on the water—a wide-spreading, glassy surface appears to reflect back the heat—no part of the ship seems to offer a cool retreat. The sick are swung in cots on the gundeck—the surgeon and his assistants constantly employed. At half past five, a light breeze springs up; all hands are called to "*up anchor!*"—all sail is set to the dry and feeble breeze. At six, calm—let go the kedge, to hold our own, and prevent the current's cheating us of the little we had gained. At half past seven, light airs again from the northeast; and again the boatswain calls, "*all hands, up anchor!*" Until three A. M., the light airs continue. At half past three, came too with the kedge—not a breath of air. At half past seven, the breeze sets in, when the oft-repeated call resounds through the ship—"*All hands, up anchor! and make sail!*" The lead constantly going in from seventeen to twenty-two fathoms, muddy bottom.

Thus it continued, hour after hour, and day after day, while the gallant Potomac lingered near the equator, as if unwilling to re-enter the northern hemisphere on a meridian so far from that of her mountain home—her towering spars being antipodes to the Virginia forests, in which they grew. She finally crossed the equinox, on Sunday, the twenty-second of April, in longitude 107° 7′ east. The same kind of weather continued until the first of May, when the Potomac was in latitude 6° 33′ north, being seven hundred and sixty-two geographical miles north of Batavia,

equal to eight hundred and seventy-five statute miles, averaging less than two miles an hour for twenty days! At times, the very atmosphere seemed to be a sheet of fire, and the little sparrows, in their migrations from one island to another, would perch upon the frigate's rigging, panting for breath. A current generally set against the course of the frigate, which rendered it necessary to come to anchor so often, in order to hold on, and cling with a miser-like tenacity to every inch attained by the little cap's-full of wind which occasionally passed. This rendered the ship's duty very arduous and harassing, both to officers and men.

During this *run*, if a snail's pace may be so called, several islands were passed, which only deserve notice as landmarks to the mariner. St. Barbe is seven miles north of the equator, in longitude 107° 15′ east; it is about three miles in length, high, bold, and of triangular form. When viewed at a distance, it assumes the appearance of three small islands, on account of two depressions on its surface. There is said to be anchorage on its east side, where water may be procured, and occasionally some fine green turtle. The St. Esprit group of islands lies in about 0° 34′ north, to which the frigate gave a wide birth, as no accurate surveys have been taken of them. In passing the north, middle, and south Anambas Islands, she kept about midway between them and Singapore Straits on the west.

The Island of Pulo Aor, in latitude 2° 30′ north, longitude 104° 34′ east, has attained some notoriety as a point of departure for ships bound to Canton, and for which vessels generally steer on their homeward-bound passages. The island is small, but high, and covered with trees. The bay, on the northwest side, affords good shelter and anchorage during the northeast monsoon, and vessels often stop there when unwilling to enter the Strait of Singapore during dark weather. In passing Pulo Aor, the Potomac stood farther to the east than the usual track of vessels.

On Wednesday, the second of May, the frigate was in latitude 7° 10′ north, longitude 105° 16′ east, more than one hundred miles farther west than when she crossed the equator. The sick-list had not increased, but several cases of dysentery were rapidly approaching a fatal termination. The untiring and indefatigable assiduity of the gentlemen composing the medical department, tended to check, so far as human agency could produce that

effect, the ravages and fatal consequences of the disease. One seaman expired at half past nine o'clock that morning, and was consigned to a watery grave at half past five the same afternoon, with all appropriate ceremonies. Had the frigate, during this period, been in the midst of a "dead sea," she could scarcely have remained more sluggishly on the water. All the elasticity of the air seemed to be gone, and every one suffered from the extreme lassitude produced by the heat; and the sick were particularly affected by it.

The scene was soon changed; for in the early part of the night clouds began to gather and thicken; and before midnight, the elements above and around seemed on fire; so terrific a thunder-storm had not been witnessed during the whole cruise. The air was overcharged with electricity; and flash after flash poured forth, illuminating the whole ocean for miles around, while the rain fell in torrents—and this continued, with but little intermission, until morning.

> "Loud, and more loud, the rolling peals enlarge,
> And blue on deck their blazing sides discharge,
> Now in a deluge bursts the living flame,
> And dread concussion rends the ethereal frame;
> The skies asunder torn, a deluge pour,
> Amid the electric blaze, and thunder's roar."—FALCONER.

It was a night long to be remembered! Not that the frigate had encountered a typhoon, or run upon rocks or shoals, but that the grim messenger, death, had been among her inmates! At about nine o'clock in the evening, the commodore's private secretary, a man much respected and beloved by all who knew him, N. K. G. Oliver, Esq., breathed his last!—far from his home—his wife—his children—and all that he held dear! For a long time before leaving the United States his health had been delicate, and the hope of improving it was the principal inducement which caused him to abandon his domestic enjoyments for a voyage round the world. Consumption, that insidious foe of human hopes and pleasing anticipations, had been wearing and frittering away his constitution. His strong and highly-cultivated mind refused to participate in the weakness of his body, but retained its vigour and cheerfulness until the last moment of his existence.

Among the loose papers of the deceased was found a scrap, on

which was written the following memorandum, dated Friday, the twenty-seventh day of April, only five days before his death:—"To-day we are passing the Middle, or Great Anambas, with a pleasant little breeze, which we consider to be the southwest monsoon. If so, *our run to the Celestial Empire will be comparatively short.*" His run to that empire was indeed short!—and for a long time previous to the fatal event, he seemed to have a presentiment of the final result of his disorder. On another loose paper was written the following, dated November the eleventh, eighteen hundred and thirty-one:—"My disease in the throat is in a dangerous state; I begin to fear for the consequences. We have a tiresome and almost hopeless calm. One thing, however, makes me happy. It is the birthday of my little Billy. God bless my poor Willy! When shall I see him again! Far—far away is he—and I, all alone on the ocean billow, yes—all alone, though surrounded by half a thousand."

Although this melancholy event had been long expected by his friends on board, yet when the moment did come, they felt, severely felt, how little they were prepared for it! Indeed, when it was publicly announced, the gloom which settled upon the countenances of all, together with the solemn gaze of the crowd of officers and men collected around the bed of death, spoke in a language which needed no utterance, to show in what high estimation he was held by all on board.

On the following day, which was Thursday, the third of May, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, his mortal remains were sunk beneath the billows of the China Sea—receiving a sailor's burial and a sailor's grave, in latitude 7° 32′ north, longitude 105° 52′ east. The corpse was borne to the gangway by the officers, who formed in procession on the maindeck, while the men gathered in groups to witness and to hear the funeral ceremony. While the procession was ascending from the gundeck to the spardeck, the band, with muffled drums, played a mournful and solemn dirge. The marines had been drawn up on the side of the quarterdeck, and during the solemnities of the funeral service, remained at a "rest on arms reversed." The service was performed by the chaplain, Mr. Grier, in the most impressive and solemn manner. After the ceremonies were over, and the body committed to the deep, three volleys were fired by the marines.

There is something connected with a funeral at sea that calls forth all the fine sensibilities of the heart. When, on shore, we consign the remains of some loved one to their narrow clay-made couch, and turn from the place made for all living, we do not feel the separation so severely. We can return to the spot, and the very scene around will awaken the slumbering memory, as the many virtues of the deceased will again pass in revision before us; and it is then, if the departed possessed any foibles, we can so easily forgive them.

"Pensive memory then retraces
Scenes of bliss for ever fled,
Lives in former times and places,
Holds communion with the dead."

Not so as regards the sea-buried mariner. Beneath the ever-restless waves, cradled in some "oozy corner of the deep," he finds his long resting-place. Though his memory may be cherished most fondly by relations and friends, yet his grave is far distant and unknown. The spot cannot be designated, much less can we watch the early progress of the spring flowers, so emblematic of another spring of life, or watch their decay beneath the chilly frosts of premature autumn, reminding us that we too must die. The very nature of the burial-place is calculated to impress every one with the deepest feelings of awe; the ship, tossing on amid high and faithless billows, agitated by winds still more fickle. But what matters it whether his requiem be chanted amid the thick foliage of the cypress, or by the harsh-sounding gale, since the promise has gone forth—"I am the resurrection and the life," and, "The sea shall give up her dead."

"Give back the lost and lovely—those for whom
The place was kept, at board and hearth, so long;
The prayer went up through midnight's breathless gloom,
And the vain yearning woke midst festal song.
Hold fast thy buried isles—thy towers o'erthrown—
But all is not thine own.

"To thee the love of woman hath gone down—
Dark flow thy tides o'er manhood's noble head,
O'er youth's bright locks, and beauty's flowery crown;
Yet must thou hear a voice—'Restore the dead!'
Earth shall reclaim her precious things from thee—
'Restore the dead, thou sea!'"

It was known that the deceased left a wife and several small children to mourn his loss, and that they were in a comparatively helpless condition. The commodore, who had long been acquainted with his late secretary, and holding him deservedly in high estimation, felt disposed, if possible, to do something on board for the relief of the widow and orphans at home, who had suffered this recent and irreparable loss. The officers and crew being assembled on the quarterdeck, the commodore, whose feelings were full to overflowing, explained to them the condition of the family of the deceased, and that those who felt disposed might contribute something to be forwarded to them. Many tears were seen trickling down weather-worn cheeks; and on a paper carried around among themselves, about two thousand dollars were subscribed for this purpose.

On the same evening that Mr. Oliver breathed his last, in about an hour afterward, another of the crew was also relieved from his sufferings by death. But it would be an unpleasant task to follow the movements of the Potomac, or to record the bodily or mental sufferings of her inmates, in this part of her passage through the China Sea. Let it suffice that there still followed, in regular routine, the ever-tiring calm; the light baffling wind; the sudden, but momentary squall; the hot scorching sun; the clear and glassy sea, &c.; for of such were the days composed in unvarying succession. Perhaps, for a few moments, four or five knots were marked on the line. In the next, the frigate was lying motionless—her long and tapering spars reflected in beautiful outline on the mirror-like ocean—so still—so smooth—that she resembled some spectre hanging in the centre of an immense crystalline sphere!

On Saturday, the fifth of May, the Potomac was in latitude 7° 42′, longitude 105° 59′. The heat still continued intense; and the thinnest clothes were worn, even on duty. The lightest curl upon the water was hailed as the harbinger of the coming breeze; and when the lofty sails did fill, joy beamed from every countenance, animation in every eye, from the slight impulse of onward motion! A few moments, and all was still again; the sails, with scarce a tremour, hung flat against the masts. Then might be seen the officers and the men, lying listlessly here and there—sighing for the breeze that would not come.

Still, little by little, the Potomac crept towards the north, until Saturday, the twelfth, when a brisk breeze from the southwest came curling along the ocean's surface, and the water was once more seen foaming around the bows of the Potomac. Hitherto, the sick-list had continued on the increase, and dreary indeed was the prospect which the gundeck presented, with its double row of cots. Few that have not been on the lone ocean, with a malignant disease raging on board, can form any just conception of the scene of misery that five hundred souls, cooped up in the narrow limits of a ship, in such a climate, presents! Ever and anon, the dreary sound of the boatswain's voice could be heard, calling all hands to bury the dead. This at-all-times-melancholy note, was dreadfully so, when each day another and another was added to the list of those who had already fallen victims to the relentless disease.

The Potomac was this day in latitude 10° 45′ north, and, for the first time on this lingering passage, the tedious monotony under which every one languished was relieved by the exhilarating announcement from the mast-head, of "Sail, ho!" A sail is always a grateful sight at sea; and, at this time, it was rendered doubly so from the dreariness of the Potomac's passage. "A sail!"—What emotions are called forth at the sound!—what a tumult of feeling! A fellow-pilgrim on the great highway of nations—perhaps from home—from our own dear native land. May she not be the bearer of letters—news—something to excite, to relieve the mind? But there was nothing of this to call up our softer feelings at this time. She was a stranger—but a stranger on a weary voyage, like that of the Potomac—and this alone was sufficient to call forth the kindred feelings of fellowship.

Reader, in order to appreciate the feeling, it is necessary to be placed, at least in imagination, in a similar situation. Seest thou that small white speck on the distant horizon, rising and falling like some small sea-bird?—It is the bark of the daring sailor!—Mark the white folds of her upper canvass! The breeze is fair, and on we dash to greet her. Now, her topsails, courses, and all her high and tapering spars, stand forth in perfect symmetry! From her peak flutters, in deep red folds, her brightly-gleaming ensign! It bears the cross of St. George! It is the flag of Old England.

The Potomac approached the stranger in a gallant and courteous style, and the customary salutations were mutually interchanged. She was a fine, fast-sailing bark, built in Calcutta, and expressly intended to encounter the contrary currents and monsoons of these seas. Again were the sails of the Potomac filled by the freshening breeze, and as she waved a graceful adieu, her band on deck saluted the stranger with "God save the King." This passing compliment was received with an enthusiastic burst of feeling. In an instant the bark's numerous passengers swarmed upon deck—every hat was off—her topsails were lowered, as a mark of reciprocal courtesy—as the stars and stripes waved closely past her, the music ceased, and three hearty cheers from the stranger were as cordially reciprocated from the American frigate.

These little incidents and nautical civilities, though trifling in themselves, are not unimportant in their effects; as they tend to smooth down the rough edges of national prejudice. In addition to this, the excitement was highly pleasing, and a great relief to that apathy of feeling which was so generally experienced by all on board the Potomac.

The breeze continued faithful, so that on Wednesday, the sixteenth, the Potomac was in latitude 19° 3′ north, longitude 115° east. As the sun's north declination was also this day 19° 3′, at twelve meridian, the Potomac was under a vertical sun. On the following day she made that point of land which is generally the first seen on a passage to Canton, known by the name of the Ass's Ears; it derives that appellation from two peaks rising from a small island, which, seen at a distance, bear a strong resemblance to the ears of a donkey.

On Friday, the eighteenth, the Potomac passed near the Ladrone Islands, in front of Canton Bay, that celebrated haunt of robbers and pirates, so long the dread of merchant vessels bound to Canton. Soon after, a boat came alongside with a Chinese pilot, to whose professional guidance the charge of the ship was partially given up. He could speak English, and called his name Jemmy Thompson.

The entrance into Macao Roads is neither dangerous nor difficult. As the frigate advanced, numerous islands opened to view, not elevated, and mostly barren, with only here and there a few

green patches, which afforded a great relief to eyes that had so long no object on which to rest, save the smooth deep or the rolling billow. Numerous boats were now seen lying on the water, or moving from one island to another, and crossing each other's tracks in a thousand directions. Long before midnight, the Potomac was in the midst of a numerous fleet of boats; and as they were constantly in motion, it required the utmost attention from the lookout and helmsman to avoid running them down. Indeed, such an accident could not have been prevented, had the night been obscure or dark, instead of a brilliant moonlight. It was twelve at night before the frigate came to anchor in Macao Roads.

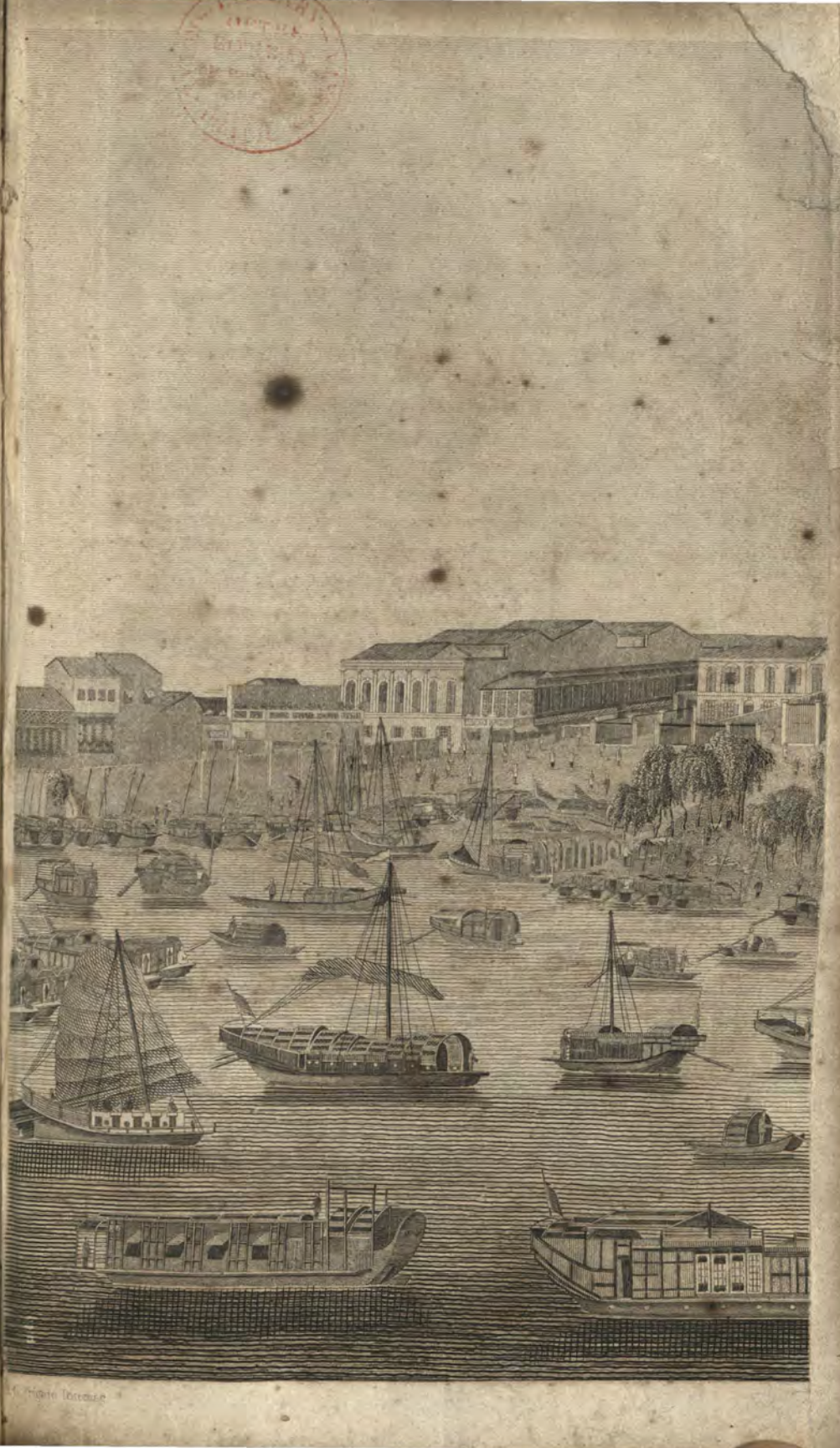
CHAPTER XVIII.

China—Town of Macao—Lintin Island and Bay—Opium Smugglers—The Commodore's Excursion to Canton—Inhabitants of Lintin—Small Feet of the Chinese Women—Religious Ceremonies—The Potomac ordered to Depart by the Chinese Authorities—Second Excursion to Canton—Passage up the River—Forts, Pagodas, Scenery, &c.—Wampoa, aquatic Population, &c.—Wonderful Skill of the Pilots—The Factories at Canton—Hospitable reception of the Party—The great Temple, or Jos-house—The officiating Priests—The Jos Pigs, clerical Cells, Gardens, &c.—The great Bazar—Dramatic Performances—Anniversary of the Snake-boat—Police of Canton—Its Walls and Gates—Forcing an Entrance—The Hong Merchant's expedition in Business—Mode of Computation—Description of Canton—Return of the Party.

The town of Macao is in latitude 22° 13′ north, longitude 113° 46′ east. The city of Canton is about sixty miles further inland, in the direction of north-northwest. The whole bay, or estuary, is thickly studded with rugged and barren islands. Macao is on the west side of the entrance; built on a peninsula, which is almost an island, being joined to the main by a very narrow isthmus, across which is erected a barrier or wall, about two miles north of the town, being the limit prescribed to the ceded territory, to prevent any intercourse between the Portuguese and the liege subjects and citizens of the Celestial Empire. This barrier was constructed in fifteen hundred and seventy-three, and the heaviest penalties were threatened to those who passed it in either direction. These restrictions, however, have gradually fallen into disuse, and are not at all regarded at present.

This site, for a commercial establishment, was ceded to the Portuguese as a recompense for an essential service they had rendered the Emperor of China. About the year fifteen hundred and thirty eight, a pirate of notorious daring and success, having under his command a considerable naval force, took possession of this peninsula, and was thereby enabled to block up the southern ports of China, and even extended his audacity so far as to lay siege to Canton!

In this extremity, the neighbouring Mandarins applied for as-



sistance to the Portuguese, who had an establishment at Sancian, an island on the coast, with several ships of war in the harbour, which were instantly despatched against the pirates. The Portuguese proved victorious, and raised the siege, and pursued the piratical chief as far as Macao, where he put a termination to his own existence. His band, however, or a nautical banditti of a similar class, long continued to infest the islands, coasts, and rivers in the neighbourhood, even until the year eighteen hundred and ten, when they were effectually subdued by the joint efforts of the Portuguese, English, and Chinese.

When the Emperor of China was informed of the service which the Portuguese had rendered him on this occasion, he bestowed on them the Peninsula of Macao, as a mark of his gratitude. They had long wished to establish themselves upon a footing more solid than the one they had at Sancian;* and now proceeded with avidity to build a town on their new territory, which soon became very flourishing, being most advantageously situated for prosecuting a trade with Japan. It is defended by three forts.

The approach to Macao, from the sea, is very beautiful in the daytime, and is not without its charms by a brilliant moonlight. It was midnight when the frigate came to anchor in the road. The following morning brought with it novelty, if nothing more. The fleet of little boats were all in motion. The land around seemed broken into a thousand hills, covered with stinted verdure. Macao, though distant, looked beautiful and highly picturesque. Every thing was new to the beholder, and strikingly characteristic of a foreign land. One reason, perhaps, why China, and every thing connected with it, imparts the idea of *wonderful*, is, that each stranger who visits this country is previously determined to be astonished at every thing he sees and hears; nor will strange things be wanting!

Early in the morning, an officer was sent to communicate with the authorities of the town of Macao; and while he was still absent on that duty, the Potomac's anchor was weighed, and her sails loosed. On the boat's return with the officer, the frigate was

* Sancian is an island of China, on the coast of Quang-tong (Canton), forty miles in circumference, famous for being the burial-place of Francis Xavier, whose tomb is to be seen on a small hill.

immediately got under way, and with a fine breeze stood up the channel for the Island of Lintin, on the southwest side of which is a bay, with good anchorage. This island rises into a peak, which can be seen at a distance of forty miles in clear weather, and is said to be about seven hundred feet above the level of the water. It is seldom ascended, being very difficult of access; although our countryman, W. W. Wood, Esq., of Philadelphia, with two other gentlemen, succeeded in reaching the summit, in May, eighteen hundred and twenty-seven, just five years previous to the Potomac's visit. He represents the view from the peak to be "really magnificent, embracing the islands on the coast, the neighbouring highlands of Lantao, and the shores of the river above Lintin."*

The Island of Lintin derives its principal importance, and all its celebrity, from the circumstance of its affording a safe anchorage for ships while waiting for pilots, and its being the station of the opium fleet. The Bay of Lintin, as it is called, where the Potomac now lay at anchor, is between the island and the mainland. Here were a number of vessels, mostly engaged in the smuggling trade; one of them, a very fine large American ship, called the Lintin, being stationed here to receive and dispose of opium, of which article most of the contraband trade consists. Such is the manner of carrying on this business, that it is divested of most, if not all the odium still attached to smuggling in other countries.

The quantity of opium consumed throughout the Chinese empire is known to be immense. It is not used as a medicine, but chewed and smoked as an exhilarating stimulant. Its importation into the country is, and long has been, prohibited by imperial decrees, threatening heavy penalties. These, however, are constantly evaded, and this ruinous drug finds its way into every part of this immense empire; there being few who can afford it that do not indulge in its use.

The smuggling boats are long, narrow, and swift-sailing vessels, constructed expressly for the purpose, and manned with about fifty rowers. They have, generally, two long masts, on which matsails are hoisted when the wind will serve. These boats, at all

* See Wood's Sketches of China, Philadelphia, 1830.

hours of the day, go alongside the vessels which contain the opium, prepared to pay for it in specie or otherwise. So ingeniously and discreetly are these transactions conducted, that neither the vessel or the smuggler run much or any risk; as *chops*, or custom-house permits, are always ready to be produced should the contraband articles be found on board. Opium, however, is always liable to seizure, as its entrance into the empire, under any shape, is prohibited. But the smuggling boats are generally manned by desperate men, so that captures are seldom made; and are never effected, under any circumstances, without a severe fight with pikes and stones, whole boxes of which are ranged along the boats in readiness for defence.

Chinese junks are constantly anchored off the northeast side of the island, for the purpose of preventing this prohibited article from finding its way into the empire. But these officers, who are paid for enforcing the laws, wink upon their constant violation with the greatest indifference and complacency. They sometimes make a show of chasing the smugglers, and there the matter ends. The latter, however, are seldom seriously molested except when a mandarin boat of one of the provinces visits another; on which occasion, in order to show his zeal and fidelity in the execution of the revenue laws, the visiter insists upon examining every boat that comes within his reach. The consequence is, that a battle sometimes occurs, in which the smugglers generally succeed, in either beating off the boat of the mandarin, effecting their escape, or concealing by some means the opium in their possession.

Whatever be the result, the mandarin, as soon as the affair is over, sends a despatch to government, announcing a glorious victory over, and the total destruction of the foreign barbarians, who had attempted to poison the subjects of his celestial majesty by introducing this filthy drug into the empire. With all its prohibitions, however, opium appears to be one of the chief articles of import into the country; and the emperor himself so far encourages the trade as the confirmed habit of using it will go; and which ought to convince his imperial highness of the insufficiency of his prohibitory system. Only a short time previous to the arrival of the Potomac, one of the princes of the royal family died by excessive indulgence in the use of opium. No wonder then

that this illicit trade is still carried on. The local revenue officers are generally bribed by the Chinese merchants, so that no trouble is apprehended from that quarter.

Soon after the arrival of the Potomac, the commodore caused to be procured a small schooner, of about thirty tons, for the use of the frigate during her stay. She was called the Sylph, being one of that class of vessels which ply between Macao and Canton. In this he embarked, with a party of his officers, to make a visit to Canton, while the duty of watering the ship was going on at Lintin. This often tedious operation was soon performed at this time by the aid of some large Chinese junks, procured for the purpose of bringing off the water. They were only occupied three days in this service; after which, the interval previous to the frigate's departure was employed in seeing whatever was permitted to be examined and inspected by the extraordinary people who inhabit this celebrated region.

The Island of Lintin is generally barren, being formed of masses of granite rock, piled one upon another; the low grounds, however, are not unproductive, and are laid out in rice-fields and vegetable patches. It contains several small villages; but the principal one is on the west side of the island, in view of the anchorage; consisting of a few miserably constructed bamboo huts, which are tenanted by still more miserable looking fishermen, boatmen, or cultivators of the little rice-fields. The interior of these habitations, if they deserve so respectable a name, are most wretchedly filthy; and destitute, according to our ideas of comfort, of every convenience of life. The first visit of our officers was met by a cold reception; the women flying from them with terror, and the men motioning the strangers to begone, and not to approach their dwellings. These symptoms of inhospitality and distrust, so marked at first, gradually wore off, however, and our countrymen were suffered to ramble about without much restraint.

Here, for the first time, they witnessed the incredible small feet of the Chinese females, while in other parts of the same island there were none such to be seen. A small present to the mother of one of these suffering objects of torture, procured permission to examine it; and it seemed almost incredible how any human being could endure such torture—such mutilation. The child

might be about eleven years of age; the toes were turned under the foot, the great toe forming the front part of the foot, and the only part preserving its original form. This distortion in shape, and depression in growth, are not effected, as many have been led to believe, from the use of iron or metal shoes, for such are not used by the Chinese; but from the use of bandages, wrapped around to an intolerable tightness, the child during this time being kept in a sitting posture; and so excruciating is said to be the pain, that the little sufferer for several months requires constant attendance; during which time she cannot walk a single step, and afterward can only hobble. The foot of one child was only four inches, and that of another only measured three inches in length. Their shoes are often fantastically ornamented.

The origin of this custom is traced to a very remote period, and is said to have been introduced by some celebrated queen, who was required by the fancy of her husband to bind up her feet into as small a compass as possible; this was followed by the women of her court, and from that time it has been practised by the higher order of the Chinese, and is not only looked upon as a valuable ornament in a female, but gives to the fair one thus mangled a decided superiority in her family.

These people worship an idol, which they call *Jos*, supposed to be a corrupt pronunciation of the Portuguese *Dios*, God. The house consecrated to this service is a neat little stone building, in the large village, containing a gilt image, supposed to represent the "unknown deity whom they ignorantly worship." The boatmen in the river pay evening sacrifices or burnt-offerings to the same deity, by throwing pieces of flaming paper into the water, which ceremony is called, in the Anglo-Chinese slang of the boatmen, *Chin-chin Jos*, meaning a compliment to the divinity. Our officers found no difficulty in obtaining admission to the *Jos-house*, as they call it, in the village of Lintin. The idol has an altar, or stand, in front of him, for burning the morning and evening sacrifices. But his devotees seemed to pay very little reverence or even common respect to his godship, but rather treated him with a familiarity bordering on impertinence; although he is one of their household gods, as almost every family has an image of him.

The first thing they do in the morning is to light one of the small wooden sticks prepared expressly for the oblation, and

plant it down before him on the altar; they then pour out a cup of tea, and place near the burning stick. On one of them being asked why he offered tea to *Jos*, he replied, "*Chin-chin Jos*—he like him very much." On being again interrogated, "How do you know that *Jos* likes tea, when he never drinks any?" he answered, "Oh, yes, *Jos* will drink it presently." Feeling some curiosity to witness the end of this superstitious rite, the officers remained for some time, looking on; but the cunning rascal contrived to divert their attention for a moment, and seizing the cup, he threw a portion of the tea towards the image, and then called on them to see how much his god had drunk! This ceremony is performed every morning and evening; but whether any particular days are set apart for the public worship of *Jos*, could not be ascertained from their evasive answers, in which they excel the shrewdest Scotch peasant of whom we have ever read.

These people were generally very civil, and are mostly of dark complexion, with more of the Tartar than the Chinese in their physiognomy. They live chiefly on small fish, taken daily with an apparatus of truly a novel construction. It comprises a net, perhaps forty feet square, attached by cords to the upper ends of four long poles, planted obliquely in the water, inclining from the shore. To the summit of these poles are also fastened land-ropes, which pass around a windlass on the shore, by heaving on which the poles bend from their oblique to an upright position. This simple process raises the net out of the river, when a boat passes under and takes care of the fish, which are thus drawn up in great multitudes.

These fish are very small, but of great importance to the poor wretches, who scarcely have it in their power to taste other food. The few vegetables and small portions of fruit raised on the island, are generally disposed of to the foreign vessels lying in the bay. Provisions for such ships, however, are mostly procured from Macao. Lintin Island contains buffaloes, and numerous goats. Here also were seen many monkeys of a large size, scampering from rock to rock, on the upper part of the island. Excellent fresh water is plenty here, and very easily procured.

The pilot, Jemmy Thompson, was now the constant companion of the inferior officers remaining on board the Potomac; he being ship purveyor. To perform the duties of this office, and enjoy

its profits, it is necessary to have a license from the mandarin. But Jemmy Thompson, and his partner, Sam Cock, spurning the trammels imposed on them by government, and despising the pilfering of the mandarins, are what are termed *outlaws*, or *bold smugglers ;* and they manage to live very well, by bribing some, and bullying others ; and having no license, their profits on trade are all their own.

These worthies contracted for watering the tanks, and for supplying the frigate with many articles ; but it was found necessary to employ a regular comprador from Macao, as neither of these executive characters could visit that place or Canton. They live, in fact, in their boats, and are occasionally on the Island of Lintin ; always starting in alarm at hearing the word *mandarin.*

One day, when Jemmy was down in the steerage, loquaciously gabbling to the middies, a wag among the latter came down, and, with an air of the utmost seriousness, remarked—"What a beautiful mandarin boat is now coming alongside." Jemmy caught the sound, and without stopping to hear another word, or even to finish the sentence which he himself was uttering, darted like a terrified monkey up the companion-way, and in the next instant was over the ship's side into his boat ; and had already proceeded some distance before he perceived the joke which had been played upon him.

The commodore and his party returned after an absence of about a week : during this time he had, through the facilities and kindness of our countrymen located in Canton, seen all that is permitted to pass before the eye of a foreigner. The season of business had passed ; the English factory was closed ; their colours, as well as those of the Dutch and French, were down ; the American was the only one seen up at the time. The late and serious difficulties between the English East India Company and the authorities of Canton, and which for a time threatened the most disastrous consequences to the company's interest, had been in some measure arranged, but how far the conditions of that arrangement will tend to prevent the repetition of such difficulties in future, may not perhaps be so easily determined at this time.

While the commodore was in Canton, a proclamation was handed to him, of which the following is a translation :—

"Ching, imperial commissioner at the port of Canton, &c. &c.,

issues this order to the Hong merchants, requiring them fully to understand it. It is authenticated that the Weigune of Macao has reported as follows: on the twenty-first of the present moon, the pilot Ho-Ching-Kwang reported that the American ship Potomac (in Chinese, Tang) arrived and anchored off Lintin. He went immediately to inquire the reason of her doing so. And it is authenticated, that the commodore of the said ship said that his ship had sailed from his own country on a cruise to other ports, and driven on by the wind, had come and anchored here for a time, and that when the wind should become fair, he would immediately get under way. The pilot also ascertained that there were on board five hundred men, sixty-four great guns, two hundred and fifty muskets, two hundred swords, twelve hundred cattys of gunpowder, and twelve hundred shot. This is the pilot's report.

"This coming before me, the Hoppo, and being authenticated, I have examined. Since the said ship is not a merchant ship, nor a convoy of merchant ships, and has so many men, &c., it is inexpedient that she should be allowed under assumed pretexts to anchor there (at Lintin), and so create disturbances.

"Writing these circumstances, I issue this order for her expulsion. When the order comes to the said Hong merchants, let them, in obedience to it, enjoin the order on the said nation's chief, that he compel her to set sail and return to her own country. Let her not, under any pretexts, loiter and create disturbances which will involve scrutiny and examination. Let the day of her departure be reported. Haste! Haste! a special order.

"Taonkwang, twelfth year, fourth moon, twenty-sixth day."

This order is always made to every armed vessel, though not the least attention is paid to the mandate of his celestial majesty's commissioner. Formerly men-of-war-junks were sent to watch, and order off vessels of war; which custom we believe has been discontinued of late, on account of a number that were sunk by the British.

On the commodore's return from Canton, a second party prepared to ascend the river in the same boat. It was nearly dark when they started; but as the wind was fresh and fair, our little Sylph had, by twelve at night, reached the entrance of Canton river, which is formed by two points of land; that on the west called *Ty-cock-ton*, and the one on the east called *Anunghoy*.

The Portuguese call this narrow pass the *Bocca Tigris*, the Tiger's Mouth; but the Chinese name is *Hoo-mun*, or *Hoo-tow-moon*. There are two channels through this pass, formed by a fortified island in the centre. The eastern channel is most generally used by Europeans.

In the morning, the Sylph felt the influence of a young breeze, and flitted along the crystal stream with a celerity that honoured her aerial cognomen. The entrance of this river is really beautiful, and might, with a moderate share of military skill, be rendered impassable to vessels of any force, its location being most favourable for works of defence. The channel being very narrow, might be easily commanded by redoubts of proper construction on each side. There are, however, but three forts, and these in such ill-selected positions, being lower than a frigate's spardeck, as to offer no serious impediment to an armed force determined to ascend the river. Indeed, a single sloop-of-war might either silence or pass them without much risk. The guns do not appear to be of more than twelve pound calibre, and the most formidable thing about them is the hideous paintings of the heads of tigers on the potlids and sills of the embrasures. Should the assailants be amateurs in painting, no doubt they would be as much appalled as if so many Gorgon's heads were presented as shields. The fort on the left hand side of the channel is situated at the foot of a very high hill, whereas it ought to be on its summit. The rapidity, however, with which the Sylph passed along, gave no opportunity for minute investigation.

In proceeding up the river, the land on the left was found to be, in some places, considerably elevated, and often covered with trees. On the summit of one of these heights, called *See-chee-tow*, is a small pagoda, the first one to be seen in ascending the river. A short distance beyond, at a place called *See-chee-top*, is another pagoda, nine stories in height, and very much decayed. The country around it is well cultivated, and is scattered with farmhouses and sugar-mills of Chinese construction. The nine stories of this lofty edifice are divided, or separated, by projecting cornices; from many of which, owing to the decomposition of the materials, shrubs, and even small trees, are seen growing. On the right, the land was lower, and divided into rice-fields.

As our winged Sylph flew along, the thick clustering novelties

around us kept continually changing with an almost bewildering velocity—like the almost magical variations of a kaleidoscope. No sameness—all variety. As far as the eye could reach, green fields appeared in endless succession; intersected in every direction by small canals, up which, and far into the interior, might be seen the lofty masts and sails of the *sampans*, wending their way onward; while small villages, each with a dense and bustling population, were momentarily passing before the eye like a moving diorama. Adjoining these might be seen large tracts of the beautiful and useful bamboo. The shady and rich foliage of the bananas and orange-trees, seemed to be ranged in hedges round the cultivated fields. The river appeared to be alive with boats; some fishing—others passing up and down—across—in every direction. Here, too, were the duck-boats, from which neither the *duckling* nor their owners ever step foot on shore.

On approaching Whampoa, the Sylph was overtaken by a thunder-gust; and as she still continued her course on the still unruffled surface of the stream, a crowd was seen in a village on the right assembling at the sound of the gong, probably for the performance of some religious ceremony. They were soon left behind, for our little party's approach to Canton was now rapid indeed. In a moment, as it were, they found themselves in the midst of innumerable war-junks and merchant-proas, with ten thousand fancifully painted and gay streamers floating in the breeze.

Myriads of boats, on each side, were moored in long and regular rows, forming channels, through which countless smaller boats were plying to and fro. The noise and bustle of business, combined with the low heavy hum of a million of human voices, dwelt with an eternal vibration on the ear. Here was a junk discharging her cargo—there, a raft of timber was gliding along—another crosses the Sylph's bows—everywhere are boats of all sizes and colours, and of every description—so numerous, that the surface of the water on which they rested could scarcely be seen between them.

How wonderful the skill of their conductors! The pilot who steered our little Sylph amid all this crowd, business, bustle, noise, confusion, and the din of a thousand gongs, seemed to thread the mazy labyrinth with the utmost coolness, ease, and

security. There is nothing in the known world that can vie with the novel, spirit-stirring interest which this river presents. The very fact that millions are born, and live (perhaps to an old age), and die, without ever having touched foot on dry land, and that their ancestors before them, for many generations, were all *amphibii* like themselves, is enough, not only to excite our wonder, but to bewilder the mind with astonishment! *We* speak of mother earth, from whose bosom we derive our sustenance—"dust we are, and to dust we shall return." They are children of the water, the only source from which they derive their miserable nourishment—and beneath the water they find their final resting-place!

At length, our little party landed at Canton—outside the walls of course—where they were politely and kindly received by our countrymen and resident merchants, Messrs. Heard and Lattimer; and to these gentlemen they were indebted for a most agreeable and introductive visit. Nothing was omitted on the part of their entertainers that could yield them pleasure or information. Their hospitable mansions were thrown open for the reception of their American visiters, who found themselves, by these easy, agreeable, and polite attentions, comfortably situated and entirely "at home."

Their visit being necessarily limited to a very short time, they felt the necessity of seeing, at once, all that was deemed worthy of a stranger's notice. Where every thing was new, little more could be done than to give a cursory view to matters of least moment, allowing themselves greater latitude as things of deeper moment were pointed out to them deserving greater attention. Under the guidance of Dr. Bradford, of Philadelphia, they set out, among their first excursions, to see the great *Jos-house*, situated on the opposite bank of the river. The ferry-boats were *manned* altogether by women, who make their living by, and live *in* their boats; and whose skill in conducting their little craft amid numerous junks, and a thousand other impediments, is truly astonishing. The current is strong, and the numerous eddies created by the proximity of so many boats, render it almost certain death to any one who is so unfortunate as to fall in the water; hence dead bodies may almost daily be seen floating down the stream.

The traveller who does not visit that great monastery belonging to the sect called *Fuh*, or *Buddha*, in Chinese, *Hoe-chong-sze*, or *Ho-nam-Jos-house*, may be said to have scarcely seen Canton. The building is immense, occupying a large space of ground; fine gravel-walks extending from one wing to another. Our party passed through four or five buildings, each containing from two to four uncommon figures of *Jos*, with other good and evil spirits. Some of these figures were not less than twenty feet in height, gilt, or painted in the most grotesque manner; one was represented playing on a musical instrument; others frowning, with their immense eyeballs projecting from their sockets; while another was holding large balls between the thumb and finger, in a threatening attitude of throwing them. In the last of these buildings, which was much larger than the rest, the priests were performing their devotions, standing on each side of the altar, on which was placed an immense image of his *Josship*, made of clay, and richly gilt; one hand was resting on a sabre, the other raised ready for executing vengeance. On the altar were several candles burning, and numerous bundles of *Jos-sticks*, made from the sandal-wood, lighted, and filling the apartment with sweet odour.

The priests, about sixty in number, were chanting in a rapid manner some religious strain, and seemed constantly repeating the same words. In an adjoining part of the room were other priests, standing with their heads bowed down upon their breasts, and at each sound of the gong, by the high-priest, they would change their position, holding up their hands as in supplication, and chanting all the time, till the gong sounded, when they would again change their position.

While our little party were standing at the porch, looking on, there were a number of Chinese near, who were laughing, talking, smoking, and apparently ridiculing the ceremonies; this, however, we could not positively ascertain. The most of the images worshipped are said to be of evil spirits, and for which they give this single reason,—that the good spirits will not injure them; and the evil, or bad ones, by this attention and devotion, may be prevented from doing so; certainly, for such a people, such a reason is not a bad one. Religion! it does not deserve the name; as there is not a virtue held sacred among them, nor a vice they do not practise.

We next visited the *Jos-pigs*, ten or twelve in number, the most gouty *squeaks*, perhaps, the whole empire could produce. These were mostly presents from devotees, and supported by the church, and fed most enormously. They had become so fat that many of them could not rise, and seemed to breathe with difficulty; some were so old that their faces were covered with immense wrinkles, and blotches of fat. They are never eaten, and of course die a natural death. During the past year there had been a great mortality among them, and many are said to have died of dropsy and liver complaint!

From this disgusting spectacle our curious visiters passed to the cells, where were several priests partaking of their scanty meal of rice and vegetables, their religion not allowing them to indulge in the use of meat. The cells are narrow, low, dirty little habitations, ranged along on one side of the building.

Interspersed throughout the garden are numerous small and neat little buildings, one of which was pointed out as being appropriated to women who came to pray for offspring; and in another were the *urns* containing the ashes of the priests, who are always burned after death. One had been burned only the day before; and our officers were permitted to raise the cover of the jar that contained his ashes. There were about sixty urns in the building. At the end of each year these urns were emptied of their contents into a vault beneath the building, and the jars reserved for the same purpose during the coming year. The garden, in which these small buildings are arranged, has but little to recommend it; there are, however, a number of large and shady trees, whose branches are thronged with birds, which, if not held sacred like the *Jos-pigs*, are nevertheless secure from molestation, or being put to death. Add to these a duck-pond, a few flowers and vegetables, and you have a picture of the garden. The trees are mostly willows, whose branches hung down to the ground.

On returning to the river, they passed through the great bazar, or market-place. Here was to be seen a sample of all the country produce, and in general requiring no particular description; there were, however, some articles exposed for sale, which, to an American palate, were not very inviting. In neat little parcels was to be seen the large grub-worm, preserved in sugar and nicely dried. The first salmon brought in the spring to the Boston

market, or the first plate of strawberries, nay, not even the luscious and savoury canvass-back duck of the Potomac, can be more highly prized than those sweetened grub-worms, which, owing to their cost, can only find a place on the table of the wealthy.

There are no people in the world who appear to have acquired more singular tastes in exotics for the table, than the Chinese. The edible birds'-nests, from Java and other islands, are in great demand, and find a place on their tables, at least, on feast-days. This luxury forms no inconsiderable article of trade. Sharks' fins, another article highly prized, may be found on their table, on all great occasions. There is scarcely any exotic, however, of which they are more fond, than *biche de mer*, a gelatinous substance procured from the rocks of the islands in the East Indies, and of late years found, we believe, in considerable quantities, among some of the islands of the Pacific. Many of our small vessels have found a good business in procuring and carrying this article to Canton.

Ascending the river on their return, our party passed by a large theatre, where a Chinese play was being acted in all the noise and grotesque buffoonery for which those amusements are so notorious among them. But from this their attention was soon called to a spectacle far more interesting :—a long, low, narrow, and beautifully-modelled boat, the head fashioned and painted in resemblance of a large snake, and the tail projecting from the stern, resembling that of the same animal. It was manned with about fifty rowers on each side, with paddles; while in the centre, and at each end, were groups of men, dressed in all the fantastic colours imaginable. From all parts, variegated streamers were flying in the breeze. At the sound of a gong and drum, shouts, clapping of hands, and voices, they dipped their paddles, and the boat moved through the water with incredible velocity, every one keeping time to the gongs. Again they ceased, and at a given signal every oar was raised; and the rowers wheeling on their seats, the boat, without turning, was impelled again with incredible celerity in the opposite direction. This was repeated amid loud shouts and sound of gongs, calling and attracting the attention of the world of China around.

The anniversary of the snake-boats is religiously observed

every year. It appears to be founded on a tradition handed down almost from time immemorial. It appears that once upon a time, as our nursery stories begin, a Chinese of great rank, who had distinguished himself by his wonderful talents and exploits, among which he is said to have confined the river Tigris to its banks; after conferring many benefits upon the nation, and achieving many wonders, scarcely inferior to Hercules himself; from some cause (which he never made known, or if he did, it has been lost in travelling down the mist of past ages) he leaped into the river, and was never more seen. He promised, however, to return on the anniversary of that day, but unfortunately neglected to mention the year of his intended resurrection. In order to meet him on his return, each year these snake-boats commence their research three days beforehand; during two of these days our officers were in Canton, and were not a little amused in witnessing the effect of this singular superstition! The first of June is the anniversary, and the boats are said to be patronised by the government. Numerous flower-boats, richly gilt and painted, covered with beautiful mats, and filled with ladies and gentlemen, were plying about the river at the same time, giving additional life and variety to the scene.

The police of Canton cannot but strike the attention of every one, as it is unquestionably among the best regulated in the world. Spies are distributed in every part, and watch the actions of every one; particularly the foreign residents. In every square, at every hour of the night, may be heard the watchmen with their heavy bamboo clubs, striking the pavement. The streets are very narrow; and the houses being lofty in many parts, make them appear like narrow lanes; some exceedingly filthy, even to offensiveness, while others are kept in better order. At every square there is a gate, which is closed every night at ten o'clock, and guarded by a watchman; and every individual foreigner passing after this hour, must carry with him a lighted lantern, with his name in legible characters painted on it. Should any alarm be given, these gates are instantly secured, enclosing all offenders, so that any one guilty of breaking the peace, or of any crime whatever, may easily be taken; indeed, escape is utterly impossible.

The residence of foreign merchants, or, as more generally termed, factories, are mostly very splendid buildings, and form by

far the finest looking part of the town; they face and extend along the river the distance of six or eight hundred yards. Each merchant lives in his own factory. The English East India Company occupy an extensive establishment: the hongs, or buildings containing the teas, are extensive, and face along the river, and the entrance to them is secured by strong iron gates. The houses of the Chinese are generally meanly built, of cedar and camphire timber.

The wall of Canton is low, of mud and stone construction. To strangers it is the boundary, "Thus far shalt thou come, and no farther." At one time our inquisitive party passed a short distance within, but were instantly stopped by the guards, and the multitude all shouted as if something were wrong. Canton within was, to all appearance, just what Canton was without. The foreign residents have, on several occasions, been a short distance within the gates. To do this, however, requires some resolution, and numbers united, and has generally been done when some representation had to be made to the vice-king, which the Hong merchants had refused to present; the grievance to be redressed being against their interest. Under these circumstances, the communication to be presented is prepared with the utmost secrecy, and the hour of entry fixed; when some dozen or twenty meet, and with clubs in their hands, move directly for the gate, pushing over and knocking down every thing which comes in their way. They then boldly enter the gate, the guard protesting to the contrary notwithstanding. A tremendous tumult is now created; and every Chinese presents himself as a barrier to their progress. The party then come to a stand, their object being attained; for the authorities hearing that strangers are within the walls, send a messenger to demand the cause, when they present their memorial, certain of its reaching the proper hands. Having thus, by violence and real bravado, effected the object of their visit, they retire from within the wall, and immediately the tumult ceases. On several occasions they have been obliged to resort to this method, which was always successful without a serious accident.

We have stated that the police without the walls is most rigidly kept up; of its character within we know nothing. The mandarins, holding office from government, have the power of instant

and summary punishment on their own people. The foreigners can generally, though it is attended with much trouble, gain redress for any injury; and petitions presented for the removal of any grievance, or asking for any privilege of trade, if customary, are granted. But their walks are limited to certain bounds; nor are they allowed the privilege of riding at all on horseback, or of introducing their wives or ladies into the province. Those who have wives are obliged to keep them at Macao, and visit them as their business will permit. The curiosity of one lady (or was it her attachment to her husband?) some time since, tempted her, and her influence over her husband (or was it his amiable and submissive disposition?) induced him, in a moment of folly, to forget himself, and allow her to accompany him in the costume of an attendant, male, of course, to Canton. Before landing, her disguise was discovered, and she was obliged to fly to Macao in a boat. She was pursued, and barely escaped with her life, and her husband, foolish man, was mulcted in a heavy fine!

While our officers were at dinner with Mr. Lattimer, Mr. L. left the table for a moment, and returned so soon that he was scarcely missed. He informed his guests that he had made a sale while absent, of opium, to the amount of two thousand dollars, and assured them that the Chinese are remarkably expert in business. Shopkeepers, from whom you may buy the most trifling article, supply ships with cargoes, worth two hundred thousand dollars, and will contract to do so with all the necessary security, in the length of time he had been absent from the table. They will manage all the smuggling, if any be necessary; get all the chops for duties; and deliver the articles on board the ship at Lintin, Whampoa, or Macao!

In buying any article, however small or trifling, at Canton, the seller will furnish you with a small paper containing some Chinese characters, and these are called *chops*. If called on by the custom-house officers, or mandarin, to pay duty on these articles, you simply present them with chops, and it is their business to find the merchant who sold the article, and collect the revenue from him.

Their fancy articles, in imitation of Japan ware, carved boxes, and other articles of ivory, with a thousand fancy gewgaws, are sold here for a mere song. They are most faithful copyists of

paintings, though they cannot draw, having no idea of perspective. Our party saw an excellent likeness of Stewart's Washington, most faithfully copied by a Chinese; indeed, with a good copy before them, they can execute in a masterly manner. In tailoring they are equally correct. One of the middies sent a pair of pantaloons as a pattern, to have a dozen made by; each pair that was returned came true to the pattern, even to a patch on the seat, and a button wanting!

They are said to be very acute accountants, and their method of computing is certainly singular. The process is by a kind of *abacus*, which they call *swan-pwan*, or counting boards; which consists of a frame of wood, of various sizes, divided into two unequal compartments, by a bar placed crosswise at about one third the length from the top. Through the bar at right angles are inserted a number of parallel wires, and on each wire in the lower compartment are five moveable balls, and in the upper two: these wires may be considered as the ascending or descending powers of a numeration table, proceeding in a decimal proportion; so that if a ball on any of the wires in the larger compartment be placed against the middle part and called unit, or one, a ball on the next wire above it will represent ten, and one on the next one hundred: so also a ball on the next wire below that representing units will be one tenth, next lower one hundredth, and the ball on the corresponding wires in the smaller compartment will in the same manner represent five, fifty, five hundred; ten, tenths, five hundredths, &c., the value or power of each of these in the smaller division being always five times as much as those in the larger. It is wonderful the facility with which they will calculate by this process, and what is remarkable, they are scarcely ever known to be wrong, even in the most complicated accounts.

The city of Canton, as before stated, our officers were not permitted to enter, as no foreigners are. But the Chinese Repository, an English magazine, published in the suburbs, contains many interesting facts respecting the *interior* of this ancient city, from which the following have been taken:—

"That part of the city which is surrounded by a wall, is built nearly in the form of a square, and is divided by a wall running from east to west in two parts. The northern, which is much the largest part, is called the *old city;* the southern part is called the

new city. According to some foreign, as well as native books, the northern part was once 'composed, as it were, of *three* different towns, separated by very fine high walls, but so conjoined, that the same gate served to go out from the one and enter the other.' These divisions ceased long ago to exist. The new city was built at a much later period than the old. The entire circuit of the wall, which now includes both divisions of the city, is variously estimated by the Chinese. At a quick step we have walked the whole distance in little less than two hours, and think it cannot exceed *six* English miles. On the south side the wall runs nearly due east and west, parallel to the river, and distant from it perhaps fifteen or twenty rods. On the north, where 'the city rests on the brow of the hill,' the wall takes a serpentine course; and its base at the highest point on the hill is perhaps two hundred or three hundred feet above the surface of the river.

"The walls are composed partly of stone and partly of bricks: the former is chiefly coarse sandstone, and forms the foundation and the lower part of the walls and the arches of the gates; the latter are small and of a soft texture. In several places, particularly along the east side of the city, the elements have made such inroads on the walls as to afford satisfactory evidence, that before the prowess of a modern foe, they would present but a feeble resistance. They rise nearly perpendicular, and vary in height from twenty-five to thirty-five or forty feet. In thickness they are twenty or twenty-five feet. They are the highest and the most substantial on the north side, evidently so built because in that direction hostile bands would be the most likely to make an attack. A line of battlements, with embrasures at intervals of a few feet, are raised on the top of the wall around the whole city; these the Chinese call ching-jin, literally, *city-men;* and in the rear of them there is a broad pathway. There are two 'wings,' or short walls, one at the southeast and the other at the southwest corner of the city, which stretch out from the main walls; these were designed to block up the narrow space between the walls and the ditches of the city. Through each of these there is a gate, in every respect similar to those of the city.

"The *gates* of the city are sixteen in number; four of these lead through the wall which separates the old from the new city; so that there are only *twelve* outer gates—commencing on the

north, and passing round to the west, south, and east. One of these gates is fifteen feet wide and twelve high! A few soldiers are stationed at each of the gates to watch them by day, and to close and guard them by night. They are shut at an early hour in the evening, and opened at dawn of day. Except on special occasions, no one is allowed to pass in or out during the night-watches; but a small fee will usually open the way, yet always exposes the keepers to punishment.

"We must now extend our description so as to include the suburbs; the streets and buildings of which differ very little, if at all, from those within the walls. On the west they spread out nearly in the form of an isosceles right-angled triangle, opening to the northwest, having the river on the south, and the western wall of the city for its two equal sides. On the south they occupy the whole space between the wall and the river. On the east they are much less extensive than on the west. There are no buildings on the north, except a few small huts near the principal gate. Taken collectively, the suburbs are scarcely less extensive or less populous than the city within the walls.

"The *streets* of Canton are numerous—we have before us a catalogue containing the names of more than six hundred, among which we find the 'Dragon-street,' the 'Flying dragon-street,' the 'Martial dragon-street,' the 'Flower-street,' the 'Golden-street,' the 'Golden flower-street;' and among many more of a similar kind, we meet with a few which we should not wish to translate. There are several long streets, but most of them are short and crooked; they vary in width, from two to sixteen feet wide, and they are everywhere flagged with large stones, chiefly granite. The motley crowd that often throng these streets is very great indeed. At a busy hour of the day, the stout, half naked, vociferating porters, carrying every description of merchandise, and the nimble sedan-bearers, in noise and bustle, make up for the deficiency of carts and carriages; these, together with the numerous travellers, various kinds of retailers, pedlers, beggars, &c., present before the spectator a scene which we will not attempt to describe.

"Not a few of the visiters, and not a little of the merchandise, brought together here, are conveyed into the city by means of canals or *ditches*. There are several of these; one of the largest

of them extends along the whole length of the wall on the east of the city, and another on the west side. Between these two, and communicating with them, there is a third canal, which runs along near the wall on the north side of the new city, so that boats can enter on the west, pass through the city, and out at the eastern side; and vice versa. There are other canals in the eastern and western suburbs; and one in the southern. Into these large channels a great number of smaller ones flow: these the Chinese call the 'veins of the city.' There are also several reservoirs, but none of them are of great extent. Much of the water for the use of the inhabitants is supplied from the river and canals; wells are frequent; rain-water is employed also; and for tea, &c., fine wholesome water is plentifully furnished from several springs, which break out on the north of the city, both within and without the walls. There are several bridges, some built of stone, thrown over these canals."

CHAPTER XIX.

The empire of China—Unknown to the ancients—Its history involved in fable and tradition—Founded by Noah—Patriarchal form of government—Location, size, cities, towns, villages, monuments, libraries, &c.—Immense population—Observations on acclimating her productions.

THE Chinese empire, which, including its tributary states and those under its protection, is said to cover more than five millions of square miles, and is computed to contain more than three hundred millions of inhabitants—is, perhaps, less accurately known than any other kingdom of the earth. To the ancient historians, both sacred and profane, China was either entirely unknown, or she was, as it were, a "sealed book," into the contents of which the eye of curoisity was not permitted to pry; and though modern enterprise, with a freer and bolder spirit of commerce and inquiry, has been more successful in seeking to penetrate the mysteries of the "Celestial Empire," comparatively little additional light has been thrown upon the subject; or, at least, much still remains to be known. The Portuguese navigators, who followed Vasco de Gama round the Cape of Good Hope, after its discovery by Dias, were the first from whom the Europeans attained any tolerably correct ideas of the situation, extent, and character of this interesting country. And several subsequent embassies from Europe, though all of them failing in the grand object of their respective missions, together with the more recent and successful labours of the intelligent and enterprising missionary Gutzlaff, have tended in some measure to throw down the mysterious screen of national pride and jealousy, behind which the Chinese have ensconced themselves for so many centuries. Other Christian missionaries, also, so far as they have been permitted, have laboured hard, and somewhat successfully, in the same cause.

Although Alexander the Great, who flourished three hundred and fifty years before the Christian era, is stated to have subdued all the then known world, and to have lamented that there were no more nations to conquer, we now know that the vast regions

of northern Tartary, China proper, and even further India, were not included in his conquests. This exception in favour of the countries just named, is supposed by some writers to be attributable to their early knowledge of gunpowder, and the use of artillery. Philostratus, as we have stated in a previous chapter, wrote under this impression in his Life of Apollonius Thyanæus.

But whatever credit may be attached to this historian, there are strong reasons for believing that the empire of China was totally unknown to the ancient Greeks, as it is not mentioned or even alluded to by Homer, or Herodotus, the great father of history. It has been conjectured, however, from a passage in Quintius Curtius, the Latin historian, who wrote the Life of Alexander the Great, that the Macedonian hero had attained some knowledge of the Chinese during his conquests in India, about three hundred and twenty years before Christ, and that it is to them the historian refers in these words—*hinc in regnum Sophitis perventum est. Gens ut barbari sapientia excellit, bonisque moribus regitur.* In confirmation of this conjecture, it is added that Strabo, the great Latin geographer, calls this kingdom of Sophites, *Cathea*, a word which is supposed to bear a resemblance to *Cathay*, the name given to China by the Tartars. The Jews are supposed to have found their way into China, after Alexander, by his conquests in the east, had opened a communication with India; and their arrival in the country is said to be noticed in the historical records of China. The date of that event is fixed by some in the year two hundred and six, and by others in the year two hundred and fifty-eight before Christ. They abound chiefly in the silk provinces.

The ancient history of China is too much enveloped in darkness, fable, and extravagant tradition, to furnish us with any data on which to erect a plausible hypothesis respecting its origin. Some of their writers have claimed an antiquity for the nation of more than ninety millions of years! The more moderate and reasonable of them, however, are content to ascribe their origin to the immediate survivers of the general deluge, and suppose that Noah himself was the actual founder of the empire!

This supposition has been ingeniously sustained by some European writers, particularly by the authors of the "English Universal History." It is suggested that the patriarch Noah, whom the Chinese call *Fohee*, and whose ark they suppose may

have rested on some mountain in Great Tartary,* becoming justly offended at the impiety of his degenerate descendants, about two hundred and thirty years after the flood, separated himself from them; and with a select number of adherents, travelled *eastward*, where he planted a colony which ultimately became the foundation of the Chinese empire.

In the meantime, his disobedient and refractory descendants, who, with those that accompanied him, comprised all the human race, took an opposite direction, and travelled to the west until they reached the banks of the Euphrates. Here a striking analogy is obvious between the tradition and that passage in Genesis which says—"And the whole earth was of one language and of one speech. And it came to pass, as they journeyed *from the east*, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and dwelt there." Here they attempted to "build a tower, whose top should reach to heaven," which impious enterprise was defeated by the miraculous confusion of tongues, which led to their dispersion over all the earth.

Another argument, which has been adduced in favour of this hypothesis, is derived from the fact that there is a striking resemblance between the Chinese government and that which has been generally called the "patriarchal form," from which it is supposed to have originated.†

But after all that has been conjectured and written on the subject, the knowledge of the origin, history, and condition of this extensive and extraordinary empire, is still extremely imperfect and uncertain. It was only at a late period that the nations of Europe became acquainted even with the existence of the country; and even then the peculiar nature of the language, and the careful exclusion of foreigners by the government, prevented, and still in a great measure prevents, that degree of intercourse with

* It is a curious fact, that the celebrated Swedish theologian, Swedenborg, asserts in his writings, that the "Book of Enoch," quoted by Moses, *still* exists in Tartary. This he says was a divine revelation made to the antediluvians.

† "The Emperor of China possesses the most unlimited authority, and can issue new laws, or abrogate old ones, as he pleases. He is the undisputed master of the lives of his subjects. To his revision every verdict is subject, and is of no force until it receives his confirmation. All his own sentences are executed without delay; and all his edicts are acknowledged throughout the empire, as if they were the mandates of Deity."—*Ed. Enc.*

the people which is necessary to procure correct information of their manners, and free access to their historical records.

So little indeed was known of China, or any part of the eastern extremity of Asia, as late as the fifteenth century, that Columbus lived and died under the impression that all his discoveries were on that coast; little dreaming that a vast continent, and an ocean beyond it of ten thousand miles in width, intervened between them. The opinions of Aristotle, Seneca, and Pliny, that by sailing west from Cadiz, a navigator might arrive at the Indies in a few days, served to strengthen this impression. Strabo, also, the celebrated ancient geographer, had asserted that the ocean surrounded the earth, washing the shores of India on the one side, and the western coast of Spain and Mauritania on the other; so that it was easy to navigate from one to the other, on the same parallel.

By reference to the map of Asia, it will be seen that "China proper," which is the subject of our immediate consideration, extends more than twelve hundred geographical miles from north to south, and not much short of that distance from east to west. It stretches from latitude 21° to 42° north, covering twenty-one degrees of latitude, and about twenty-five of longitude. The limits of the United States include twenty-three degrees of latitude, or one hundred and twenty geographical miles more seacoast than China; but the latter extends westward from the coast to such a distance as to include more than a million and a quarter of square miles, while the whole extent of our own country, including the Oregon territory, is only a little more than two millions of square miles. It is bounded on the north by the vast regions of Tartary, from which it is separated by an artificial barrier fifteen hundred miles in length, said to have been erected in the year one thousand one hundred and sixty, as a work of defence, and is known by the appellation of the "Great wall of China." The eastern boundary of the empire is the Yellow and China Sea, forming an extensive coast of almost every variety of climate. On the south, it is bounded partly by the ocean, and partly by the kingdom of Tonquin and Cochin-China. Its western boundary consists of lofty mountains and extensive deserts, which separate it from Bucharia, Thibet, &c.

This vast empire is divided into fifteen provinces, which, according to Chinese statements, contain four thousand four hundred

and two walled cities, divided into two classes, the civil and the military; the first comprising two thousand and forty-five, and the second two thousand three hundred and fifty-seven cities. The frontiers and seacoasts are defended by four hundred and thirty-nine castles, fortified and covered by two thousand nine hundred and twenty towns, many of which are equal in population and extent to the walled cities themselves; while the villages scattered over the interior are declared to be innumerable.

There are also, according to the same authorities, eleven hundred and forty-five royal hospitals, or lodging-places for the officers and servants of the court; eleven hundred and fifty-nine triumphal arches, erected in honour of kings and heroes; two hundred and eight monuments, dedicated to the memory of females who have been distinguished by the virtues of their sex; two hundred and seventy-two libraries, continually open to the learned: and in almost every city or town, schools and colleges established by their great philosopher Confucius, or founded in honour of his name. How near to the actual truth these flaming and probably exaggerated accounts approximate, it is impossible for strangers to determine. We know that this people possess an extraordinary share of national pride and vanity; despising all the rest of the world, and believing, or affecting to believe, that every other nation of the earth is bound to pay them homage and obeisance.

By the Chinese themselves, their country is called Tehong-Kaoue, or the middle kingdom; because they formerly imagined that it was situated in the middle of the earth, and that all other countries lay scattered around their empire in the form of small islands. In latter times they have indeed acquired a more correct geography; but so inveterately do they adhere to ancient opinions, and especially to whatever flatters their national vanity, that they still continue to express themselves in this erroneous manner, and to preserve unaltered every sentiment and expression of their great philosopher Confucius. In their hyperbolical jargon, China is the "Celestial Empire," and their emperor the "Father of ten thousand years," and the "Brother of the sun and moon."

But, after making all due allowances for hyperbole and exaggeration, the country in question is emphatically one of the wonders of the world; for the whole geography and history of

the terraqueous globe, afford no other object more sublimely great than this immense sovereignty, the most numerous, and, it is probable, the most anciently civilized nation. "As a whole, the Chinese empire fronts on the Pacific Ocean, from the head of the Gulf of Tung-Quin to the mouth of Amur, five thousand miles; upon Asiatic Russia, from the Sea of Ochotsk to the Irtish river, three thousand miles; along the Altaian and Imaus Mountains, fifteen hundred miles; and skirting the two Indies, two thousand five hundred miles; having an entire outline of more than twelve thousand miles. Within this perimeter is included the one thirteenth part of the land area of our planet; every variety of soil, and almost every diversity of climate. It includes the most elevated of all mountains, the Himalaya; the high, cold, and desolate plains of Thibet and Mongolia, and also the rich alluvial deltas of the Amur, Hoanho, and Kianku.*" An immense population of two hundred millions—a wary, cunning, politic, keen, and observant race.

Such is a hasty sketch of the "Celestial Empire." What a field is here presented for the labours of the devoted missionary! —what a prospect for the merchant!—and how much to occupy the attention of the wise statesman! Of its commerce we shall speak in the next chapter, while we shall conclude the present with a few suggestions on a subject which has not received attention proportioned to its importance in this country; but with the opening of the trade to China, cannot be too soon attended to by our government. By the way, however, we must observe, that though China was once far in advance of every other nation on the globe, as to civilization, literature, refinement, and the arts and sciences, she is now as far in the rear of the most unenlightened nations of Europe. Still, China has not retrograded, but only stood still, while other nations, who were far behind her, have caught her up and pushed far ahead of her. Her arts are still in the same state that they were when that country was visited by Marco Polo, so many years ago; her modern literature is still a servile imitation of ancient models; and science has not advanced a single step.

A proper estimation, in this country, has never been placed

* Derby's Geographical Lectures.

upon the benefits which might result to agriculture, and particularly to horticulture, from an expedition to the coast of China. That country has a climate very similar to our own, arising from its similar position on the eastern edge of a great continent. Both are dry, and subject to greater vicissitudes of heat and cold than countries in the interior, or on the other side of the great continent. This being the case, the vegetable productions suitable to the one, cannot but thrive well in the other.

China has been a long time civilized, and the whole extent of its coast been for ages under a government which has paid more attention to agriculture than any other government that has ever existed. Under such circumstances, it is impossible to be otherwise, but that the vegetables and fruits of the various climates have been acclimated to a degree much beyond what they have with us, or in Europe, from whence we derive our fruits and vegetables.

The territories of China embracing both sides of the tropic, we have every reason to believe that the productions of the south have been extended as far as possible to the north, and those of the north to the south.

By getting, therefore, fruits and vegetables from a country thus situated, we get the advantage of a thousand or more years of acclimation.

For instance, we get our apples and pears from England and France. The apple we have not yet acclimated as far south as Georgia. There are, we believe, only one or two varieties, which, in the upper part of that state, prove fruitful in some years. Their flavour is very indifferent. So with the pear. Coming from the latitude of from forty-two to fifty, it is unproductive south of Baltimore; and so with other fruits.

Who can doubt but that, in a country in which the extension and prosperity of agriculture have been the great object of government, their fruits and other vegetables have, in the course of fifteen hundred years, been extending gradually to the south, so as to become used to a climate which it will take us nearly the same period to reach with the varieties of fruits which we now have. It is the same with the fruits and vegetable productions of the south. The tropical fruits and vegetables must have been brought as far north as they can be profitably cultivated. From

fifteen hundred to two thousand years have been passed in this process of acclimation.

Why should we undergo this long process, when a few thousand dollars may introduce them among us?

It is well known, that among other plants, the sugarcane may be gradually introduced into a climate which was at one time incongenial to it. The Otaheite has been introduced into Louisiana. What a gain it would be to our country if a variety could be procured which could be raised one degree farther north than the Otaheite! The advantages from this single plant alone would a thousand times compensate for all the expenses of such an experiment. For the introduction into this country of the various fruits and vegetables which such a country as China must produce, might be attended with advantages almost incalculable.

We have already received from China one animal, the benefits of which to our country surpass a thousand times the expenses which might accrue in setting on foot the proper inquiry in relation to this matter. The Chinese hog is the animal to which we allude. A long series of years devoted to the selection of animals having a propensity to fatten, could alone have produced the breed, which has added so much to the wealth of our farmers, and to the pleasure of our epicures who admire a nice ham. What would our gardeners think of the immense piles of headed lettuce, described by travellers in China as heaped up at the gates of the cities, preparatory to entering and being distributed among the morning markets? We have nothing of the kind in the United States or Europe. We cannot have, unless by hundreds of years of persevering industry and care.

These things are more particularly of importance, because they are those in which the great mass of the community are directly and principally interested. They add to the comfort of the poorest as much as they do to that of the richest. All are benefited, and none could complain of any expenditure which all acknowledge is for the benefit of all classes, and all sections. If there be any section that may be more benefited than another, it is from latitude 32° south.

The introduction of one single vegetable, the turnip, into England, changed the whole face of a large district of country, and

rendered it, from being almost barren, one of the most fertile in the kingdom.

As to the commercial advantages, independent of other articles of commerce, which might be brought into view by means of such inquiries, we have no doubt that the introduction alone of the iron of Formosa into our country, would be found in ready demand. That iron is of so superior a quality, that, for some particular purposes, it would be invaluable. Such is the temper that can be given to it, it is stated, that swords made of it will sever with ease those made of ordinary steel. What a desideratum to all the mechanic arts would be a sufficient quantity of it to make our finest edgetools, and most delicately constructed instruments!

CHAPTER XX.

European rivalry in the east—Formation of the East India Company—Its conquests in India—First American vessel sails from New-York, and visits Canton—Interesting correspondence—Tabular view of our trade—Expiration of the company's charter—New state of things opening in the east—Increased vigilance necessary on the part of our government—Free trade with China.

For a century after Vasco de Gama had reflected so much glory upon his nation, by discovering the passage around the Cape of Good Hope, the Portuguese had enjoyed, as well as greatly abused, the advantages of superior knowledge and art, amid a feeble and half-civilized people. They explored the Indian Ocean as far as Japan; visited islands rich in some of the favourite productions of nature; had achieved the most brilliant conquests; and, by their commerce, poured into Europe, in unexampled profusion, those rare commodities of the east, on which the nations of the old world, at that time, set an extraordinary value.

These new sources of wealth could not fail to attract the attention of the other powers of Europe. For even when confined to the narrow limits which a carriage by land had prescribed, this trade was supposed to have elevated feeble states into powerful ones. History bears abundant proof that it contributed largely to the support of the Grecian monarchies, both in Syria and in Egypt; for a long succession of years retarded the downfall of Constantinople; and raised the otherwise obscure republic of Venice to the rank and influence of the most potent of kingdoms. No wonder, therefore, that the new channel opened by the Portuguese to the east, should have aroused the cupidity of all the maritime powers of Europe.

England had shared largely in the improvements of Europe at that period; and that active spirit of commerce, which was destined to encompass the whole globe, had gone boldly forth; while the felicitous reign of Elizabeth was highly favourable to the accumulation of capital, and all of those projects on which the life of commerce depends.

During the sixteenth century, the merchants of Bristol had extended their trade to the Canary Islands; those of Plymouth to the coast of Guinea and Brazil; the fisheries were prosecuted on the banks of Newfoundland; the exclusive trade of Russia was in their hands; while to the Mediterranean, Germany, and the central ports of Europe, their trade was prosecuted with such vigour as to elicit the open jealousy of the Hanse Towns.

The Protestant inhabitants of France and the Netherlands, flying at that time from the persecutions of their bigoted governments, contributed largely to the commercial resources of England, not more by the introduction of capital than of mechanical skill.

Spain was followed to the new world, and Cabot, in fourteen hundred and ninety-seven, traced these shores from Labrador to Virginia. In fifteen hundred and twenty-seven, a project was presented to Henry the Eighth, which was intended to put England on a footing with Portugal, at that time claiming an exclusive privilege, and defending, by an armed force, the passage to the east by the Cape of Good Hope. And this project was a northwest passage. Two efforts were made during the reign of that prince, and though unsuccessful, reflected the highest credit on the nautical skill of the English. Indeed, so ardent was the desire of England to share in the trade of the east, and so anxious to find a channel to which the monopolizing Portuguese could have no claim, that repeated efforts were made to make voyages to India, by the northwest, and also by the northeast passage. These voyages, though they extended the limits of geographical knowledge, and opened new channels of trade with the north of Russia, were unsuccessful, and several of them tragical in their results.

During the many years spent in those unsuccessful projects, England had steadily increased in wealth and naval power; so that in fifteen hundred and eighty-two, throwing aside all disguise, vessels to India were despatched by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Others followed, with a letter from Elizabeth to the Emperor of China. These voyages, though far from being profitable, did not in the least damp the commercial spirit of the people; which, in fact, at this time, received a new impulse from the remarkable voyage of Drake, who returned to Plymouth in fifteen hundred

and eighty, and exhibited to the wondering eyes of the spectators, the first ship in England, and the second in the world, that had circumnavigated the globe. An ardour for maritime exploits pervaded the highest ranks. The Earls of Cumberland and Essex, Sir R. Grenville and Raleigh, Gilbert and Dudley, prepared squadrons at their own expense, and sailed in them to different parts of the world.

In fifteen hundred and eighty-six, followed the celebrated voyage of Cavendish, which, like that of Drake, was eminently successful. On the day of his arrival, he wrote to the chamberlain of Elizabeth as follows:—"I navigated to the Islands of Philippines, hard upon the coast of China, of which country I have brought such intelligence as hath not been heard of in these parts; a country, the stateliness and riches of which I fear to make report of, lest I should not be credited. I sailed along the islands of Molucca, where, among some of the heathen people, I was well entreated, and where our countrymen may have trade as free as the Portugals, if they themselves will."

The tide of maritime adventure, so much augmented by the return of these splendid voyages, now flowed naturally and steadily to the east.

In fifteen hundred and eighty-nine, "divers merchants" petitioned the lords of council for permission to send ships on a voyage to India; which, in fifteen hundred and ninety-one, was followed by another expedition, set on foot, not so much with the view of trade, as to harass the Portuguese; a species of commercial enterprise which our worthy ancestors appear to have understood from a very early period of their history.

The Dutch at this time ventured boldly, and sent vessels by the East Cape to India. This spurred on the English, and in fifteen hundred and ninety-nine, an association was formed, and thirty thousand pounds subscribed. Political relations with Spain greatly retarded, but could not defeat the commercial spirit of the people; so that in sixteen hundred, a charter of privileges was obtained, vessels were again prepared for the east, and thus was laid the foundation of a power so anomalous, and which, in the hands of the East India Company, has exercised so much influence in distributing the wealth of the world! By repeated efforts, sharp and hazardous conflicts with her more powerful competitors,

in sixteen hundred and twelve, England succeeded in getting a firm foothold in India; and by imperial permission, established a factory on the soil, at that time, of one of the most extensive and splendid monarchies in the world.

The Portuguese, solely on the pretence of discovery, continued to claim an exclusive right to the passage around the Cape of Good Hope, nor were they wanting in power vigorously to enforce that right. Their possessions in the east, at this period, were immense. By conquest or by agreement, they had made themselves masters of Goa, Bombay; of Aden, at the entrance of the Red Sea; of Ormus, in the Persian Gulf; of part of the Malay coast, in the Straits of Malacca; of the Moluccas Islands; and of the coast of Ceylon, the very *spice* of all the eastern islands. They were possessed of factories in Bengal and in Siam; and they had erected the city of Macao on the coast of China.

The Dutch, after having shaken off the trammels of Spain, had opened an extensive and active trade direct with India. With both of these powerful competitors the English had to contend; and with such vigour did they push their eastern enterprises, that in despite of superior power and much bad management on the part of directors, previous to the year sixteen hundred and sixteen, factories were established at Java, Sumatra, Borneo, the Banda Islands, Celebes, Malacca, Siam, the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, but especially in the territories of the Great Mogul. On this success, a new subscription of one million six hundred thousand pounds was raised.

The power of Portugal in the east began to fall off, from the union of that country with Spain, whose monarch was wholly occupied with his golden schemes of aggrandizement in Spanish America; while the Dutch now pursued their trade to the east with the utmost ardour, and were soon able to supplant the Portuguese in the spice trade, and to expel them entirely from the Moluccas. The augmentation of capital in Holland was rapid beyond any previous example in any other country; and a large portion of it was put into the trade of the east. England, misgoverned and oppressed, struggled hard, but with unequal power. Indeed, from this period, sixteen hundred and eighteen, up to sixteen hundred and fifty-eight, several conflicting companies existed,

as merchant adventurers, when the charter of the company was remodelled.

In sixteen hundred and sixty-one, after the death of Cromwell and accession of Charles the Second, a petition was presented to him for the renewal of the charter, which was granted, confirming the ancient privileges of the company, and vesting in them authority to make peace or war with any prince or people not being Christians, and to seize unlicensed persons and send them to England. This consigned almost the whole power of government to the directors and the servants. With all this increase of power, the operations of the company were still languid, and many of the out-factories and agencies were suppressed. The wars on the Coromandel coast, and the overbearing influence of the Dutch, seemed to threaten the extinction of the English trade. In sixteen hundred and sixty-four, the French entered into this trade by the formation of a company. The Dutch still maintained the lead, and the English appear at this time to have made the discovery, that the numerous factories they supported consumed all their profits,—while the Dutch, more economical, traded at various points with the natives without the expense of heavy establishments. The Dutch established a regency at Batavia and Columbo. The English aimed at equal grandeur, and in sixteen hundred and eighty-seven, Bombay was elevated into the dignity of a regency, with unlimited power over the rest of the company's settlements.

In seventeen hundred and eight, a union between all contending parties was effected, by the decision of Godolphin as umpire; and the privileges of exclusive trade founded on legislative authority; and thus terminated the rivalship of contending companies, which gave additional strength and effect to British interests in the east.

Seventeen hundred and forty-nine opened a new scene in the affairs of the company. The powers of Europe had been contending with each other,—particularly Spain and England; and their respective colonies and distant establishments had suffered severely.

Until this period, the company had maintained the mere character of traders. By humility and submission, they had sustained their interests, under the protection, and often the oppression of

the native princes. They now assumed a new attitude, and prepared to mix in the wars of the native powers. The French, also, were now very active, and attempted great things. The English were the first to draw the sword, for the poor motive of a trifling settlement on the Coromandel coast. But when have power and cupidity stood for rights, or regarded the interests of the weak? Seldom, at any period; much less at the one of which we are speaking.

In seventeen hundred and fifty-one, the French, under that able commander, Dupleix, had made extensive conquests; their arms had generally been successful; and that portion of the Mogul's dominions, from the Coromandel coast, and the river Kisna to Cape Comorin, was in their possession. The natives were astonished and panic-struck to behold a handful of foreigners, who had so recently been at the feet of petty governors, so surprisingly extending their power, until the Mogul himself seemed scarcely secure on his throne.

Even the English seemed to have sunk for a time into apathy and despair before the superior energy of Dupleix. But in seventeen hundred and fifty-four, the French and English governments at home became anxious for the restoration of peace among their subjects in India; new commissioners were appointed; Dupleix was superseded in the command by Goodlieu, and an amnesty at once agreed upon. In this treaty, the English gained all by negotiation which they had contended for with their arms; while the French, in their desire for peace, made great sacrifices and almost unlimited concessions.

It was this treaty which led to the ascendency of the English East India Company, and they did not fail to take advantage of it, by pushing their conquests, as the French averred, in direct violation of the sacred stipulations of the treaty; and the consequence was, that the French found themselves again engaged in the war, with every advantage ceded in the treaty turned against them. They saw, when too late, the oversight in not having sustained Dupleix, who, more than any other man, was capable of extending their interests in the east.

In seventeen hundred and fifty-six, war again broke out between the English and French: the latter exerted all their efforts to regain what they had lost by the treaty. The talented and unfor-

tunate Count Lally was commissioned in charge of the French interest, and, for a time, every thing seemed to promise a complete ascendency. But the English, like certain colonies once in their possession, "the more they were whipped, the more they would not stay whipped," being now guided in their councils by the transcendent genius of the elder Pitt, soon regained what they had lost, and carried their victorious arms to all parts of the world. The dark intrigues of the Carnatic now followed in quick succession. New sultans were set up, and old nabobs put down, as these movements promised a profitable entry on the company's leger. From seventeen hundred and sixty to seventeen hundred and eighty-four, the English power, under the management of the East India Company, increased rapidly. Though the history of her conquests in India, like all other European nations, is little else than a history of continued aggression, full of injustice and sickening detail: and it is a matter of astonishment, that a nation like Great Britain, so watchfully jealous of her commercial rights, should so long have permitted her honour and her true interests to remain in the keeping of a heartless, grasping, and almost irresponsible company; a company which has extended its power among a disunited and feeble people, until it embraces nearly the whole of that vast region, which extends from Cape Comorin to the mountains of Tibet, and from the mouth of the river Bohmapootra to the Indus.

How often has the British nation been called on to sustain, with her best blood, the military operations and schemes of conquest of this company, among the imbecile princes of India? And all for what purpose, except to raise up an anomalous power, which has shackled for so many years the enterprise of British merchants, and been a heavy tax on the British nation?

It was at this period, seventeen hundred and eighty-four, when the war of our revolution had been so gloriously terminated in the establishment of our independence, that the maritime spirit and intelligence of our own merchants, no longer shackled by oppressive colonial restrictions, looked abroad to all parts of the globe; and, though with limited capital, soon gave an earnest of that expansive enterprise, which has added so much to our national prosperity and power, and from which such high destinies may await us in all coming time.

The city of New-York has the honour of having sent the first vessel to Canton, and the particulars of the voyage, as given by her supercargo to the Hon. John Jay, at that time secretary of state, is so full of interest, and so different from the first voyages of other nations to that part of the world, that we cannot refuse to our readers the gratification of its perusal.

Letter from Samuel Shaw to John Jay.

"New-York, May 19, 1785.

"SIR,—

"The first vessel that has been fitted out by the inhabitants of the United States of America, for essaying a commerce with those of the empire of China, being by the favour of Heaven safe returned to this port, it becomes my duty to communicate to you, for the information of the fathers of the country, an account of the reception their subjects have met with, and the respect with which their flag has been treated in that distant region; especially as some circumstances have occurred which had a tendency to attract the attention of the Chinese towards a people of whom they have hitherto had but very confused ideas; and which served, in a peculiar manner, to place the Americans in a more conspicuous point of view than has commonly attended the introduction of other nations into that ancient and extensive empire.

"The ship employed on this occasion is about three hundred and sixty tons burden, built in America, and equipped with forty-three persons, under the command of John Green, Esquire. The subscriber had the honour of being appointed agent for their commerce, by the gentlemen at whose risk this first experiment has been undertaken.

"On the twenty-second of February, seventeen hundred and eighty-four, the ship sailed from New-York, and arrived on the twenty-first March at St. Jago, the principal of the Cape de Verd Islands. Having paid our respects to the Portuguese viceroy, and with his permission taken such refreshments as were necessary, we left those islands on the twenty-seventh, and pursued our voyage. After a pleasant passage, in which nothing extraordinary occurred, we came to anchor in the Straits of Sunda on the eighteenth July. It was no small addition to our happiness on this occasion, to meet there two ships belonging to our good allies the French. The com-

modore, Monsieur Dordelin, and his officers, welcomed us in the most affectionate manner; and as his own ship was immediately bound to Canton, gave us an invitation to go in company with him. This friendly offer we most cheerfully accepted, and the commodore furnished us with his signals by day and night, and added such instructions for our passage through the Chinese Seas, as would have been exceedingly beneficial had any unfortunate accident occasioned our separation. Happily, we pursued our route together. On our arrival at the Island of Macao, the French consul for China, Monsieur Vieillard, with some other gentlemen of his nation, came on board to congratulate and welcome us to that part of the world, and kindly undertook the introduction of the Americans to the Portuguese governor. The little time that we were there was entirely taken up by the good offices of the consul, the gentlemen of his nation, and those of the Swedes and Imperialists who still remained at Macao. The other Europeans had repaired to Canton. Three days afterward, we finished our outward-bound voyage. Previous to coming to anchor, we saluted the shipping in the river with thirteen guns, which were answered by the several commodores of the European nations, each of whom sent an officer to compliment us on our arrival. These visits were returned by the captain and supercargoes, in the afternoon, who were again saluted by the respective ships as they finished their visit. When the French sent their officers to congratulate us, they added to the obligations we were already under to them, by furnishing men, boats, and anchors, to assist us in coming to safe and convenient moorings. Nor did their good offices stop here; they furnished us with part of their own banksall, and insisted further, that until we were settled, we should take up our quarters with them at Canton.

"The day of our arrival at Canton, August thirtieth, and the two following days, we were visited by the Chinese merchants, and the chiefs and gentlemen of the several European establishments, and treated by them in all respects as a free and independent nation. As such, during our stay, we were universally considered. The Chinese themselves were very indulgent towards us, though our being the first American ship that had ever visited China, it was some time before they could fully comprehend the distinction between Englishmen and us. They styled us the

new people; and when, by the map, we conveyed to them an idea of the extent of our country, with its present and increasing population, they were highly pleased at the prospect of so considerable a market for the productions of theirs.

"The situation of the Europeans at Canton is so well known as to render a detail unnecessary. The good understanding commonly subsisting between them and the Chinese, was, in some degree, interrupted by two occurrences, of which, as they were extraordinary in themselves, and led to a more full investigation of the American character, by both parties, than might otherwise have taken place, I will, with your permission, give a particular account.

"The police at Canton is at all times extremely strict, and the Europeans there are circumscribed within very narrow limits. The latter had observed, with concern, some circumstances which they deemed an encroachment upon their rights. On this consideration, they determined to apply for redress to the *hoppo*, who is the head officer of the customs, the next time he should visit the shipping. Deputies accordingly attended from every nation, and I was desired to represent ours. We met the *hoppo* on board an English ship, and the causes of complaint were soon after removed.

"The other occurrence, of which I beg leave to take notice, gave rise to what was commonly called the Canton war, which threatened to be productive of very serious consequences. On the twenty-fifth of November, an English ship, in saluting some company that had dined on board, killed a Chinese, and wounded two others in the mandarin's boat alongside. It is a maxim of the Chinese law, that blood must answer for blood; in pursuance of which, they demanded the unfortunate gunner. To give up this poor man was to consign him to certain death. Humanity pleaded powerfully against the measure. After repeated conferences between the English and the Chinese, the latter declared themselves satisfied, and the affair was supposed to be entirely settled. Notwithstanding this, on the morning after the last conference (the twenty-seventh), the supercargo of the ship was seized while attending his business, thrown into a sedan-chair, hurried into the city, and committed to prison. Such an outrage on personal liberty spread a general alarm; and the Europeans unanimously

agreed to send for their boats, with armed men from the shipping, for the security of themselves and property, until the matter should be brought to a conclusion. The boats accordingly came, and ours among the number; one of which was fired on, and a man wounded. All trade was stopped, and the Chinese men-of-war drawn up opposite the factories. The Europeans demanded the restoration of Mr. Smith, which the Chinese refused, until the gunner should be given up. In the meanwhile, the troops of the province were collecting in the neighbourhood of Canton; the Chinese servants were ordered by the magistrates to leave the factories; the gates of the suburbs were shut; all intercourse was at an end; the naval force was increased; many troops were embarked in boats, ready for landing; and every thing wore the appearance of war. To what extremities matters might have been carried, had not a negotiation taken place, no one can say. The Chinese asked a conference with all the nations, except the English. A deputation, in which I was included for America, met the *fuen*, who is the head magistrate of Canton, with the principal officers of the province. After setting forth, by an interpreter, the power of the emperor, and his own determination to support the laws, he demanded that the gunner should be given up within three days; declaring that he should have an impartial examination before their tribunal, and if it appeared that the affair was accidental, he should be released unhurt. In the meantime he gave permission for the trade, excepting that of the English, to go on as usual; and dismissed us with a present of two pieces of silk to each, as a mark of his friendly disposition. The other nations, one after another, sent away their boats, under protection of a Chinese flag, and pursued their business as before. The English were obliged to submit; the gunner was given up; Mr. Smith was released; and the English, after being forced to ask pardon of the magistracy of Canton in the presence of the other nations, had their commerce restored. On this occasion, I am happy that we were the last who sent off our boat, which was not disgraced with a Chinese flag; nor did she go until the English themselves thanked us for our concurrence with them, and advised to the sending her away. After peace was restored, the chief, and four English gentlemen, visited the several nations, among whom we were included, and thanked them for their as-

sistance during the troubles. The gunner remained with the Chinese—his fate undetermined.

"Notwithstanding the treatment we received from all parties was perfectly civil and respectful, yet it was with peculiar satisfaction that we experienced, on every occasion, from our good allies the French, the most flattering and substantial proofs of their friendship. 'If,' said they, 'we have, in any instance, been serviceable to you, we are happy; and we desire nothing more ardently than further opportunities to convince you of our affection.' The harmony maintained between them and us was particularly noticed by the English, who more than once observed, that it was matter of astonishment to them that the descendants of Britons would so soon divest themselves of prejudices which they had thought to be not only hereditary, but inherent in our nature.

"We left Canton the twenty-seventh December, and on our return, refreshed at the Cape of Good Hope, where we found a most friendly reception. After remaining there five days, we sailed for America, and arrived in this port on the eleventh instant.

"To every lover of his country, as well as to those more immediately concerned in commerce, it must be a pleasing reflection that a communication is thus happily opened between us and the eastern extreme of the globe; and it adds very sensibly to the pleasure of this reflection, that the voyage has been performed in so short a space of time, and attended with the loss of only one man. To Captain Greene and his officers, every commendation is due, for their unwearied and successful endeavours in bringing it to this most fortunate issue, which fully justifies the confidence reposed in them by the gentlemen concerned in the enterprise.

"Permit me, sir, to accompany this letter with the two pieces of silk presented to me by the Fuen of Canton, as a mark of his good disposition towards the American nation. In that view, I consider myself as peculiarly honoured in being charged with this testimony of the friendship of the Chinese, for a people who may, in a few years, prosecute a commerce with the subjects of that empire under advantages equal, if not superior, to those enjoyed by any other nation whatever.

'I have the honour to be, &c.,

"SAMUEL SHAW.

"Hon. John Jay, Secretary of State."

Such was the felicitous commencement of our commercial intercourse with the "Celestial Empire," a commencement that will form an epoch in the history of our foreign trade, to which the pen of the commercial historian must ever recur with feelings of national pride. Our trade from that period increased rapidly, and we regret that our limits compel us to pass on, without being able to notice many incidents full of interest, which we had collected for the embellishment of this part of our work.

By seventeen hundred and ninety-five, our exports to China and the East Indies generally, amounted to one million twenty-three thousand two hundred and forty-two dollars; while our imports were one million one hundred and forty-four thousand one hundred and three dollars. By the year seventeen hundred and ninety-nine, our imports had increased to the astonishing amount of three millions two hundred and nineteen thousand two hundred and sixty-two dollars. Java, Sumatra, Ceylon, indeed, every accessible part of India, had now seen the flag of the *new people* who had so recently sprung into existence in the far west. Canton was the point of greatest attraction, for there was centred the heaviest portion of our commercial operations in the east; and there it has continued, as will be seen by the following table, showing the number of vessels, amount of tonnage, quantity of specie imported into, as well as the value of merchandise exported from Canton, in American vessels, from the years eighteen hundred and four and five, to eighteen hundred and thirty-two and thirty-three, inclusive.

Seasons.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Dollars.	Total Value.
1804– 5	34	10,159	2,902,000	$3,555,818
1805– 6	42	12,480	4,176,000	5,326,358
1806– 7	37	11,268	2,895,000	3,877,362
1807– 8	33	8,805	3,032,000	3,940,090
1808– 9	8	2,215	70,000	479,850
1809–10	37	12,512	4,723,000	5,744,600
1810–11	16	4,748	2,330,000	2,898,800
1811–12	25	7,406	1,876,000	3,132,810
1812–13	8	1,816	616,000	1,453,000
1813–14				
1814–15	9	2,854		451,500
1815–16	30	10,208	1,922,000	2,527,500
1816–17	38	13,096	4,545,000	5,609,600
1817–18	39	14,325	5,601,000	7,076,828
1818–19	47	16,377	7,369,000	9,867,208
1819–20	43	15,145	6,259,300	8,185,800
1820–21	26	8,663	2,569,500	4,035,000
1821–22	45	15,597	5,125,000	8,199,741
1822–23	40	14,557	6,292,840	8,339,389
1823–24	34	13,069	4,096,000	6,315,127
1824–25	43	16,262	6,524,500	8,962,045
1825–26	42	16,431	5,725,200	7,776,301
1826–27	26	9,566	1,841,168	4,243,617
1827–28	29	12,090	2,640,300	5,394,897
1828–29	27	8,613	1,388,560	4,030,865
1829–30	34	11,670	1,123,644	4,311,282
1830–31	24	6,995	183,655	4,223,475 45
			Bills of Exch. 2,480,871	
1831–32	34	11,357	667,252	5,531,807 53
			Bills of Exch. 4,772,516	
1832–33	61	20,621	682,519	8,362,971 35

During the last two years, this important trade has continued to increase. The whole number of vessels which arrived in China, and departed therefrom, under the American flag, during the year ending June thirtieth, eighteen hundred and thirty-four, was seventy-nine. Of these, thirty-three sailed for the city of New-York, thirteen for Manilla, nine for Batavia, six for Philadelphia, four for Boston, three for Valparaiso, four for Cowes, one for Lima, one for Baltimore, one for Salem, one for the Texel, one for Hamburgh, one for Kamtschatka, one for Norfolk Sound, one for the United States, port not specified, and one for South America, port not designated. Thus do we stand, second only to Great Britain, in the extent and importance of our commercial interests in the east; and it is not easy to estimate the vast field which will be opened to the commercial enterprise of our merchants, should a freer and more extended trade be effected

with the industrious and numerous population of China, exceeding in respect to numbers, extent, and natural resources, the aggregate amount of all the nations of civilized Europe.

That the ports will ultimately be opened, that trade is now extended, in some degree, in despite of imperial edicts, to other ports besides Canton, cannot be denied. We have examined with great interest most of the late parliamentary proceedings connected with British interests in this quarter. The numerous highly respectable and intelligent witnesses examined by order of the House of Commons, have thrown more light on the true condition of China, and the nature and prospect of trade there, than has been given to the world for a century before. All agree in representing the Chinese as decidedly one of the most commercial nations on the globe; mechanically steady in the attainment of the objects of their pursuit, and ever ready to trade with any and every one who visits their country. We speak now of the people. The government, or present reigning family, has not occupied the throne more than two hundred years; is weak, not only on account of its foreign origin, but from its extended empire; its only strength being in the ignorance and weakness of its subjects. The government, therefore, is averse to trade, and jealous of foreigners, knowing what has been done by them in India. Take away all apprehension of obtrusion, and the emperor will be as desirous of carrying on trade as the people themselves.

This jealousy has doubtless led in a great part, but not wholly, to the many annoying and humiliating restrictions in commerce, to which all nations have submitted. Keen, sagacious, and observing, the Chinese were not long in perceiving that foreigners would submit to any indignity for motives of gain. Does any one doubt it? Let him take the trouble to examine the reports of the East India Company for the last fifty years, and he will find abundant evidence of the humiliating and subservient spirit in which the company has submitted to all kinds of insults and impositions from the Chinese, rather than hazard even a partial interruption in their trade. To allow one of his majesty's ships-of-war, with a flag at the mizzen-peak, "which we respect, though we do not fear," that has been so often victorious on every sea, to be measured and pay duty as a merchant vessel, is only one of the degradations which might be named. From this un-

becoming and highly impolitic subserviency, no nation can claim entire exemption, though the English may thank their company for having gone further than any other in running the race of dishonour.

It was the same miserable *gain-saving* policy which permitted the unfortunate gunner of the Lady Hughes to be delivered up and strangled by the Chinese, in seventeen hundred and eighty-four. From that moment they became more imperious; for in that act they saw the company would submit to any thing, even to the sacrifice of human life, rather than hazard a small deficit in their leger; that their trade was secure, whatever insults they might heap on the "barbarians," or however immoderately indulge in their affected superiority in publishing such edicts as the following:—

"Foreigners are not permitted voluntarily to present statements to government; they are indebted to the clemency of the emperor for their trade, as also for the permission to tread the ground and to eat the herbs in common with the Chinese. If, after the publication of this edict, it occurs, that foreigners presume, of their own account, to make application, the viceroy will, on discovery, request his majesty's permission to punish them severely."

What insufferable insolence! Indebted to the clemency of the emperor for the trade! and how long have foreigners acquiesced in this preposterous assumption! Why, the truth is, the tea-trade has always been of equal or more importance to the Chinese than to any other people, indispensable as it has become. A trade which yields to the emperor at least one third of his revenue,—nearly all his circulating medium, and supports, directly or indirectly, millions of his subjects.—He stop the trade! he cannot do it if he would, for any considerable length of time, at a less price than the cost of his throne!

"A man is needed in India," said Napoleon. A man has been there in the person of the late lamented Lord Napier, who has recently died amid the discharge of arduous duties at Canton. His name will be remembered as a benefactor to the commercial world. The English have made a good beginning, in battering down the Chinese forts on the river Canton; we hope they will follow it up, and with increased forces teach the Chinese a still

more impressive lesson "of barbarian justice and prowess." A certain amount of fighting* is necessary, and the sooner it is done the better; it will be worth a dozen embassies to the Celestial throne, though the ambassador should again do, as M'Cartney did, allow a flag to wave over his head, with the motto, "the ambassador of the King of England bearing tribute to the Emperor of China;" or, as the Dutch ambassador Jitzing, crawl on his all-fours, and butt his head nine times on the ground when he came in presence of the "son of ten thousand years." We want at present no embassies to Pekin, unless backed by armed ships, with orders to frighten the mandarins by a show of power, and to use it too, if necessary. This is the only suitable diplomacy for the Chinese, and would be worth a hundred embassies of Lord Amherst, who was instructed to say, that he had no commercial objects in view; that he had been sent half round the world to manifest the regard of his Britannic majesty for his Imperial majesty, and to improve the relations of amity that so happily subsisted between their illustrious parents—Kien-lung and George the Third.

It is time this puerile policy should be abandoned, since "the experience of centuries has taught Europeans that the Chinese authorities will heap insult on insult upon them, when it can be done with impunity to themselves and their interests; but, when an opponent supports his arguments with physical force, or their interests demand it, they can be crouching, gentle, and even kind."

If the legal trade should be stopped, the contraband will take its place; for those who are now engaged in it, buy and sell of whom and to whom they please, without the least regard to the imperial edicts, which aim to restrict all trade to the seven Hong merchants of Canton. Does any one doubt this, let him reflect, that the laws of the empire make it death to smuggle opium, and yet no less than ten millions, and some years as high as fourteen millions worth of this drug is introduced into the kingdom! The govern-

* The English, who have so often fought the battles of their continental neighbours, will, most probably, perform this service, from which we shall be equally benefited; and should they now, as formerly, be content with the glory they may acquire for their pay,—we cannot object, provided we increase our trade, and increase it we will.

ment has not the power, if it have the inclination, to put down this trade. Smuggling vessels have been up the coast as far as Kingpo, and disposed of their cargoes for the "precious metals." Much has been smuggled into the ports of Chingchoo, in the province of Fokien, and the traders were "well entreated" by the inhabitants. The northern districts will, ere long, offer a fine market; long ells, fine broadcloth, blankets, and camlets, are among the articles in demand.

Speckled along the whole coast of China lie not less than one thousand islands, many of them possessing all the requisites for trading stations; and whether situated near to, or at some distance from the main, they are all beyond the influence and control of the emperor, with all his affectation of power! What shall prevent one of the Ladrone Islands from being used as a market-place for the trade of all nations? All grounds for dispute between the Chinese and foreigners would thus be happily removed. Other stations further north should be selected, so as to embrace the business of the northern provinces, and thus may ultimately be opened one of the most extensive trades in the world.

Our grand competitors,* the English, are looking out for every

* American merchants feel superior to the competition of other nations. But in the now open trade with the east, who is it they are to compete with? They will find one of their competitors to be the house of Baring, Brothers, & Co., the active partner in which great establishment is an American, whose command of capital at low rates of interest is unlimited, and whose ships, built on the latest American model, are already east of the Cape, navigated with small and selected crews, UNDER TEMPERANCE REGULATIONS. Nor is this all. The eastern voyages out and home are one operation, and an advantage on one part is a superiority on the whole. Beyond a perfect equality, as equally able, merchants, in English competitors, have a great superiority given in some respects by the blunders in our tariff law. For instance, in the great Chinese staple, silk, second only to teas in value. We cannot import on fair terms of competition, either the raw material or the manufacture. The raw silk is taxed 12½ per cent., while the same material is carried free to England, and thence imported, manufactured, and free also. Take, again, a great article in silk goods, the white goods for printing; these are manufactured low in China. But if imported direct for printing at home they pay the 10 per cent. duty, while the same goods are carried to England, entered in bond, printed, and exported to America, to come in duty free, and without the possibility of being verified as a Chinese manufacture. Such legislation prostrates two great interests; that of the honest importer, who will not, though his government tempt him, import his Chinese silks as English, and that of the American proprietor of print-works. We would add a third, the silk-weaver, but such regulations will never permit him to come into existence.

advantage which the new state of things may offer in China,—we cannot be idle or indifferent spectators. It is time our public vessels were on the ground, under judicious instructers, that our knowledge may keep pace with the events as they transpire. Commerce has constantly increased with the knowledge of man, yet it has been undergoing perpetual revolutions? These changes and revolutions have often mocked the vigilance of the wary and the calculations of the sagacious; but there is now a fundamental principle in commerce, which will enable the intelligent merchant and wise government to foresee and provide for most of these changes,—and that is, a thorough and extended knowledge of the dispositions, habits, and necessities of the people, and of the natural capacities and resources of the country where we have commercial intercourse. At no period of our history has this knowledge of China been so essential to our interests as at the present moment.

Thus speaks an English writer:—"Let us evidence in the strongest manner, along the whole coast and in every port of China, our naval power, and manifest the ease with which that power, when duly exerted, could cut off the internal and external supplies of the empire. Let us add to science by a complete survey of the coasts of China, Japan, and Corea, and of the Loo-choo islands. The prosecution of these surveys would necessarily detain H. M. ships frequently in the waters of China, where they should insist on paying and receiving such courtesies as are becoming and customary between civilized nations at peace with each other; demanding supplies of provisions and water as a matter of course, and in the usual way these affairs are managed in other countries; at the same time the merchants of Great Britain would be pushing their enterprises in all quarters, under the constant protection and frequent presence of H. M. ships."

Here, indeed, is "a new world of matter for a world of mind." We, too, must be on the alert, to show the Chinese that we have naval power to any extent we please; but, at the same time, that we are content with our own extent of territory, and would not accept of any portion of another country if it were freely offered us. The Island of Pulo Condore, in 8° north latitude, and almost within sight of the coast of Cambodia, should be examined by

our public vessels; and let them look to, and report on, the islands in the neighbourhood of Amoy, in 24° north. Is there not one near Wampoa, to which prohibited goods and other articles are now brought, and freely exchanged with foreigners, without the slightest impediments from the mandarins? Let this matter be looked into; away with all secrecy, all monopoly—give us open and fair competition, however the odds may be against us!

The teas consumed in Cochin China are brought from Tchotchen and Fokien, and with equal facility might soon be transferred to a neighbouring island, and shipped from thence to any part of the world. To these free depositories of trade, the Chinese would flock and settle in great numbers, as they have done at Batavia, Sincapore, Penang, &c., and through them the trade would be carried on. No one well acquainted with the Chinese character can doubt that such would be the case, particularly when informed that trading vessels have recently touched at many of the nominally sealed ports north of Canton, and disposed of large cargoes, for specie, to the Chinese merchants residing in Amoy, Tato, Namo, and at the port of thé great city of Tyho; while other articles, such as tea, cassia, tortoise-shell, nankeens, &c. were freely offered.

They have abundant craft for this trade; no less than eighty junks have been seen at a time at Siam; some as large as eight hundred tons, and bearing large quantities of tea. Indeed, they carry on a coasting trade from Canton to Souchon, in the district of Kiannan, and as far as 37° north, within the Yellow Sea.

Who then can doubt that they would come with these junks to a commercial station, bringing with them the products of their own labour and skill, to be exchanged for foreign merchandise? The emperor, his viceroy, and mandarins, have no power to prevent the *people and outside* merchants from carrying on contraband trade in the river and very vicinity of Canton; much less, therefore, can they interfere with, or prevent a trade conducted at a short distance from the main.

Sincapore, though twenty degrees too far south, must by a free trade become a place of increased importance. Its insular position in the great thoroughfare of eastern traffic, in the midst of seas navigable at all seasons, and studded with islands presenting every variety of production; the salubrity of its climate, and its

great capability for naval and mercantile purposes, will make it a point interesting to the commercial world.

Again, then, we repeat, let our government look to the east; let our flag be seen at the different ports of China, Corea, Formosa, Loo-Choo, &c. &c. These ports and islands afford an ample field for us at the present time, nor should a day be lost. The expense must be incurred: suitable agents and linguists employed to co-operate with our commanders of public vessels; not in coaxing, and flattery, and prayers, and humiliating petitions; but in the spirit of that steady, firm, judicious policy, which a wise council should know how to give, and the intelligent merchant be able to turn to good account.

For three centuries has the commerce of the east been shackled by ill-advised companies and monopolies, while an impenetrable veil has been spread out, to hide from the rest of the world the true condition of those countries. These abuses are slowly, but surely drawing to a close. Great Britain is our great competitor in the new and glorious competition for free trade in that quarter of the world; and great and decidedly as are the advantages in her favour, we must, in the spirit of generous rivalry, nail to the mast-head our motto, "free trade and sailors' rights," and leave the result to time.

The ports of India will become free—Calcutta, Goa, Manilla, and Macao must follow, should Bombay lead; and then, with the spirit of free commercial zeal animating the English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, and we continuing our own system, which knows not the word restriction, who shall say, that the ports of the Chinese shall continue closed against the persevering enterprise of the Old and the New world!

CHAPTER XXI.

The Potomac sails from Canton—The Bashee Straits—The northeast tradewind—Cause and description of the tradewinds—Periodical winds—Monsoons—The sirocco, the simoon, land and seabreezes—Perennial and variable winds—An East India voyage; its natural facilities—Period for commencing one—Reflections arising from the subject—Arrival at the Sandwich Islands.

A FEW days after the return of our officers from Canton, the frigate having, in the meantime, been completely supplied with water, provisions, &c., got under way at Lintin Bay, and proceeded to her former anchorage off Macao, from whence she proceeded to sea on the following day, with a light breeze and pleasant weather. The breeze freshened as she cleared the land, and long before nightfall, the sky had become overcast with thick black clouds. The Potomac was now dashing along at the rate of eleven knots, with her yards nearly square, when a light was discovered almost directly ahead, and in the next moment the frigate was alongside of a large vessel, moving with almost equal rapidity towards the bay we had just left. The thickness of the atmosphere had concealed the two vessels from each other until their proximity had become somewhat perilous to both, for a few feet more would have brought them in contact; and such was the velocity with which they passed each other, that the hurried inquiry of "What vessel is that?" was lost to the ear of all but the interrogator.

Onward flew the stranger, and with equal speed forward dashed the Potomac, as if ambitious of redeeming the time she had spent in the waters of the "Celestial Empire." Her course was laid for what is called the Bashee Passage, a well-known outlet from the Chinese Sea into the mighty Pacific, formed by a chain or cluster of numerous islands lying to the south of Formosa, about ninety miles east of Canton. The island which gives its name to the whole cluster, of which it is the most eastern, is of a circular form, six miles in diameter, and has a town on it of the same name. Its productions are plantains, bananas, pine-

apples, sugarcane, potatoes, yams, and cotton, with numerous goats and hogs. Most of the islands in the cluster are considerably elevated, and vessels can run between them with safety if the weather be clear; as it is supposed that there are no hidden dangers around them, though breakers are visible at a considerable distance.

The morning when these islands were expected to be seen from the deck of the Potomac, was too thick for that purpose, though the wind was blowing fresh. The frigate entered the passage at the rate of ten knots; when the wind suddenly came out ahead, and took the ship aback. She was got off with difficulty, and filled away, when the wind had increased to almost a gale. On she dashed, without making either of the islands, though but a short distance from them, and entered the great Pacific with increasing velocity.

The threatening appearances which had disfigured the atmosphere, softened in their aspect, and passed away, as the Potomac left the Chinese Sea behind her; and her sails in due time were filled with the welcome northeast tradewind, favoured by whose friendly influence the frigate now shaped her course across the broad Pacific, towards the well-known Sandwich Islands. As nothing of interest occurred to relieve the tedious monotony of this passage of fifty days, we cannot, perhaps, better beguile the time than by recording the result of our observations on the prevailing winds of this interesting region of the globe; especially as we have just attached some importance to the northeast *tradewind*, which was expected to accompany the Potomac on her long and lonely route of ten thousand miles!

Those aerial currents which are called winds, are naturally distinguished into two kinds, *constant* and *variable*. The former, which are better known by the name of *tradewinds*, prevail, with little exception, between the tropics; and, like the great equatorial current of the ocean, circulate round the globe from east to west. They extend to about thirty degrees on each side of the equator, and blow with a steady breeze, almost the whole year, from an eastern to a western quarter of the heavens, where their course is not interrupted by land. Their direction, however, declines several degrees from due east and west, corresponding to the declination of the sun, either north or south.

The cause of the *tradewind*, so remarkable on account of its general uniformity everywhere between the tropics, is principally owing to the joint influence of the superior temperature of the torrid zone, and the rotation of the earth on its own axis. The air at the surface of the earth being highly rarefied between the tropics, naturally ascends by its acquired levity into the higher regions of the atmosphere; while its place is supplied by the colder air rushing from the poles towards the equator. This newcomer soon becomes rarefied like its predecessor, and ascends in its turn, and is ultimately carried towards the two poles, to supply the deficiency caused by the continual stream from these points.

An aerial current is thus established, constantly proceeding from the poles towards the equator, in the lower regions. Each of these polar currents, moving in its progress towards the equator, from zones where the earth's motion on its axis is slower, to others where it is more rapid, cannot have the same velocity eastward as the solid parts of the globe; and, therefore, the aerial particles of which it is composed, gradually acquire a relative motion in an opposite direction. The currents from the two hemispheres meeting near the equator, and verging, each of them, towards the west, the meridional motions are destroyed by being in opposite directions; and they therefore advance together, with the remaining motion from the eastward, all round the globe.

But there are certain situations, where the tradewind is not only interrupted in its general course towards the west, but is actually suspended, and succeeded by a wind blowing in an opposite direction, which continues with great regularity for several months. This is classed under the general term of *periodical winds;* and is called a *monsoon*, from the Persian word *monsum*, which signifies *season*. In the East Indies, there are two of these periodical winds, distinguished by the names of the northeast and the southwest monsoons; which may be said to change every six months, according to the sun's place in the ecliptic. In the same class are also included the sirocco, the simoon, land and seabreezes, and long-shore winds. The sirocco is a periodical wind, which prevails in Italy about Easter; and the simoon is a hot, suffocating wind, which prevails at certain seasons on the deserts of Arabia and Africa. Both of these winds are supposed to be

highly charged with carbonic acid gas, mixed with some other noxious exhalations, unsuitable for respiration.

Perennial winds are those which blow the whole year in one direction; while those which are called *variable*, are those which prevail in all parts of the world beyond the tropics. In the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, between the two great continents, Africa and America (and a very few degrees east and west of that central meridian), the regular perennial winds constantly prevail, subject only to slight variations from the position of the sun.

While the sun is passing over the equator, it is often difficult for vessels to cross the line; and such is the influence of that luminary, that they are sometimes becalmed until his declination increases to seven or eight degrees. But when at fifteen degrees, particularly if near either of the tropics, they generally pass the line with a fresh breeze. At these times, the tradewind also varies. When the sun is in Cancer, the southeast perennial extends from four to six degrees across the line to the northward, and inclining more to the south than to the east; and the contrary takes place when the sun is in Capricorn. This is a natural consequence. The lower current of air being rarefied by the reflected heat of the sun, ascends, and the equilibrium is restored by a larger body of dense air, which rushes forward in a right line, and with a strong current, to fill up the vacuum.

The ancient Portuguese, not being acquainted with these circumstances, thought to shorten the route of their East India voyages by hugging the continent of Africa; an error which inevitably exposed them to calms and storms, and sometimes prolonged their voyages to an extent of two and three years. Long and dear-bought experience, however, has since taught navigators to hold nearly a middle course between the two continents, in which they are favoured by constant tradewinds, and where they may allow some leeway in the southern tropics, a precaution necessary when the sun is in or near the tropic of Cancer; for at that time the southeast wind inclines very much to the south. Both outward and homeward bound ships, engaged in the India trade, should therefore cross the equator in about eighteen or twenty degrees of west longitude; by which means they will not fall in with the American continent, and, at the same time, will avoid the calms on the coast of Africa.

Ships sailing from the United States or Europe, between the months of February and May, after having passed three or four degrees beyond the southern tropic, seldom find themselves more than 26° or 28° west; which, considering the trending away of the American coast, may still be considered about midway between the two continents.

The wind, in these latitudes, in the month of May, will generally be found variable, as if equally attracted by land on each side; but, as vessels advance farther south, in the months of May and June, say between 28° and 35°, the wind hauls round more from the westward, and is generally fresh from the northwest until the passage around the Cape of Good Hope can be effected.

East of the Cape, in the winter, the southeast winds frequently blow fresh for several days successively; but the southerly winds, in this quarter, blow with most violence when the sun is in the tropic of Capricorn. As the land on the southerly extremity of the African continent becomes warmed by the presence of the sun, the heavy body of cold air, from the antarctic seas, rushes north, with strong currents.

Proceeding on a few degrees from the coast of Madagascar, the southeast tradewind blows at all seasons of the year as far nearly as the Island of Java, where it comes in reach of the monsoons. Within the Mosambique channel, owing to the proximity of the two great bodies of land, the winds partake of the nature of monsoons.

The seasons in Hindostan are distinguished by the northeast and southwest *monsoons;* but farther to the eastward and southward of the line, and in the Gulf of Bengal, the monsoons blow from different quarters. The northeast becomes in those parts the northwest, and the southwest becomes the southeast. These changes are owing to local circumstances; the position of large bodies of land and water.

In speaking of the Indian Ocean, we mean that portion of the globe contained between the Gulf of Sinde and Bengal on the north, to the tropic of Capricorn, south; and from the east of Africa, to the west shores of New-Holland: from that parallel of latitude to the south pole, containing the ocean between Africa and New-Holland, as the great Southern Ocean.

In the Gulf of Bengal, the wind may be said to blow six months

from the northeast, and six from the southwest; though this is not true in every part of India. The northeast monsoon is said to begin, near the coast of Coromandel, early in October; but, in fact, between the two monsoons (the expiration of the one and the commencement of the other), the winds and currents are variable on this coast; calms frequently prevail during the whole month of September, and even in October, with strong currents from the northeast to the southwest. At this season the sun is fast approaching the equinox, which he crosses about the twenty-second of September. As his declination increases from seven to fifteen degrees south, which is from the tenth to the thirty-first October, his absence from the northern hemisphere begins to be felt; and as the air becomes rarefied to the south, the warm air over the Indian Ocean ascends, particularly over the eastern side of the continent of Africa; and the cold air from the north meeting the east trade-wind, they press forward progressively, beginning where the rarefaction takes place, and continuing to an immense distance—thus forming the northeast monsoon.

The Natal mountains, separating India from China, are always, in winter, covered with snow. From this frozen eminence a current of cold air will move with considerable velocity towards the tropic, on the approach of the sun, until the equilibrium is restored. At the latter end of January, the sun again begins to return towards the north; and as he approaches the equator, the wind in the Gulf of Bengal, near the land, takes a different direction. The wind on the coast of Coromandel no longer blows violently, or regularly, from the northeast, as in the commencement of the monsoon, and soon dies away to a regular land and seabreeze. But these land and seabreezes do not take place until some time after the change of each monsoon; for, at the commencement of each, the monsoon blows regularly, for a month or six weeks, immediately on the coast, with trifling variation from the northeast or southwest, according to the season.

The wind blows constantly every year on the coast of Coromandel, to the latter end of January; continues during February, and to the beginning of March, subject to very slight variations; but, as the sun approaches towards the vernal equinox, the winds again become variable for some days, as they were about the autumnal equinox, until his declination is upwards of seven degrees

north, when the southwest monsoon sets in; and often, on the south part of the coast, with great violence.

This change, or reflux of air, appears to be put in motion by the same means as that which comes from the opposite quarter—for as the sun's altitude increases daily in the northern hemisphere, the extensive body of land in the northeast part of Asia becomes hotter than the ocean; and, consequently, a degree of rarefaction will be produced over that portion of the continent, while, at the same season, an immense body of cold air will come from the Indian Ocean and the continent of Africa, in the southern hemisphere, to restore the equilibrium.

The principal tracts of land of different temperatures on the two continents, bearing very nearly northeast and southwest from each other, will therefore become the two opposite extreme points of rarefaction and condensation; and necessarily be the immediate causes of the northeast and southwest monsoons.

The southwest monsoon blows with great strength on the Malabar coast, in April, May, June, and July; but owing to a range of mountains, it is not felt with much violence on that of Coromandel, except far south. Both the northeast and southwest monsoons blow at first in fresh gales; but neither of them increases to a hurricane. From natural causes, the one must die away before the other sets in. Hurricanes most frequently, indeed, it might be said always, occur near large bodies of land.

In the Mosambique Channel, the monsoons correspond nearly with those on the Malabar coast; if not in their commencement, at least in their duration. The southwest beginning in April, and continuing till November: the northeast then succeeding, and continuing until April. But the southwest monsoon in this channel is the fair season, and the wind varies sometimes towards the southeast and east-southeast on either coast, about the middle of November, when there are also generally regular land and seabreezes.

The northeast monsoon begins early in November, near the Comoro Islands and the north end of Madagascar; but seldom extends beyond San Augustine Bay, which is near the south tropic. Towards the Eastern Isles, the *tradewind* prevails over the Indian Ocean, from latitude eleven to twenty-eight south; while to the south and east of Java and Sumatra, northwest and

southeast monsoons prevail at the different seasons. The southeast monsoon commences in the month of April, and continues till November, when it changes to the northwest. But between the monsoons, the winds and currents are light and variable.

Throughout the whole extent of the Eastern Isles, as far as Timor and Solor, the northwest monsoon brings foul weather, accompanied with violent wind and rain. The stormy weather continues all January, and until the middle of February; but entirely ceases about the end of March. In April, the variable winds render the weather mild. In May, the southeast wind becomes settled, and blows steadily during the months of June and July; and the weather continues fine until the end of September. In the month of October, the southeast monsoon dies away, and the wind again becomes variable until the northwest again sets in.

Now, if we refer to the map, we shall find New-Holland, an immense tract of land to the southeast of the Sunda Islands and the Moluccas, situated partly within and partly without the tropics. When, therefore, the sun is nearest his highest declination north, which of course is the winter of the southern hemisphere, and rarefies the air over the continent of Asia, the current of air in the southern hemisphere, independently of the tradewind, will move from the southeast, to restore the equilibrium to the northwest. On the contrary, in the months of November, December, and January, while the sun is nearly vertical over a part of New-Holland, the current of air through the Sunda Islands and the Moluccas will come from the northwest, to fill up the vacuum made by the rarefaction, and thus cause an alternate monsoon of southeast and northwest.*

It should be borne in mind by navigators in the eastern seas, that in the Gulf of Siam, on the coast of Cambodia, of Cochin China, and in the Gulf of Tonquin and China, the southwest monsoon commences on the coast in the month of April; but out at sea in those parts, it does not change until a month later. It is for this reason, that on the north part of Borneo to the Islands of Paragoa and Luconia, it is seldom known to blow constantly before from the fifteenth to the twentieth of May. As the southwest monsoon continues only about six months, and commences

* Clapper on the Monsoons.

near the coast, it there ceases first in like manner, and is succeeded by the northeast.

Thus, it is evident, that the northeast and southwest monsoons reign constantly to the north of the line, to the eastward as well as in the Gulf of Bengal and Sinde; while the northwest and southeast monsoons to the east are confined to the south of the line, within the reach of the influence of New-Holland.

In the present improved state of navigation, when not only the mariners are more skilful, but vessels better constructed and found than formerly; furnished with chronometers, and other well-constructed instruments, the merchant may undertake his voyage to India at almost any season of the year. But if he consider the expense incurred by delay, and the wear and tear of his ship, and wishes to avoid all the difficulties, inconveniences, and dangers of contrary winds, let him keep in mind, that by sailing from the United States in the spring, and with good management, a voyage may be made in twelve weeks; and that by embarking either much later or earlier, he may not arrive in less than four or five months!

By skilful navigators, a return voyage from India, in well-found ships, may be undertaken, in like manner, at nearly any season of the year; but the most favourable time is from the beginning of October to the first of March.

At the commencement of the northeast monsoon, favoured by both winds and currents, vessels will soon get clear of the Gulf of Sinde or the Gulf of Bengal, very probably cross the line with a fresh breeze, and not be detained by calms, between the monsoons and the southeast trade. December will be a good month to double the Cape of Good Hope; and prevailing winds will be from the southeast, the fairest that can blow. To the west of the Cape, the wind will generally be light, but fair; and in a few days, a vessel may gain the regular trade; and crossing the equator in the latter part of January, the sun still far to the southward, the vessel is not likely to be detained by calms, provided she keeps about eighteen or twenty degrees west longitude from Greenwich.

Such are the remarkable effects of some of those aerial currents which distinguish the different hemispheres of our globe. Who can contemplate the subject without giving utterance to

sentiments of wonder and veneration? What mighty agencies are the *winds*—"the many-voiced and viewless winds!" What powerful and universal agents they are on the surface of this revolving sphere! How they roam in the woods, compelling the giants of the forest to tremble with fear, and humbly bow to their influence! How mightily they rush down the hill-sides, and sweep over the plains, singing their wild and solemn notes of triumph as they pass! How they career over the wide waters, exciting them to tumult, and driving on the waves till they fall thundering, but exhausted, on the shore!

"Nothing," says a modern writer, "can illustrate so livingly our idea of a spirit, as a mighty wind, present in its amazing power and sublimity, yet seen only in its effects." It may be added, that the illustration holds good in case of a gentle as well as a mighty wind. What is more like the ministry of a gracious and soothing spirit, than the soft breathings of a gentle wind, bringing coolness to the fevered brow, and peace to the panting heart! May it not be said that the winds, in their different manifestations, suggest no faint or unworthy idea of the majesty and the mercy of the one Supreme Spirit?

How indispensable to the salubrity of our earthly dwelling-place, are the ever-moving and changing winds. They may be called the exercise of our atmosphere, by which it preserves its healthful principles, and shakes off the terrible evils of stagnation. The heat and cold of the several zones of the earth are efficiently tempered by means of the winds, which convey grateful coolness to heated climes, and no less grateful warmth to frozen ones. And how could those floating cisterns, the clouds, be borne from land to land, to replenish the fountains, and refresh and fertilize the grounds, were they not propelled and guided by the winds? "He maketh the winds his messengers."

Where would be the commerce between distant countries, without the winds? Inconstant as they are said to be, yet how much of the business of the world depends upon their constancy! What is the mariner without the winds? And his goodly ship, what is it? It seems, indeed, to be "a thing of life," as it dashes aside the foam, and rides over the billows. But a calm soon convinces us that it is not; and as it rolls heavily and uneasily on the waters, we cannot but feel how helpless and useless

a machine it is, without the winds. And the same power which propels the noble frigate, or with equal ease a nation's fleet, disdains not to waft the fisherman's boat to the scene of his patient toil, and back to his humble dwelling; and refuses not its aid to the savage, as he plies his light canoe among the ever-green islands of the tropic seas!

Thus widely connected with human business and interests, how deeply are the winds united with human affections and sympathies! How sinks the heart of maid or wife as the wind sets in, which is to bear brother, lover, or husband, farther, and still farther from her presence; and how beats the same true heart while the wind is blowing which is bearing brother, lover, or husband, nearer, and still nearer, to the fond hearts that sigh for his return! The tender, affectionate, and anxious wife, whose husband is tossed on the far-distant billow, how swells and throbs her fond and gentle heart, when the hoarse singing of the midnight blast salutes her ear! Oh, bless and protect him, gracious Heaven, and in thine own good time restore him! The virtuous affection which glows in her bosom, is but an emanation from Thee, the fountain of light and love.

Every breeze that passes over the land is commissioned with a thousand kind and tender wishes to the sea; and every loud blast is burdened with anxious fears and earnest prayers. The storm that rises at night awakes many a parent to think, till the day dawns, of the son who is perhaps exposed to its fury, and to commend his keeping to One "whom the winds and seas obey." Are there not friends, in our own loved homes, thus thinking of us? Blessings on their heads! And may every zephyr that breathes, and every wind that blows, bear to them only health, good tidings, and peace!

Winged onward by the same great moving agent of which we have been speaking, the Potomac, after having passed through the Bashee Straits and gained the northeast trade, as before mentioned, shaped her course across the vast Pacific. Nothing of interest or importance occurred during a rather unpleasant passage of fifty days, when she approached the Sandwich Islands, on the evening of the twenty-third July. "Land on the weather-bow," shouted a hoarse voice from the mast-head. It was the Island of Oahu.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Sandwich Islands, their number and location—The Island of Oahu—Indolence of the natives—Presentment at Court—Town of Honoruru, markets, houses, furniture, food, &c. of the natives—Hospitable reception and entertainment—A *Luau*, or barbecue—Arrival of the young king—Dinner on board the frigate—Honours paid him—His attention to the Americans—Indian war-dance—A royal banquet—Battle-ground of Tamehameha—A supper at the palace—Dramatic performances—The commodore's official interview with the king—Taking leave—Sailing of the frigate—Reflections on her visit—Missionaries and foreign residents.

THAT celebrated group of islands in the Pacific Ocean, which Cooke named in honour of his patron, the Earl of Sandwich, comprises ten in number, which are situated just south of the tropic of Cancer, in longitude from 154° 50′ to 160° 24′ east. These islands are about five thousand miles east of Canton, in China; and about two thousand eight hundred miles west of the American coast.

The four principal islands of the group are called Hawaii, Mowee, Oahu, and Tauai; which were once governed by separate and independent kings; but the whole are now under one monarch, a young prince called *Kauikeaouli*, who is grandson of the celebrated Tamehameha, whose wisdom and prowess first subdued and united them under one government. The young king is not yet of age; but acts under the advice and direction of his aunt, the queen regent, daughter of the great conqueror just mentioned. An amicable visit to this court (which is located at the Island of Oahu) for the purpose of improving our commercial relations, was comprised in the instructions of our government to Commodore Downes, when he sailed in the frigate Potomac, on her present voyage around the world.

The first sight of the Island of Oahu, which she made on the morning of the twenty-third of July, was far from interesting. In the evening previous, Diamond Hill was seen at the north-eastern extremity of the roads, in which it was intended to anchor. At sundown, the wind hauled, and compelled the frigate to stand

off all that night; but the next day, about sundown, she came to anchor in the Bay of Waititi. Previous to coming to, however, she was boarded by some of the American and English residents; and, at some distance outside the harbour, a boat came alongside with a pilot.

The Potomac finally anchored in twenty-one fathoms of water, about one mile from a reef of coral rocks that stretches across what is called the inner harbour, leaving but a very narrow passage for vessels to enter and depart, and forming a complete natural breakwater to the anchorage within. Abreast of her was the village of Waititi, consisting of a few huts, and two or three cocoanut groves. From this point of view, the island appeared handsomely distributed into valley and hill, extending far back, and rising into lofty mountains. The low land, near the water, was sprinkled with habitations; but no great beauty was visible—no cultivation apparent. The mountains in the back ground relieved the eye by a show of verdure; but in the vicinity of the town of Honoruru, and almost everywhere within view of the ship, a bleak and barren aspect characterized the picture.

On the following day, the American and English consuls, being the only foreign public characters on the island, paid their respects to the commodore on board the frigate; which also fired a salute in honour of the port and government. This customary mark of respect was promptly returned by the fort on shore. Several canoes came alongside, manned by natives; some of them partially clothed with sailors' frocks and trousers; but mostly either in a state of nudity, or with nothing but a piece of *tapa*, or native cloth, thrown over their shoulders.

Among the numerous visiters of this character, was the brother of one of our men, who had been taken to the United States some years ago, by the Peacock. The meeting of these two near and long-separated relatives, was singular indeed. As the visiter came up the ship's side, our man waited in the gangway to receive him. He was almost naked, having nothing but the *maro*, or girdle, around his loins. They both stood for some time, looking each other full in the face, without uttering a word, but appearing to force upon themselves the recollections of each other's countenance. After fully satisfying themselves on this point, our man extended his hand, caught the other by the arm,

and led him below, in silence. Not a word was spoken by either —no greeting, no salutation passed—off they went together. But the stranger soon afterward returned, dressed in some of his brother's clothes; and with some under his arm, he got into his boat and pulled ashore. They did not publicly manifest the least sign of affection for each other. Perhaps, indeed, the one was ashamed of the other's nakedness; and the other felt his own inferiority. They were afterward often seen together; and the poor fellow's altered and improved habiliments, proclaimed the liberality of his more fortunate relative.

Through the hearty welcome of the foreign residents, almost every house was open to the officers, and horses always at their service. Equestrian recreations are much enjoyed by the foreigners, and such natives as can afford to keep horses. There are a great many of these useful animals on the island, brought from the Spanish Main. Very few, if any, have been raised here. The natives ride hard, and their horses are not well kept.

Notwithstanding Mr. Stewart's high encomium on the roads, we feel compelled to say that they are far from good; and that the one leading to the village of Waititi, opposite the frigate, is the only one that deserves the name. This is hard and smooth, about two miles in length, and affords quite a pleasant ride. The sea-breeze here renders the air fresh and agreeable, and the prospect is not without its charms. Far as the eye can reach, extends the ocean; and there rides the gallant Potomac, heaving in the long swell, and almost within the tremendous surf that breaks and combs in immense rollers over the coral reef. Here and there a few cocoanut groves, on one side the little village of Waititi, and just back the *higher peaks*—and the scene is complete.

Immediately on our arrival, an express was sent off for the young King *Kauikeaouli*, who had but a few days before left this island for that of *Mowee*, where he attends the missionary school. In the meantime, the commodore and a party of officers called upon the authorities of the place, the queen regent, the governor, and the remainder of the royal family and household. The commodore was attended, on this occasion, by the American and English consuls, and many of the merchants, all in full dress. They were received in due form, at the palace of the Queen Regent *Kinau*. As they walked in procession, it required the

utmost vigilance of several police officers to keep off the crowd, such was their curiosity to see the strangers.

The presentation, which was very ceremonious, was performed by the American consul. The queen regent is the niece of the celebrated *Karaimoku*, or Billy Pitt, as he is generally called, and daughter to the great *Tamehameha*, the Napoleon of the Sandwich Islands. Her husband is colonel of the troops. He is not by birth a chief; but being possessed of rather more intelligence than some others of his countrymen, was chosen as a companion to the late King *Riho-Riho*, on his visit to England; and on the death of *Kinau's* husband (Governor *Boki*), was chosen by her as partner for life; owing, in all probability, to his having been a favourite of *Riho-Riho*. He is not a man of much authority, having no voice in the council of the state; but may, of course, do much in advising the queen regent in secret. The present queen regent has not long been so; her predecessor having died but a few weeks before the arrival of the Potomac.

The most remarkable circumstance in the history of the royal family, is the immense size of the persons who compose it; that of *Kinau*, the queen regent, in particular. The weight of *Kuakini*, or governor, or John Adams, as he chooses to be called, is now only three hundred and fifty, as he informed our officers; although some months previously he weighed somewhat more. That of *Kinau* is two hundred and fifty; and this, for a lady, is no small quantity!

The reader has doubtless already a correct idea of the town of Honoruru, from the description of the Rev. Mr. Stewart, a journal of whose residence in the Sandwich Islands is before the public. Honoruru is not regularly laid out, although many of the streets run at right angles. The houses, at some distance, look much like hay-mounds, the roofs angling almost down to the ground, and covered with a particular kind of thatch. The only difference in the external appearance of these edifices consists in their size, many of them being extremely large. The royal palace and the churches are the largest. The dwellings of the foreign residents are built of stone or frame-work. The mission-house is at the extremity of the town; it is large, and to all appearances the most comfortable on the island. It is certainly the most capacious, and the best built, being of stone, and well whitewashed.

The interior of the houses vary much, of course, as to comfort, convenience, and elegance, in proportion to the respectability of the owners, and their means to support it. Those of the poorer class are extremely filthy; while those of the better sort are neat and airy. The floor, or rather the ground, is covered with mats, three or four deep. In one corner is a platform of boards, rising five to ten inches from the ground, and covered with six, eight, or ten mats, or even more, if the means of the possessor will allow it; the upper ones being very fine, and handsomely made. This is the *native* bed. The apartment—for there is but one in each house—has generally a screen across, behind which is seen a bed of our own kind. They have few articles of furniture; no chairs—no tables—for they are not wanted; as the natives are accustomed to sit upon mats, after the fashion of the Turks.

In their food they are extremely temperate. Fish they cut up in small pieces, and eat with *poe*, made of the *taro plant;* which is one of the finest vegetables we ever ate. It is the *arum esculentum* of botanists, and is generally known by the names of the wild Indian and French turnip. It grows in the marshes, and is the principal food of these islanders. That preparation of it which is called *poe*, is made by boiling these roots twice, and then keeping it some time. It much resembles starch, and is eaten, or rather conveyed to the mouth, with the two first fingers of the right hand. These islanders do not eat much meat of any kind; their principal diet being vegetables. There are but few domestic utensils of any kind in their dwellings, and such as they have are principally of native production.

In dress they vary as much as in their style of housekeeping; some wearing silk, others cotton, but most of them the native dress only. We think that the men are better off in this respect than the women; for many of the former dress neatly in the European fashion; although it is far from an uncommon sight to see them in groups, nearly naked; and the women with the *tapa* rolled round their forms as their only covering.

They have no regular market-houses; but near to the watering-place are some dirty huts, and a large open space, where meats, fish, and vegetables, are sold in the morning. This is, of course, considered and called the market; and here may be bought fish,

flesh, fowls, fruits, and vegetables in abundance, and not dear by any means. The vegetables comprise almost every species; and the fruits are generally of the tropical kind.

From the moment of the frigate's arrival, the hospitality of the foreign residents was kindly extended to the commodore and officers of the Potomac, and continued with the most untiring constancy. Every house was open to the strangers, and several of our officers resided on shore, at the hospitable mansions of their kind entertainers. Among other entertainments, they were invited by the foreign residents to attend a *luau*, at the valley so highly spoken of by Mr. Stewart. This excursion is very far from equalling the idea which former descriptions would lead one to expect. The road in many places is covered with brush, and the valley is little more than a collection of small trees, rocks, and mud. This was owing, however, in a great measure, to the heavy rains which had fallen shortly before the arrival of the Potomac. The idea of turnpikes, or roads, is really most ridiculous, and is calculated to mislead very much as to the extent and true nature of the advancement of this island in such improvements. And the splendid descriptions which have been given of the numerous handsome vehicles and carriages, are more in the poetical workings of the imagination than a drawing from reality. Few of these articles are on the islands; and if there were, they could not be used:—for, excepting the ride of which we have already spoken, of about two miles or more, there is no part of the island, at least as far as our observation extended, where they could be used: and as for roads, we again repeat, that there are no such things. The island, in this particular, is as much in a state of nature, with the exceptions just mentioned, as when first discovered by Captain Cooke.

A *luau*, the festival alluded to above, is somewhat analogous to what is called a *barbecue*, or a *pic-nic*. The word *luau*, of itself, is nothing more than the name of the *taro-tops* boiled; and any thing is said to be *luaued* when it is cooked with these greens. At these *luaus*, every thing is cooked in the native style. A large hole is dug in the ground, fire is placed at the bottom, and covered with small pieces of wood; and, when well ignited, stones are heaped upon it. When the whole becomes heated, the green leaf of the *taro* is placed upon them, and then the articles

to be cooked—such as pigs, turkeys, *dogs*, mutton, &c., with all kinds of vegetables, not forgetting the *taro* itself. These are then covered with *taro* leaves once more, and heated stones, with leaves and grass, and finally earth is thrown over the whole mass, so as not to allow any of the heat or steam to escape. When thus cooked, the meats preserve all their juices, and the flavour is superior to any thing of the kind cooked in any other form. It takes considerable time for a meal to be prepared, as the process of cooking is slow. The *taro*-tops make a most pleasant addition to meats, and a very favourite dish, eaten as our spinage.

In about a week after the Potomac's arrival at *Oahu*, the young king, *Kauikeaouli*, arrived from *Mowee*, a small island to windward, with all his *suite*, in a small schooner belonging to his majesty. And two days afterward the commodore gave an entertainment to him and all the royal family, at which the residents of the place were present. At ten o'clock all the boats, from the launch down, were fitted up, and started for the shore, to bring off the company. The king and *nobles* were to come off in the commodore's boat; the ladies of the mission in the next boat; and the rest of the boats were filled as they arrived. The ship had been put in the most complete order for this occasion, and the white dresses of the sailors contrasted well with the full dress of the officers.

As the young king, *Kauikeaouli*, came over the side, the yards were manned; while the marines, who were drawn up on the opposite side of the deck, presented arms. As his majesty walked aft, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired; thus paying him all the honours due to the President of the United States himself. At the discharge of the last gun, the frigate's band, on the quarter-deck, struck up the animating strain of "God save the king."

The King *Kauikeaouli*, or Tamehameha III., is about twenty years of age, of middling size, and well made. His colour is very dark, but not black; his hair is thick and black; his form good; but his *foot* bespeaks him no European. His features are large, but not bad, and his countenance is rather agreeable. He wore a full dress of the Windsor uniform, with two gold epaulets; a star on his left breast, cocked hat, and sword. He did not appear abashed by the parade made for him; but there was no superabundance of dignity in his appearance or bearing, though his

manners were tolerably easy and graceful. The colonel was also attired in a very neat, full-dress uniform, and several others were equally well apparelled for the occasion. Soon after the king came the queen regent, and other *fair ones* of the royal household.

As the sea is heavy where our ship had to lie, our usual accommodation-ladder was not rigged, and we were compelled to *hoist* our royal visiters on board by means of a "whip and chair," suspended from the mainyard. The chair being lowered into the boat, the *lady* was placed in it; and, at the sound of the boatswain's pipe, she soon swung between heaven and the billows, hoisted up by about fifty of our trusty lads in white jackets, and *landed* safely on deck.

This feat being performed with characteristic address, and each visiter disposed of in the same manner, the ladies were led to the cabin by the officers. They were all dressed in black silk frocks and bonnets; not peculiarly elegant, but neat and lady-like. The daughter of *Kuakini*, or Governor Adams, being younger, was more gaudily attired in blue satin and a handsome gauze bonnet. These ladies were all conspicuous for their size, with the exception of the one last mentioned, and were proportionably beautiful, as beauty goes here altogether by dimensions.

Another boat brought off the king's *suite*. These were generally dressed in citizen's coats of blue, with gilt buttons, on which was stamped *Tamehameha* III. They were all fine looking men, well made, and well proportioned as to size. His majesty's *armour-bearer* was also a sort of chief, and wore a native helmet of the yellow feathers of a rare bird, together with a large cloak over his shoulders of the same kind. These were two of the most beautiful native ornaments we ever saw, and are peculiarly valuable on account of there being but few of them now on the islands among the chiefs. Of these feathers are also made ornaments for the necks and heads of females. Some of them are partly green, red, and black; but these colours are taken from other birds; the yellow alone being peculiarly rare, and so highly appreciated. Two or three body-servants carried the feather ornaments, spoken of by Mr. Stewart as being the grand insignia of royalty among the islands. It consists of the long and bright feathers of the chicken-cock. The handles are neatly wrought

of the white and black whalebone, combined alternately; and for a native piece of work, is unusually neat.

The missionaries soon after arrived, and the party being collected, they were conducted to every part of the vessel. The king was observant, as were also many of the chiefs, some of whom spoke very good English, and most of them sufficiently to make themselves understood. These courtly personages were, of course, treated with all the respect that could be desired by them; but they did not look for any unusual degree, and comported themselves in a very friendly and agreeable manner.

After having been shown every part of the ship, which is by far the largest that had ever appeared in these waters, they sat down to a very splendid dinner-table, spread on the gundeck. A blessing was invoked on the repast by Mr. Bingham, the principal of the missionary establishment among these islands. In seating them at table, the great difficulty was to ascertain the ranks of the different chiefs forming the king's suite. It seems that this distinction of rank and claims of precedence are carefully respected, not so much by the individuals themselves as by their sovereign. But no sooner was this important matter amicably arranged, and a blessing invoked, than a brisk operation commenced with the knives and forks, in which every one appeared to contend for precedence.

At the first suitable cessation of this amicable contention, the commodore drank the king's health and that of the ladies. After this, every one eagerly aspired to the same honour, of drinking the health of his royal highness; and the cry of "King, a glass of wine with you, if you please," resounding from all quarters, was really amusing. This is the manner in which he is always addressed.

While the party were yet at dinner, a large ship, commanded by an English half-pay lieutenant, came under the Potomac's stern, and letting fly his "topgallant-halliards," fired a salute of thirteen guns in a very handsome style, which was of course returned by the frigate. This was an act of courtesy so handsomely performed, that it drew every one from the table. The English ship then filled away, and stood to sea.

Upon the whole, the day was one of great interest, novelty, merriment, and excitement. The missionaries, of course, par-

took but sparingly of the two last; but appeared not displeased to witness the enjoyment of others; although the motion of the vessel must have been to them a little unpleasant. They retired, as usual, at an early hour. Before they left the table, however, our band performed several pieces of sacred music; but after they had retired, airs of a more lively character, and perhaps better adapted to the hilarity of the occasion, were tastefully executed.

The company were landed in the same style which distinguished their reception; the marines on deck, and the men on the yards, still paying compliment to his majesty's departure! Certainly, a few years ago, the King of the Sandwich Islands little thought of ever being thus honoured by a power so peculiarly situated as ours; and whose very political existence was not thought of! It is certainly a singular and rare occurrence, to see a power (or the agent of a power) just risen into political importance in the great world of nations, stretching out the helping hand, and, by its countenance, bringing forward a little nation of islands; adding importance to its government, even in their own eyes, by the complimentary ceremonies paid to them. It seems like the strong arm of vigorous youth leading the weak and tottering child.

From the time of the king's arrival at Honoruru to the last moment of the frigate's stay at the islands, his majesty was almost constantly on board, and associated much with the officers. He was alternately in every part of the ship, from one end to the other; now forward, smoking; then in the ward-room; next in the cabin, with the commodore; conversing on the affairs of his island, and receiving much good advice to guide him in the administration of it; ever asking questions, and always apparently interested. On these occasions he was always dressed *en citoyen*. Our tailors made one or two coats for him; and his appearance was always very genteel.

On one occasion, about twenty Northwest Indians, belonging to one of the vessels, came on board the frigate by the commodore's invitation; they were dressed in their native costume, with their blankets, bows and arrows, &c., and performed one of their national war-dances. Their gesticulations were often wild, and the expression of their countenance *ultra savage*, while their howls and shrieks were astounding and piercing in the extreme. The king gazed upon their performances with an interest bordering on

wonder, and was evidently a good deal excited. We were not a little amused at the interest his majesty evidently took in all their different turns and motions, as he seemed half inclined to join them. We were actually afraid, at one time, that the Indian in his majesty would preponderate, and that he would break out in earnest. Whether, however, he really restrained himself, or that it was only the excitement of the scene, he soon got over it.

This war-dance was certainly one of the best executed performances of the kind we remember ever to have witnessed. When their glaring eyeballs were fixed upon us, the bow drawn, and the arrow pointed at our bosom—with that regular, monotonous, forward Indian motion—we could not resist the impulse to move out of the way, and continually changed our position. These Indians were from the northwest coast, to which our ships resort for furs; and were taken on board for the purpose of shooting the sea-otter and fur-seal. They are often thus engaged for a certain specified time, and the commodore extended this act of courtesy towards them, thinking it might be of service to our vessels trading on that coast, to let them know that such formidable ships as the Potomac were near at hand, to punish any injury or aggression which our enterprising navigators might receive in that quarter. They appeared much struck with the immense effect of our great guns; and seemed impressed with a degree of astonishment on contemplating the power of such a ship. The effect was doubtless a good one, and may produce good results.

Three days after this dinner on board the frigate, the king invited the commodore and his officers to a *luau*, to be given in the valley of the *Pari*, near the precipice of *Kolau*. This was one of the most delightful excursions we remember ever to have enjoyed, and lament our want of powers to give an adequate description of it. The distance was about nine miles, and directly in the interior, or rather across the eastern extremity of the island.

At about ten, the commodore and his party went on shore, and found that the king had ordered all his horses, of which he has a great number, to be in readiness for those who had not otherwise provided themselves. Each one having selected his animal, the whole mustered at the house of the American consul, Mr. Jones, all in high spirits and well mounted. Here they were soon joined

by the king, when all put spurs to their steeds, and away they went at a good hand-gallop through the town of Honoruru. Winding round the base of Fort Hill, just opposite the frigate, the party struck off into a beaten track, in the rear of the town, which Mr. Stewart calls the turnpike. Here they separated, and began scattering, each one choosing his companion; some riding fast, and others leisurely along. After crossing the plain back of the town, they entered into a somewhat cultivated region. Here a stream running from the mountains supplied the taro-patches with water; and these formed a handsome scene, rising one above another in the different stages of advancement, from the light yellow to the dark green tops, forming a picture like the variegated beds of a rich garden plantation. On the land around, running vines, and many valuable vegetables, were growing; and the country on all sides looked delightfully green.

In this way our joyous party moved along; now jumping a small stream, or picking their way through the narrow path, and anon galloping over the grass, where the evenness of the ground would permit. They soon reached the battle-ground, as described by Mr. Stewart; where, some forty years before, Tamehameha, the grandfather of the present king, overcame the last of his enemies. The scene was truly grand, beautiful, and, with all its historical associations, intensely sublime. For beauty, it is inimitable; the day was delightful; and the seabreeze fresh and pleasant. On one side, the lofty mountains, crowned to the very summit with the richest and most beautiful green; here and there a group of horsemen; the sea far in the distance, and a beautiful verdant plain on the other side; while a short distance ahead a small waterfall leaped from the mountain's summit, in thin and graceful curves to the bottom of the valley.

Such was the scene—such is the spot—where the great Sandwich king fought his last and decisive battle—triumphing over the last of his implacable foes! Stewart himself, with all his talent for description, could not do more than justice to such a scene! Again our party started off; and now the path was often choked up by bushes and brushwood. Many parts of it had the day before been cleared for the present occasion.

At length we arrived at the spot consecrated to the festive rites of the contemplated banquet. It was a handsome green, sur-

rounded by thick groves, at the foot of two high peaks. Up to these we rode, through a narrow ravine. On reaching the summit, one of the most sublime prospects that can be imagined presented itself. The mountains here appear to break off abruptly, and you stand at the very extremity,* while, nearly a thousand feet perpendicularly below, spreads out a splendid plain of many miles in circumference. There heaves the ocean, in all its sublimity; and far, far beyond, rises the light blue form of some beautiful sea-girt island.

From this immense height, the panic-struck enemies of the victorious Tamehameha were compelled to leap, in order to escape the enraged victors, and perished in their fall, by being dashed to pieces on the rocks below! It was an awful reflection—not one escaped! Although the side is almost perpendicular to appearance, the natives from below sometimes ascend the mountain. The valley below is that of the *Pari.*

After having gazed upon and enjoyed this glorious prospect, and the freshness of a delightful seabreeze, our delighted party repaired to the dining spot. On the beautiful greensward were erected four or five temporary huts, constructed of the boughs of trees, recently cut, and thatched with grass. Under one of considerable length was the table already spread; others were occupied by several ladies of the royal family, to whom each paid his respects on dismounting, and was received by them, seated on the grass, and treated with wreaths of evergreens and flowers. Here and there lay scattered, over the rich green, the king and the different chiefs and individuals of the party, refreshing themselves after their ride. The scene was a most animated one of rural luxury, and one that will not be soon forgotten.

The whole party soon set down to a most abundantly-furnished table, loaded with savoury viands, cooked after the native fashion—or *luaued.* At one end was a *dog;* which, in order to induce us

* The battle that decided the fate of *Oahu,* in the conquests of Tamehameha, and was crowned by victory, in which he became sole monarch of the group, was fought in the valley leading from Honoruru to this pass. The King of *Oahu,* after a desperate conflict, fell bravely at the head of his army; upon which a complete route ensued. One party, of more than three hundred warriors, fled towards this precipice, and were pursued so closely, and with such relentless purpose, as to be plunged, without an exception, from the tremendous offset to the depths below!

to eat, had the head and feet of a pig sewed on, instead of its own. But without this stratagem, all would have eaten of it, as we had heard so much said about this animal. It was difficult to tell it from pig, so much did the taste resemble the flavour of that animal. These dogs are a peculiar kind, and are fed for the purpose on nothing but vegetables; and though not numerous, are always eaten on great occasions of this kind.

The dinner was served up in a very handsome style; but nothing of rich silver covers was to be seen. The table-furniture was all substantial, and in good keeping.

After dinner, the well-satisfied guests rambled about to enjoy the prospect—then mounted their horses, and off again the whole company started for Honoruru. Some of them, on their way back, took a ride up Fort Hill, from which a most splendid prospect was enjoyed. Over the level plain at the foot of the hill, the town lay scattered, into which the whole cavalcade were seen galloping; while the taro-beds, distant mountains, the sea, and the shipping in the harbour, presented a most beautiful and variegated picture. We have seldom spent a day more peculiarly interesting, from the novelty of the incidents and scenery.

On Fort Hill are a few old guns mounted, from which it derives its name. It is some seven or eight hundred feet high, and the ascent regular. The top is somewhat of a plain, gently sinking towards the centre, and is supposed to have been the crater of the volcano while the island was forming. It certainly has somewhat the appearance. There is but a slight coat of verdure or grass on the plain, and the sides are hard, barren, and sandy. The few guns before mentioned, command the whole bay and town; but can be of no use, and must have cost some considerable labour to raise them to their present situation.

Some evenings after our trip to the Pari, we were invited to attend a supper at the king's palace. We all attended in full dress. Our band was also sent on shore. On our arrival, we found the missionary ladies seated among the ladies of the royal family, and we paid our respects individually to them all. After this we had time to look around us. The palace was certainly the finest native building we had seen; and though its interior was not void of elegance, we saw no "glass folding-doors." The frame, or wicker-work lining of the *inner* house, was very neat.

The floor was covered with mats, of the finest texture, and beautifully figured, brought from some neighbouring island, and sent as *taxes*. The supper-table was also covered with a mat, and extended from one end of the room to the other. The usual curtain ran across the apartment, and enclosed the bed, forming a sitting-room. The walls were lined with paintings of the different soldiers and officers of the Prussian army, sent by the King of Prussia. The portraits of the king, *Riho-Riho*, of the former queen, and also of George IV., were set in rich gilt frames, giving a handsome finish to the apartment. The Declaration of Independence, at the head of the room, was a glorious sight to look upon.

In due time, we sat down to a sumptuous repast of cold meats. No wine, however, was presented; for which deficiency the king took occasion to apologize in a whisper, saying that "the missionaries did not like it." We mention this anecdote, to give some idea of the influence which these pious labourers hold over the king and government; and which, wisely exercised, may be greatly for their good. Some of the ladies of the mission are young and interesting, and all of them are very agreeable. They retired early, after our band had played several pieces of sacred music; and no sooner were they gone, than the king moved among us with all the gayety of youth, entirely throwing off the restraints imposed upon him by the presence of the missionaries. After looking around the palace and grounds, we retired much pleased, indeed, highly gratified with the entertainment.

Some nights after this, our *corps dramatique*, with our band, made a display at the *Theatre Royal Honoruru*. The king was desirous of seeing them perform, and offered his palace for the occasion. The scenery was all taken on shore, and the palace fitted up for the occasion. At the usual hour for such entertainments, the performance commenced. Every thing went on remarkably well; the pieces having been rehearsed on board ship, and the actors did their utmost to gratify the audience. The king and suite formed the most interesting portion of the audience, and his majesty seemed highly delighted at the efforts of the *corps*, frequently indulging in the most boisterous and immoderate fits of laughter.

The next day, an official interview took place between the reigning powers of Oahu and Commodore Downes; in which the claims of some of our merchants at the island were introduced and adjusted. The commodore embraced this opportunity to give the king much good advice as to his behaviour towards American residents on the island, and many hints as to his government. Mr. Bingham was there as interpreter. Every thing appeared very satisfactory on the part of the king and queen regent. The commodore was a great favourite with the king, who took every occasion to show his feeling. Indeed, he appeared, when we talked of going, to evince the greatest regret, and we have no reason to doubt his sincerity. The evening before we sailed, he sent on board a large number of fine hogs, as a present to the officers and crew. Thus, after spending a longer time than we had remained at any place during the cruise, and enjoying the hospitality of the natives and foreign residents of Oahu, on the 16th of August we weighed our anchor, and got under way. The king, and many of his *nobles*, with the American merchants, came off to see us depart. The breeze was fresh and pleasant; and, after performing the evolution of tacking once or twice, and astonishing his majesty with the rapidity of our movements, and the regularity of every thing, where all appeared "confusion worse confounded," we hove to—took leave of our friends—who, after giving us three cheers from their little vessel, which we returned, stood for the harbour; while we, crowding sail on sail, hurried the Potomac from the island and its hospitable inhabitants.

That the island is growing poorer, is indisputably the case; and considering the amount of labour employed, it is surprising the quantity produced. This goes far to prove the natural capacities and resources of the island; and yet want must be felt, unless more attention be paid to agricultural pursuits. The taro-patches require little labour; but other articles require much. There is no species of manufacture on the island, save the *tappa* cloths. The most beautiful mats are made on other islands, and are brought hither, generally, as taxes to the government.

The government is in the hands of the queen regent. Kauikeaouli is yet too young, being a minor; but still he begins to take some hand in state affairs; official documents are signed by him,

and all proclamations are issued in his name. Of course, the queen regent has her sway over him, and always will. But it is to be hoped that he will rule with more wisdom, in some things, when he assumes the affairs of government altogether.

The government is not, by any means, complicated in its forms; every thing is plain and consistent. Taxes are paid in money, mats, articles of food, or sandal-wood. The public treasury is very low. The king pays for what he obtains from merchants in mats, &c., which are sold on the coast of Chili and Peru. The revenue amounts to something considerable in *port charges*, when the whalers come in after their cruise. Some months, sixty and seventy vessels are at anchor at the same time. But the government acknowledges a very heavy debt to our merchants, which it is desirous of paying. Some months before the arrival of the Potomac, Governor Boki, with many other chiefs, and about eighty natives, in the brig Tamehameha, sailed for an island where it was said much sandal-wood was to be had. They never returned, nor have they been heard of; and it has been supposed that they blew up the vessel, as there was a considerable quantity of powder on board, and the natives smoke at all times. By some carelessness of this kind it must have happened. Thus they lost the vessel, for which they have not yet paid, and the means of obtaining wherewith to pay most of their debts.

The king owns one or two small vessels, but no men-of-war. There is little export among the islands, save the sandal-wood, and that is becoming very scarce, and the price much reduced in the Canton market. Many of the natives go on board whalers, and other vessels stopping at the island; so that the Sandwich Islands will have many sailors, in course of time; and they are said to make remarkably good ones, and active ones too, though they have not that appearance. But they have no vessels of their own to go in, and but one or two are owned by merchants at the island.

These islands must always be places of interest in the Pacific Ocean, lying, as they do, between the tracks of vessels bound to China and the East Indies, from the coast of California, and the whole of South America. They are also important as places of refreshment for whalers, after their long and hazardous cruise to capture the leviathan of the ocean. All these circumstances tend to render the Sandwich Islands of peculiar interest to the naviga-

tor of the Pacific.* What would the laborious whaleman do, after toiling five or six long months upon the boisterous Japan Sea, in his daring pursuit, fatigued, and out of fresh provisions, had he to toil his way to the coast of South America for refreshments and necessaries? At the Sandwich Islands they muster in numbers, and find wherewith to refit them once more for the dangers of their hazardous profession. Once more they take the sea, revived and refreshed; and in a few days find themselves again on the ground, where the persecuted monsters of the deep, driven from clime to clime by these persevering adventurers, have now taken up their abode. Here, too, the northwest trader, after toiling and chasing the otter and seal on the bleak coast of America, finds a pleasant retreat for the winter months, near at hand; and from whence, in a short time, they may return to their sport. Vessels bound across the Pacific, now a track so common, can often find the means to repair the disasters of the seas, without being compelled to put back, perhaps thousands of miles, or prosecute a voyage rendered dangerous by unforeseen events. During a war, what interest would not these islands hold out to us, as sources of refreshment for our men-of-war, while protecting our commerce, whaling, and other interests in these seas?

But, independent of all these general views, which must of course be strong in the eyes of every one, and, in a national point of view, paramount, to induce a cultivation of a proper understanding with the natives; we say, independent of all these grand ob-

* A writer in a late number of the London Metropolitan Magazine, proposes the taking possession of these fertile islands by the British government. He speaks not on the subject of right, but merely of expediency. We are willing to concede to our ancestors all praise for their masterly enterprise and courage in the discovery and settlement of new lands. But the British standard is no longer the undisputed master of the seas; other nations have some claims, and some power too, on the great highway of nations. To sum up the matter, have any nation the right to lay violent hands on that which does not belong to them? The writer, in his fruitful imagination, has already fortified Honoruru; as he thinks it would be a good place from which to watch ours and the Russian trade to China, Mexico, and the northwest coast of America, in sandal-wood, opium, turtle, furs, &c. England will find enough to do to take care of her interests in India, New-Holland, Canada, &c., without stopping to worry her mind about such trifling matters as planting new colonies in the Pacific. Leave to the peaceful labours of our missionaries the introduction of civilization and Christianity, and in time they may grow up to be little, but independent communities, of their own election.

jects, they present an interesting appearance, as a body of islanders springing into existence. To watch the changes in their progress—to see how, step by step, they advance, or why they are retarded—to watch the *heathen* mind opening into civilized improvement, will always be a matter of deep interest to every philanthropic mind.

We have already said that we thought the improvement and advancement of these islanders had been considerably exaggerated; and we still feel convinced that no just or true idea of the state of these people can be obtained from the works generally referred to as authority on the subject.

The advancement in inculcating upon these people the genuine doctrines of Christianity, has been by far too highly coloured, except in a very few instances. The old queen, before her death, and the present queen regent, have been considered among the converts. The number of converts we do not know, and presume that nobody else does. Their ancient religion, whatever it was, has been abolished; and we believe that a bonfire of wooden idols was made before a missionary ever set foot on the island! Christianity is the religion now established among them, in which all believe, so far as they have any ideas of religion at all.

Some time before the arrival of the Potomac, a few Spanish missionaries of the Catholic faith came from the coast of California, with the view of establishing a school and church for the benefit of the heathen islanders. They were men of learning, and agreeable manners and conversation; and, in all their acts and behaviour, appeared sincerely pious. They brought with them funds enough to raise suitable houses, and soon learned the language so as to converse with the natives.

Pleased with their manners and instructions, the natives came in numbers to be taught by them; so that the school and place of worship began to be crowded. They followed the course of instruction, in some degree, laid down by the American missionaries; and never attempted to draw the natives to themselves, except by amiable and kind deportment. Indeed, they were exemplary in all their actions. But their success was too great, and they were ordered to discontinue their worship. At first they refused, and informed the authorities that theirs was also the worship of the same God with the American missionaries,—the forms

alone were different. But all this was of no avail. The natives were forced from their houses of worship by native soldiers, ordered by authority!

Things became serious. The natives wished still to attend the new-comers; but this was prohibited. The missionaries were ordered to depart; and finally were compelled, with threats of personal violence, to leave their labours and the island, and go on board a little rickety vessel, belonging to one of the chiefs, in which they were conveyed to the coast of California, and there inhumanly set on shore, in a barren spot, and distant from any settlement!

Is this, then, the fruit of Christianity, in a place where we had reason to believe so much good had been done by the mild influence of missionary labours—where religion, and freedom, and knowledge had taken such deep root? where the gospel trumpet had been sounded, and the heathen had listened to its joyful notes?

This is not all. The California missionaries were not only forcibly compelled to forego all their benevolent intentions and labours of love, but, at the time of the Potomac's arrival at Oahu, some forty natives, men, women, and children, were confined at hard labour, on a coral wall which was then erecting, of several miles in extent, in the country, and were not allowed to visit the town. One woman was seen, with an infant on her back, bearing large stones in her arms for building this wall! And this punishment was inflicted because they were Catholics, and would not change their religion for that of the missionaries of the island! "We saw a man casting out devils in thy name, and we forbade him, because he followeth not us!"

At the conference previously alluded to between Commodore Downes and the authorities, this subject was introduced; when the commodore, in a mild, though decisive tone, explained to the chiefs and queen regent, that in England, in the United States, and other countries, persons were not punished for their religious opinions; and that Catholic countries might not view with indifference such cruel treatment of Catholics; that a bitter spirit of persecution was not sanctioned in any enlightened country, and ought at once to be abolished.

There were few present at this interesting conference who will soon forget the apparent reluctance with which Mr. Bingham,

head of the mission, interpreted this liberal and truly Christian advice; and that, in apparent justification of the authorities, he instanced Spain as a country that would not admit of toleration! The commodore's remarks seemed to break, like new light, upon the minds of the chiefs; and the release of the unhappy sufferers for "conscience' sake," followed immediately afterward.

The missionaries say they had no hand in this matter. Be it so. Then from whom did the natives derive the knowledge that to persecute, to punish, and to excommunicate, even from the island, such as did not believe exactly as the missionaries did, formed a part of their Christian duty? Has the Christian religion, whose very essence is love and charity, been so taught as to implant into the minds of these natives a spirit of cruelty and intolerance, foreign to their natures on every other subject?

In the sincerity of our heart, we hope not. The missionaries say they took no part in this matter. When sectarian zeal has once taken full possession of the human heart, men scarcely know what they do; and one record at least has been made and left, which, if it do not show interference, by raising unworthy prejudices against the Catholics, is unfortunate in having the semblance of such a motive.

We allude to the celebrated missionary hymn of Bishop Heber. The intelligence possessed by this great and good man, his high standing as an exemplary Christian, had no doubt been often explained to the most intelligent of the natives; and any thing coming from his pen would be looked upon as deserving great respect, and receive from them more than ordinary attention. The hymn runs thus:—

1. "From Greenland's icy mountains,
From India's coral strand,
Where Afric's sunny fountains
Roll down their golden sands;
From many an ancient river,
From many a palmy plain,
They call us to deliver
Their land from error's chain.

2. "*What though the spicy breezes,*
Blow soft o'er Ceylon's isle,
Though every prospect pleases,
And only man is vile;

In vain with lavish kindness,
The gifts of God are strewn,
The heathen, in his blindness,
Bows down to wood and stone.

3. "Shall we, whose souls are lighted
With wisdom from on high,
Shall we, to men benighted,
The lamp of life deny?
Salvation! oh, salvation!
The joyful sound proclaim;
Till each remotest nation,
Has learn'd Messiah's name."

The missionaries at Oahu translated this hymn for the benefit of the heathen, and published it in a tract, containing other religious matters, in the following words of the Hawaiian tongue:—

"HIMENI MISIONARI.

"*No ka hooulu ana i ka olelo a ke Akua i na aina a pau loa.**

1. "Aloha ko na mauna,
I paa mau i ka hau,
A me ko Aitiopa,
Ko Inia me Makao,
Na muliwai kahiko,
Na moku, na papu;
Kii mai ko laila pio,
I ola no lakou:

2. "Auwe na lahuiaina
O na akua e!
Ka make o na aina
I kulou i ke kii;
Ko Aferika pouli!
Ko Asia naaupo!
Ko Mahomeda pule!
Ko Roma hewa hou!

3. "Pehea la ke hoole
Kakou i aoia mai
I kanaka pouli,
Ia lama e ola'i?
Ke ola! O ko ola
Hoolaha ae kakou,
I lohe i ka Mesia,
A e huli ko ke ao."

* Ua hooleaia'ku ia Iehova, mahope iho o ka ke Alii olelo ma Waimea a me Kailua, Hawaii

This hymn, faithfully and correctly rendered back into English, will, we are assured, be found to read as follows:—

1. "Hail, inhabitants of the mountains
Still covered with snow—
With those of Ethiopia,
India, and China;
Old rivers,
Isles, and mainlands,
Your captives are
Invited to freedom.

2 "*Wo to the people*
Of strange gods,
Who adore idols;
The perdition of nations,
The Africans in darkness,
The Asiatics in ignorance,
The Mahometans, and
The ROMANS *returned to their wickedness.*

3. "How can we,
Who are enlightened,
Refuse men in darkness
The light of life!
The life! the life!
Let us diffuse it—
That the world may hear the Messiah
And be converted."

We have endeavoured to find, particularly in the second verse, something corresponding to the original of the eminent divine, of whose celebrated hymn it is said to be a translation. But admitting it as having been intended as a mere *imitation* of the original, the blending of the Mahometans and the *Romans* together, as having returned to their wickedness, may, for aught we know, be highly poetic, but is certainly no imitation of the spirit which actuated the benevolent author of the original production, or of that charity, and forbearance, and brotherly love, which are ever warm in the heart of the truly pious, no matter to what sect or denomination he may belong. We honour the labours of the missionary, who, in singleness of heart, and with rational and pious zeal, goes forth to labour in the vineyard of his Divine Master, whether it be among the ignorant and needy in his own country, or among the heathen in far distant isles; for good may come from his labours in the one instance, if not in the other.

At Oahu, it is not to be disguised, that a most unhappy state of things exists between the missionaries and other foreigners and resident traders on the island. They are constantly arrayed against each other. The missionaries complain that they have been opposed in their views and endeavours to introduce the Christian doctrine among the natives, and we have no doubt their complaints are but too well founded; that every act of theirs is viewed in an unfavourable light; and that they would have proceeded faster and farther, had it not been for the influence of the traders, who were generally devoid of all religious principle, and practised the greatest frauds upon the natives in their dealings with them; which tends to corrupt their morals, and to preclude all hope of fairness of trade among them!

The foreign residents, as may well be supposed, are composed of people of all nations, the English and American predominating; and though there are a number of very respectable individuals settled at Oahu with commercial views, yet it is not to be denied, and no one can regret it more than we do, that the white population, generally speaking, are of the very worst order; among whom every thing like that decent restraint which civilized society imposes upon its members is at war with their vicious propensities, and of course resisted by them to the extent of their power.

What then? Shall the missionary sanction their evil deeds? Certainly not. But let him mingle with them—not in austerity, but in mildness—reprove and reason with them. Let him reflect that commerce, though it carry evils in its train, is indispensable as a helpmate in the work of civilization, without which, four hundred years' experience, in all parts of the world, prove how little can be done by the missionary! Let him be careful to abstain from all unbecoming interference in the civil affairs of the island. Of such interference he should not only be innocent, but above suspicion. Let him give no cause of complaint, that he exercises, or attempts to exercise, any control over the natives in matters of trade; these things will regulate themselves. There is no reason that he should not provide for himself and his family; but in doing so, he should be cautious that he gives no cause for belief that he looks for the reward of his labours in the good things of this world. Let him be foremost in teaching the natives the arts of civilization; let him even join in their labours, and not

frown on their innocent amusements ; teach the industrious how to improve his *taro* patch—how to make two blades grow where only one had grown before. Let him offer rewards to the most successful cultivator of his little farm—as well as to the one who shall best get his lesson at school, or be most regular in his attendance at church.

Should missionaries of any other denomination come to the island, go forth to meet them—extend the hand ere they have touched the shore—bid them welcome. Differ they may in many things; but what of that? The harvest is great, and the labourers are few. Let them live in peace.

Let us be distinctly understood in the remarks we have made, in reference to the foreign residents and missionaries on this island. As to the question, which party is on the right side of virtue and good order, there can be but one opinion, where there is not even room for comparison; we are not the advocate nor the apologist of the improprieties of the former; and we have been free in our remarks of what we deem the errors of the latter, because all should rejoice to see the great objects of the benevolent and Christian world realized, in the extension of civilization and the gospel to earth's remotest bound. The very efforts made in such a cause assist to keep alive the charities of the world.

When will our government become sensible of the necessity of placing at these islands a consular agent, on a salary which shall render him independent of trade, and who might be enabled, at all times, to exercise his influence for good?

CHAPTER XXIII.

Passage to the Society Islands—Island of Otaheite, or Tahiti—Matavia Bay—Description of the natives—Dress, houses, food, &c.—Appearance of the country—A banquet champêtre—Divine worship—Increase of temperance among the natives—The queen-dowager—A sprig of royalty—Dinner on board the frigate—State of the Island—Sail for Valparaiso.

THE day after leaving Honoruru and the Island Oahu, found the Potomac bounding on her way to the south and east, with a fresh northeast tradewind. Although a month had been spent, and happily spent too, at the lovely island we were now leaving far behind us, we were not displeased at finding ourselves once more upon the ocean. A month is a long time for a sailor to be cooped up in port; he pants for the exhilarating, darting spring of the ship, when met by the high rolling swell—the spirit-stirring, onward motion. Even the passing squall has its charms and its attractions. But these again soon tire; and we look forward, with new interest, to the coming port.

In fact, there is nothing like variety; it has been aptly called the spice of life—of a sailor's life, we are sure that it is so—though replete with hardships, dangers, and privations; for, after all, his life is a merry one. It is not only a useful life, but a pleasant one, to all who choose to make it so.

As long as the northeast tradewind lasted, we looked forward with pleasure at the prospect of stopping at the Marquesas Islands; of which the most considerable are St. Christiana and St. Pedro, the first of which is situated in latitude 9° 55′ south, longitude 139° 9′ west. We had already gained the longitude; and a few days more would take us so far to the east as to reach them on the other tack, or with the southeast wind. Unfortunately, on the twenty-third of August, the wind died away; it then became calm; variables followed; nor did we get the northeast trade, until the third of September; when, close upon the larboard tack, and standing to the south and west, we found ourselves only able to fetch the Society Islands.

This group of islands, which is very numerous, was visited by Captain Cook in seventeen hundred and sixty-nine. They are situated between latitude 16° 10′ and 16° 55′ south; and between longitude 150° 57′ and 152° west. The principal island of the group was called Otaheite by Captain Cook, but the natives pronounce it Tahiti. No authentic knowledge of this island, however, was obtained, until Captain Wallis, in the Dolphin, crossed the Pacific, about sixty years ago. He anchored in Matavia Bay, on the nineteenth of June, seventeen hundred and sixty-seven; gave to the harbour the name of Port Royal, and to the land, "King George the Third's Island." The adjacent island of Eimeo, or Moorea, situated about fourteen miles west of Tahiti, was seen by Captain Wallis, who called it the Duke of York's Island.

On the evening of the twelfth we were near to Dean's Island, and stood off for the night under easy sail; and in the morning, again filled away. The night had been boisterous and rainy, and the wind strong. We now looked out for land, as we moved on at the rate of ten knots. At eight o'clock land was reported, which was supposed to be Dean's Island; but by our observation, soon after taken, it appeared that we had drifted by in the night, and were now rapidly approaching Kruzenstern's Island, discovered by, and named after, that indefatigable commander of the Russian discovery ship.

It is one of the most singular islands imaginable; appearing like a long low green patch, thickly covered with beautiful trees and evergreens on the side next to us. Part of the island was broken off into inlets, through which a heavy surf rolled in from the ocean, foaming and breaking into the lagoon. The latter might be seen from the foreyard, clear, calm, and placid, reflecting the rays of the sun as from a glassy mirror; contrasting strangely with the wild swell of the ocean without. Indeed, the whole island seemed to form a mere emerald frame to this beautiful sheet of crystal, which appeared set within its bosom.

As we passed along, at the distance of a mile or two, the natives came upon the beach, displaying their white flags, and making fires along the water's edge, to attract our attention, and invite us on shore. Cheerfully had we accepted this hospitable invitation, had the roughness of the sea afforded the least prospect of landing in safety. But what must have been the feelings

of these islanders on beholding our noble ship, rising as it were from the bosom of the waters in the distance, and increasing in magnitude as she approached; then dashing by them like some giant spectre, and again burying herself in the ocean from which she at first appeared to emerge; leaving nothing behind but a vague, indefinite remembrance of an indescribable vision! A visit by us would have been an era in their annals. But it was impracticable to land, and we had to treat their tokens of amity and good-will with apparent neglect. Is it not strange that the white flag, among "all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people," should be adopted as the emblem of peace and good-will? Like Noah's white-winged dove, if it fail to find a resting-place, it must return again to the ark.

Early on the morning of Thursday, September thirteenth, the Island of Otaheite, or *Tahiti*, was seen from the deck; although, according to our observation at noon, we could not have been less than sixty miles distant from it! After standing on till late in the afternoon, we found ourselves still eight or ten miles distant, and not being able to make the anchorage, we stood on under easy sail. The Island of Otaheite is very high; but being surrounded with clouds, could not be distinctly seen, as we neared it on the first day. The Island of Eimeo, or Moorea, to the west, has a peculiarly rugged appearance, one peak rising in naked grandeur above another, and looking down upon the ocean. Numerous other islands to the northward and westward, just pencilled their light-blue outlines on the distant horizon.

Our navigation for a few days past had been very dangerous, and of course the cause of great anxiety to the mind of the commodore. Many of the small islands are very low, surrounded by coral beds and reefs, and difficult to be seen until very nearly approached. These dangers are greatly increased by night, rendering a ship of the Potomac's dimensions exceedingly unsafe, through most parts of this extensive and deeply-interesting archipelago. During the night we stood slowly to windward; but in the morning we squared away, and made all sail for the southern extremity of the island; then coasted along at the distance of three miles from it, so that by ten o'clock we had passed along nearly the whole of the northwest part of it. A number of white houses

were seen on the shore, but we could see nothing that looked like a harbour.

After firing a gun, several canoes came off, in one of which was a man who spoke tolerable English, and called himself a pilot. It appeared that we had passed Point Venus, forming Matavia Bay, and were at this time near to Pu-pu-te harbour, which he represented as being not only safe, but preferable to the other. A boat was sent to examine it, while we feasted our eyes in contemplating one of the most lovely isles that dot the vast blue bosom of the Pacific Ocean. Every part seemed clothed with verdure, of apparently impenetrable thickness. Large patches of ploughed land could be seen in different directions, while here and there grazing cattle, and other indications of agricultural improvements, met the eye. The whole island was far superior, in every point of external appearance, to that of Oahu.

In about two hours the boat returned, bringing a favourable account of the bay in question, especially as to its beauty; but as the entrance to it is very narrow, the commodore determined at once to stand for Matavia, which was wider and more easy of access; and in the course of a very short time we found ourselves safely anchored within the harbour, in fourteen fathoms of water; Point Venus bearing northeast-by-north; the centre building on shore, east-northeast; west point, southwest-half-west; tail of the reef, northwest-by-north. Abreast of the frigate were two or three houses belonging to the missionaries; some short distance back, a few native huts might be seen, partially buried in the cocoanut and orange-groves; while all beyond was nature's own wild production.

On Friday, the fourteenth, we went on shore, in company with the missionary, Mr. Wilson, who had come off to pay his respects to the commodore; and were, on landing, invited to his house. We had brought with us some handkerchiefs, and such toys as the purser had to sell; and which we found, in buying fruit, or something to eat, answered equally as well, or better than money.

Almost the first thing that struck us, was the vast difference between the natives of this island and those of Oahu, which we had just left. In every thing they seemed superior; in colour much lighter; in many instances their features approaching al-

most to European. Both men and women are better looking; their teeth are remarkably white and regular; their hair is worn short, and alike by both sexes. All use cocoanut-oil upon their persons, particularly the females—imparting to them an unpleasant odour. They are neat in their appearance: some dressed in frocks, and others in the *tapa*, worn as in the Sandwich Islands. They have but few ornaments; occasionally a string of shells may be seen around the neck, or a single flower stuck through a hole with which the ears of the females are perforated.

Their houses are by no means so neat as those of the Sandwich Islands, neither inside nor out; and their construction is different,—being flat-roofed, and quite open all round. In the manufacture of the native cloth they also display less ingenuity. Nature has been bountiful to them in the spontaneous production of every necessary to sustain life; hence, feeling nothing of that keen necessity which is the parent of industry and the great incentive to invention, it is not to be wondered at that they should be excessively idle and averse to labour. What inducement is there for them to cultivate the soil, when the bread-fruit, cocoanut, wild plantain, banana, orange, taro-root, and other vegetables and fruits, are constantly blooming into spring, and ripening into autumn, in an endless succession of the tropical seasons?

The country is finely wooded, in appearance resembling an extensive and beautiful grove. There is nothing like a village; but the huts are scattered here and there, beneath the cool and shady branches of some spreading tree; where the natives were mostly seated in little family groups, as happy as they were ignorant of the world beyond the limits of their own little isle. They were always ready to barter whatever they had to spare, though totally ignorant of the comparative value of things. There was positive enjoyment in our unrestrained rambles "where fancy led," amid this new, this virgin scenery,

> "Where every trifle could a theme impart
> To instruct the mind, and captivate the heart:"

the spirit found ample food, while wearied nature required something a little more substantial. Meeting some natives with a dressed pig, ready for the spit, we struck a bargain for it; and with a native for our major domo, prepared for a feast *à la Tahitian*. A

short walk brought us to the spot where some islanders had been cooking. By our native cook, no time was to be lost; a hole was made in the ground; fire was then produced by the friction of two hard pieces of wood; and every thing dry and combustible was collected around, of which a large fire was constructed, and ample preparations made to *luau* our pig—bread-fruit and bananas, as already described in our account of the Sandwich Islands. Here was no richly furnished table; but our savoury banquet was spread upon large plantain-leaves, on the verdant carpet of nature, beneath the green boughs of spreading cocoanut trees; the orange, citron, and lemon around, bending to the earth with the weight of their rich golden fruits. In this rural spot, with none but the wild islanders for our guests, we enjoyed a most delicious repast.

These natives had formerly the reputation of being great thieves; but at present evinced no disposition to reduce that pro pensity to practice. If this change have been brought about by the labours of the missionaries, they have done good in this, as in other things.

At this part of the island there is a large church, of which Mr. Wilson is the pastor. The Sunday after our arrival, we attended Divine worship. There were about two hundred natives present, all of whom were well dressed; and during the sermon, which was delivered in the native language, many of them appeared attentive and devout. Their language is much more soft and harmonious than that spoken by the natives of the Sandwich Islands. The hymns sung by the females were quite harmonious; and some of them, in a low, soft, and subdued tone, might be called musical.

There is a small town about nine miles distant from Matavia Bay; and the road leading to it is not less than forty feet wide, level, and well made. In fact, this road is the best specimen of internal improvement to be met with in any of these islands; it seems, indeed, almost out of keeping with the still rude simplicity of the natives. This town is the headquarters of the foreign missionaries. Here are undoubtedly the greatest improvements; but they seem small when measured by the long period they have been in making. The sugarcane and cotton grow well here, and might be cultivated to any extent. But when will these natural capacities

of the island be called into action? When will the natives, of their own accord, become industrious? Tell us when the ocean will refuse its tribute of fish, and their rich groves no longer yield their tropical fruits—and we will answer.

The water obtained at this place we deemed of better quality than any we had got during the whole cruise, and may be obtained with great facility. Refreshments of all kinds, common to the island, including good beef, were procured in abundance, and on the most reasonable terms.

It has been said, and we have reason to believe with much truth, that the propensity of indulging to excess in the use of ardent spirits, when in their power, has greatly decreased within a few years past; while other vices, common to the condition of such people, are still practised.

We had not the pleasure of seeing her royal highness, the queen, as she was absent with her retinue of attendants at another part of the island, and at such a distance, that our short stay would not allow of her return. The day before we sailed, however, we received a visit from the queen-dowager, or mother of *Pomare*, the present queen. She was accompanied by her nephew, a youth of about ten years of age, and king of some of the neighbouring islands. The queen-mother might be forty years of age; she was dressed in a striped blue silk frock, and wore a yellow shawl; and was, in fact, not a bad specimen of royalty. Her bonnet was of Otaheitan manufacture; but what shall we say of the other extremity? Instead of the small ankle, and little foot peeping out from beneath—there stood two naked feet, both of them fantastically *tattooed*. The little king wore a short bob-tailed coat, thickly covered with little bell-buttons, and pantaloons, which descended but a little below his knees!

Accompanied by several of the missionaries, they dined on board the frigate; partaking of an entertainment given to them by the commodore. The attendants in this train of royalty were mostly dressed in native costume, presenting a striking contrast to the display made by the authorities at the Sandwich Islands.

In fact, though considerable advancement has unquestionably been made in some respects; though churches have been established, schools kept up, and the ground partially cultivated—yet, when we consider the length of time permanent instructers have

been located on the island, we cannot but feel that the harvest has not been in proportion to the labours of the husbandmen. There are many causes which must ever render their advancement in civilization slow, and of doubtful issue.

In the first place, they are happy in their own shady groves, and delight in their wild and unrestrained mode of life. Their geographical position is unfavourable to much foreign intercourse —an intercourse which, though strewing vices in its train, is nevertheless necessary to a people who would change from savage to civilized life. The island, however, is one of great interest; and the time may come, when it will enter largely into the concerns of the Pacific.

On Wednesday, September nineteenth, we unmoored ship, and made ready for sea; and on the following day we bade farewell to Matavia Bay—its lofty hills and shady groves, with their spirit-bewitching enchantments, and directed our course towards Valparaiso, at which port we arrived on the twenty-third of October, as stated in our introduction.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Valparaiso—Amicable deportment of the inhabitants—Interchange of civilities—Accumulated documents—Extent and importance of the Pacific station—Illegal detention of two American whale-ships—Defects in our consular system—Effects of the revolution—Other ports on the coast—The islands—Sail from Valparaiso—Arrive at Callao—Meet with the Falmouth and Dolphin—Description of the harbour—Visit Lima.

THE Potomac having winged her way around the world (New-York and Valparaiso being nearly on the same meridian*) had now arrived in safety on the station for which she had been originally selected by the navy department, as relief of the United States' ship Guerriere. The circumstances which led her to the east, and the services performed there, have already been detailed. For many months, her arrival on the station had been anxiously looked for by her officers and men, who were now delighted, refreshed, and invigorated, by the fine and healthy climate of Chili. A few days were now happily spent in recreation, and the interchange of civilities, not only with the citizens of Valparaiso, but also with a few agreeable families from our own country, settled in Chili for purposes of commerce.

Time, however, admitted but of short respite. The interests of an extensive coast were to be looked after. Communications and official despatches, which had been accumulating for more than twelve months, in anticipation of the commodore's arrival, had now to be examined and answered; while new dispositions were to be made of the other public vessels under his command.

The Pacific station is an extensive one, the several ports being distant from each other. On doubling Cape Horn, and entering the Pacific Ocean from the South Atlantic, the first port of entry is Chiloe, in latitude 42° south. The second is Valdivia, one degree further north. The third is Conception, in latitude 37°

* The Potomac had *more* than circumnavigated the globe; as Valparaiso is one degree and forty-six minutes further east than New-York, and four degrees and forty-six minutes further east than Washington city, from whence she first started.

south, where the Potomac now lay at anchor, some distance from the shore, throwing the rest of the shipping and town, with the surrounding hills, in the rear, as has been faithfully represented by the artist in the accompanying engraving. Proceeding north, Coquimbo, Copiapo, and Huasco, comprise the remaining part of the Republic of Chili.

The two first named, Chiloe and Valdivia, are seldom visited by our vessels, though time may render them more important, especially Valdivia, to our whale-ships, while cruising for the spermaceti off shore, or for the right whale along the coast, as is frequently and successfully done. The harbour is certainly among the best on the coast of Chili; and generally, such refreshments as are needed by whalemen in the midst of a cruise, or in preparing to double the Cape, may be procured in great abundance, and on the most reasonable terms.

Talcahuano, the port of Conception, has been much visited by our whale-ships; and from its many advantages, would be more so, particularly as the last port preparatory to their return to the United States, could they but find in that place adequate protection in a resident consul. The natural resources of this province, lying as it does on the borders of the Araucanian country, and extending from the ocean to the Cordilleras, will in time make it one of the richest departments of Chili.

Of Valparaiso it is scarcely necessary for us to speak—certainly not in detail, as the importance of the harbour has long been known. It is a point where all our merchant vessels touch, whatever may be their destination, on or from the coast. But our whale-ships seldom enter the harbour—in winter, never—as it lies exposed to the ocean from the north; and, during the winter months, the wind is sometimes strong from that quarter. The sea rolls in with great power, and the anchorage there is not only exceedingly unpleasant, but highly dangerous. Many vessels, and some lives, have been lost at such times.

The town contains about twenty thousand inhabitants, and to the eye of a stranger presents but a very imperfect idea of its extent and importance. Here is centred nearly the whole foreign commerce of Chili; and as a commercial *depot*, it will be rendered still more important, as the government has wisely deter-

mined on making it a free port of entry; and a fine building for the facilities of storage has recently been erected by the government.

The inhabitants of Valparaiso are exceedingly courteous and amicably disposed. The great number of visiters of all classes who frequented the frigate's decks, to view the vessel and enjoy the music of a fine band; the several hospitable entertainments given them; and the corresponding courtesies received from the residents on shore, were such as to render our stay in port most agreeable; and the tendency was such as to increase the friendly disposition of the inhabitants towards their elder sister republic of the north.

What a change has been wrought by the revolution! But a short period has elapsed since this port was only visited by a few Spanish galleons; and one or two vessels annually sailed from thence to Callao! Now, we meet in the same port the flags of all nations, engaged in a busy commerce; and the people of the country throwing off old prejudices, partaking of the improvements, and advancing with the spirit of the age in which they live.

Coquimbo, Huasco, and Copiapo, mentioned as the three remaining ports to the north, are places of importance, as being the ports of the great mining districts of the country, from which the article of copper alone enters largely into our commercial transactions, not only in return cargoes, but in shipments made from the coast to Canton, in American bottoms. The American merchants will have to contend with new competitors in the direct trade between these countries and China, now that the East India Company's charter no longer prevents British merchants from engaging in this trade under the British flag.

The crew having been allowed liberty on shore, and the Potomac being replenished with water and provisions, the commodore had prepared to sail for Talcahuano, for the purpose of inquiring into the cause of the detention of two of our whaleships, which had several months previously been illegally seized and detained by the local authorities of that place; showing great defects in our present consular system, or neglect of our consul at the nearest port—probably both.

On the morning of the day set for our departure to that port, his Britannic majesty's ship Dublin, Lord James Townsend in

command, arrived from Talcahuano, bringing the agreeable intelligence that the vessels in question had been released, and had, by that time, probably sailed for the United States. The amount of damages sustained by these vessels, with full cargoes of oil, lying so long, and subject to leakage, besides creating a subject for adjustment between the two countries, is probably greater than would be required to support an independent consul in that place for ten years. When will our government look to and reform the defects in our consular system?

Proceeding to the north, the next port after leaving Chili is Cobija, recently risen in importance from having been made a free port of entry for the Republic of Bolivia. This country, containing, as it does, twelve hundred thousand inhabitants, connected on the northwest with Peru, on the northeast and east with Brazil, on the south with the Argentine Republic, and washed by the Pacific Ocean on the west, opens a commercial field of considerable importance to the enterprise of our merchants. The country, though mountainous, is in many places exceedingly productive. Many of its silver mines are among the richest in South America; those of Potosi have been long celebrated.

It was on this soil the Spaniards made their last effort, under the Viceroy la Serna, and suffered a signal defeat by the Patriot forces under Sucre, on the battle-ground of Ayacucho, on the ninth December, eighteen hundred and twenty-four. This is now one of the best regulated republics of South America; its resources are certainly less exhausted, and its government presents the anomaly of a surplus in the treasury! The port of Cobija, therefore, is not only important on these accounts, but would be rendered more so, at any moment, should something occur to interrupt our friendly relations with Chili or Peru; as it would, in such case, become the port of deposite for our merchandise.

The several ports of entry along the extensive coast of Peru will be noticed more in detail as we pass along. American interests are extensive with them all, and require constant looking after.

Leaving the coast of Peru, Guayaquil is the principal port of the Equador; and then follows the port of Panama, the emporium of the old Spanish galleons, where were collected the treasures of Peru and Chili before they were sent to the mother country.

Still advancing to the north, we find the ports of Mexico, up the Gulf of California.

Thus does the Pacific station present one continued line of coast, of not less than seventy degrees of latitude, interspersed with numerous ports of entry, and under the fluctuating commercial regulations and restrictions of new and distinct governments. It might, indeed, be said, that the station extended north as far as the mouth of Columbia river; which would make it more than eighty degrees of latitude, embracing about forty on each side of the equator.

But even this extensive coast does not embrace the whole of the Pacific station. Stretching off from the coast, a new and extensive world is opened to the west, among the islands. The present important and daily increasing interests of the fisheries and other traffic; the nature of the business; the amount of tonnage and capital employed; all render this part of the station especially deserving the national care. No one can behold the hardy, silent, and persevering efforts of our countrymen in this quarter, without a feeling of exultation and pride! They are confined to no sea or clime, and often perform the circumnavigation of the globe in making up a single voyage. The numerous difficulties they encounter, and the daily complaints among them, show that they have not been sufficiently protected; and that the islands forming a part of the station, require at least one vessel from the squadron to be constantly among them.

Every thing conspires to render the Pacific a place of great interest to the people of the United States at the present time. Our future sea-fights are as likely to take place here as on the Atlantic Ocean; for where we are acquiring a preponderating commercial interest, there must be our navy also.

Such is the extent and importance of the Pacific station—a station which cannot be well protected with a less force than one frigate, two sloops-of-war, and a schooner. The coast of Chili should never be without one, and the same may be said of Peru; while the ports to the north, Panama, and in the Gulf of California, to the northwest, and the islands, will afford sufficient active employment for two more.

Anxious to fall in with the other vessels, now to the north, the commodore determined on leaving Valparaiso on the second of

December; and after a passage of thirteen days, arrived at Callao on the fifteenth, where the sloop-of-war Falmouth, Master-commandant F. H. Gregory, just from Guayaquil and the intermediate ports, was awaiting our arrival. The Falmouth had sailed from the United States on the fifth of July, eighteen hundred and thirty-one, and arrived at Valparaisó on the twenty-ninth of October. This sloop, and the schooner Dolphin, Lieutenant-commandant Long, were the only vessels we had on the coast from that period to the arrival of the Potomac.

Long before we made the anchorage, the Dolphin got under way and stood out to meet us; and as the broad pennant was recognised by her and the Falmouth, each saluted the commodore, and was answered by the Potomac, as she rounded the Island of San Lorenzo, and stood slowly in to the anchorage.

The Island of San Lorenzo, four or five leagues in circumference, may be said to form the harbour on the west, while the shores of Boca Negra and Lancon are on the southeast; beyond, the high lands which form the ridges and mountains rise one above another, until lost to the sight. This bay is from fourteen to sixteen leagues in circuit, formed by the island into the shape of a horseshoe, whose centre affords one of the safest anchorages in the world; and where, at any hour of the day or night, vessels may enter or depart without apprehension of danger of any kind. When vessels are once at anchor, they remain without being exposed to storms, or hurricanes, or winds to molest them, being under cover of the island; so that some have remained at anchor for five, or six, or more years, with weak cables. The north winds are felt sometimes in June and November, but without violence.

The most favourable circumstance of this port, perhaps unique in its kind, is that the sailing of vessels can be fixed for a certain day with the utmost certainty, as the wind regularly blows from the south; and it is very seldom that there is not a sufficient breeze for this purpose. So that when the day of sailing is announced, even the hour and minute can be stated, without the risk of disappointment. To this advantage is added, that vessels may enter the bay and leave it with the same wind, facilitated by the ample space afforded them for manœuvring, and the safe dependance to be placed on the bottom.

From the observations and analysis made by Baron de Humboldt, the water of this bay was found to be two degrees colder than any other on the coast; and this is not only verified by the testimony of those who bathe in it, but also by its protecting vessels from the corroding effects of worms and marine insects, so destructive to them in almost every other port.

At the distance of a league to the east is the famous Rimac, the principal stream of the valley of Lima, by the side of which it runs, meandering and beautifying its banks. Next follow, in the view, the ports of Lancon and Chancay, on whose fertile shores were formerly the celebrated cane plantations, and where, since the revolution, they again begin to assume importance.

On the opposite side is presented a sandy, uninhabited coast, which goes off diminishing from the port of Callao, for half a league, to the point of the island called *la Mar brava.* The island is now some distance from the main; but according to the accounts of those who existed previous to the last inundation of Callao, the channel between them was so narrow as to admit of a verbal communication from one beach to the other. But since the inundation, from some cause or other, the water has been evidently gaining on the land.

For a long time after the destruction of Callao, no other buildings were erected in it except the castle and custom-house. Bellavista having been selected, and large *bodegas*, or store-houses, built for the deposite of the grains, liquors, fruits, and other effects of the trade with Chili and Guayaquil, Bellavista soon sprang up into a flourishing village, while Callao lay in its mouldering ruins, almost neglected. The famous stone mole, which had been erected at so much cost for the security and facility of commerce, had disappeared in the general ruin—the particulars of which we shall give hereafter.

Time and the revolution have produced another change. Bellavista has fallen into decay, and Callao is rapidly rebuilding. Foreign merchants, who have the entire control of the foreign commerce of the country, reside in Lima, but have their agencies established in the port.

Soon as the usual courtesies were interchanged between the Potomac and the authorities on shore, as well as the performance of many duties connected with the protection of our interests on

WALKING COSTUME OF LIMA.

HARPER & BROTHERS

the coasts, the commodore and many of the officers took the occasion to visit Lima, distant two leagues. Of this city and Peru, our note-book is full; and in another place we shall again draw upon its contents.

On entering the city of Lima, the stranger will for a while forget that he is in the "city of kings"—that here Pizarro founded an empire—that here has been the seat of wealth—of the inquisition of luxury—of revolution and of war—in the single but novel contemplation of the *Saya y Manto*, or walking-dress of the Limaian ladies! The lower part of this dress, or the *saya*, is, in fact, an elastic silk petticoat, laid in vertical folds or plaits, sitting close to the figure, the contour of which it gracefully exhibits at every step and movement. The *Manto* is a kind of hood of black silk, reaching low enough to conceal the top of the *saya*, and is drawn up from behind over the head and shoulders, concealing the elbows and arms, and all the face except one eye, which just peeps out as a sample. The fold in front is held in its place by one hand, while the other is extended across the bust, holding a rosary or a pocket handkerchief. In this dress the ladies go to mass at early dawn, and a shopping in the forenoon; indeed, it is the common walking-dress through the day, but not worn by ladies at night.

CHAPTER XXV.

City of Lima—Climate and Temperature—View of the City from the Summit of San Christoval—The river Rimac—Cisterns and fountains—Absence of rain, thunder, and lightning.

For the facts which we have now to offer in regard to the climate of this country, and other incidental topics, we are principally indebted to the work of Dr. Unanue on the "Climate of Lima." Our remarks, indeed, will mostly have reference to that city.

Dr. Unanue divides the Cordilleras, or Andes, into four zones,—the torrid, temperate, frigid, and frozen. The first, which is at their base, commences at an elevation of about four thousand feet above the level of the ocean, and where the thermometer of Reaumur ranges from 16° to 24°. Here there are woods and flowers, and aromatic gums: nature is always in action, and these are regions of extreme fertility.

The second zone extends from four to twelve thousand feet above the same level, the medium degree of heat being 13° R., and the range from 9° to 16°. The two extremes of this zone are spring and autumn: the climate is most benignant, and the productions are grain and European fruits. This is the terrestrial paradise of Peru, and nature is liberal in her productions, even to profusion.

The third zone extends from twelve to fifteen thousand feet above the same level. Here the aspect of the country becomes entirely different; every thing is stinted and miserable; it has been said with truth, that Siberia and Kamtschatka have as amiable a climate as the inhabitants of these summits.

They are of small stature, with a complexion brown and parched, and literally "toasted by the cold;" foreheads low, and covered with hair, eyes small and sunk in the head, and thus defended from the piercing reflection of the solar rays upon the snow. The thermometer ranges here at about 4° R. in the months of May, June, and July, which is at the freezing point; during the rainy

months it is generally at 8° R. There is here to be found a little stinted shrubbery and moss.

The fourth zone extends from fifteen to twenty-one thousand feet in elevation; this is what Dr. Unanue calls the frozen zone Its summit is under the line, and it gradually slopes off towards either pole. It crosses the tropics at an elevation of about thirteen thousand feet, and at about 45° of south latitude it falls to eight or nine thousand feet, and to a level with the superficies of the globe: and throughout its whole progress in Peru, it marks the boundary of vegetation and life. In this region reign tempestuous winds, as at the poles: so that in giving a general description of Peru, it may be said that its summits are crowned with everlasting winter, and rocked with whirlwinds and storms; its sides adorned with everlasting spring: that autumn reposes in its bosom, while summer, with its torrid heat, slumbers at its feet.

There is a perpetual canopy of clouds resting upon the summits of the Andes, and burying themselves in the ocean. These, for a considerable part of the year, shield the valleys from the heat of the sun. South winds always blow, loaded with freshness and vapour. Here are situated the beautiful valleys of Lima, of which one of her own poets has sung:—

"En su horizonte el Sol todo es Aurora,
Eterna el tiempo todo es Primavera;
Sola es risa del Cielo cada hora,
Cada mes es cuenta de la Esfera.
Son cada alienta un halito de Flora,
Cada aroyo una Musa lisonjera;
Y los vergeles, que el confin le debe
Nubes fragrantes con que al Cielo lluéve."

Lima, which has been decidedly the richest and most celebrated city of Southern America, is situated in 12° 2′ 51″ of south latitude, and 70° 50′ 51″ of west longitude from Cadiz. Its aspect is sloping to the southward and westward, and from these quarters only is it exposed to the wind, while to the north it is protected by high hills. All the hills around Lima are branches of the great Cordilleras of the Andes, the principal chain of which passes about twenty leagues inland from the city. The spurs which pass to the east descend from north to south, in regular gradation, forming delightful valleys, and approaching near to the

walls on the upper side of the city; while those on the north project along either side of the river Rimac, till at last they diverge and form the valley of Lurigancho, a spacious semicircle in front of the upper part of the city. The most elevated of the hills in the vicinity of Lima, are San Christoval and Amancaes; the first being four hundred and seventy, and the second nine hundred and sixty yards above the level of the sea. The view from the summit of San Christoval is extensive, and more than compensates for the labour of ascending it. There is the city quite at your feet, with its numerous towers; the magnificent Pantheon, or public burial-ground, some distance in the rear; with Indian ruins here and there, and in front the beautiful Bay of Callao, with its castle and shipping; the lofty and desert Island of San Lorenzo in the distance; and beyond, the broad Pacific Ocean. Placed on the summit of San Christoval, the imagination leaps its ordinary bounds when the eye has mastered the many enchanting objects that are clustered around, and but a few of which we have enumerated; for we have omitted the avenues planted with trees, the public promenade, the orange-groves, the fountains, and the fields of the husbandmen, extending up the valley. Directly south, along the coast, lies Chorrillas, about eight and a quarter miles from the plaza of Lima. Towards the east numerous sand-hills appear, which gradually increase in height as they recede, until they finally unite with the spurs of the Cordilleras. Such are the boundaries which limit the prospect, as the eye is cast over the beautiful and spacious valley of Lima.

The plaza, in the centre of Lima, is one hundred and seventy yards above the level of the ocean, towards which the plain inclines so gradually, that the ascent to the city is scarcely perceptible. On examining the qualities of the soil of this inclined plane, it will be found that at a certain depth there is a stratum of more compact and solid earth, over which are layers of sand and gravel, or smooth pebbles, precisely the same as found all along the coast at the bed of the ocean. This would lead to the belief, that at some former period the waters of the ocean were admitted into this basin, and extended two or three leagues farther inland than they do at present. One thing is certain, that there is now a gradual, though imperceptible diminution of the waters along the coast. Over these layers of sand and pebbles lies a stratum of

MA, from Mt Christoval
rt and Harbour of Callao

vegetable mould, two feet in depth, more or less, the prodigious fertility of which amply repays the toils of the agriculturist.

Lima is supplied with water from the Rimac. This river takes its rise in the province of Huarochiri, where it is formed from numerous torrents of melted snow, which precipitate themselves from the Cordillera of the Andes. It runs a westerly course, over a sandy and stony bed. In its progress, it is used to irrigate the farms which lie along either of its banks. A short distance before it arrives at the city, a large aqueduct branches off to the south, from which the streets of the city are profusely watered, there being a stream of water running through every street from east to west. The waters which have been employed in fertilizing the fields along the rivers' banks are collected into two reservoirs: the one to the east of San Christoval they call *puquios*, and it supplies the suburbs of San Lazaro; the other, to the east of the city, is called the *targea*, and it is from this that the cisterns and fountains of the city are supplied.

The water of Lima is reputed to be unhealthy, and productive of derangements of the digestive organs. By analysis it appears to contain an unusual quantity of selenite, a large amount of chalk or marl, and various oily earths; and these foreign matters are found to increase as the river advances, until finally an immense quantity of gross and oily earths, and mephitic airs, are found in the solution. Whoever reflects on the source of the waters, and the soil over which they pass, would infer that their bad qualities were rather to be ascribed to want of proper care in their conveyance, than to any inherent want of purity. In the reservoir which supplies the pipes and fountains, there are water-plants growing, and depositions of decaying vegetable matter; and it is not uncommon to find even dead animals there also. The conduits, as they enter the city, pass through the midst of cemeteries and sepulchres, and under bogs and pools of standing water from the dirty streets; and the incessant rolling of carriages over them, as they lie near the surface, is constantly impairing them; so that the waters they convey are impregnated with every impurity, and with the common filthy waters which run in the streets.

The river Rimac separates the city from the suburbs of San Lazaro on the north; and over it there is a beautiful stone bridge,

with five lofty arches. The bridge is provided with seats, and is a fine lounging-place in summer evenings.

There are numerous small fountains; a principal one in the Plaza throws up the water many feet above the surface of the ground.

The atmosphere of Lima is almost uniformly dark and murky. The smoke of the city, the vapour from the coast, and the exhalations from a rich vegetation, perpetually overhang the city like a wide-spread awning, which the gentle force of the south wind, the only one to which it is exposed, is not able to raise above the summits of the surrounding hills. Even in the season of greatest heat, when the sun approaches the zenith, rarefying the air and dispelling the vapours, the mist still shrouds the city, while the surrounding country, at no great distance, enjoys a clear and beautiful sky. If, during the clearest weather, a passing cloud intercepts the rays of the sun, a condensation of the vapours immediately takes place, and the sky is at once overcast, showing the great amount of moisture in the atmosphere. Throughout the day, in the winter season, the atmosphere is in continual commotion. In the morning the horizon is covered with dense fogs: these soon rise and disperse as the sun advances; and at noon it is clear, and the sun can be seen: in the evening the fogs return again and settle on the earth. In the winter there are some clear days and moonlight nights, but these are rare. These nights, however, present the heavens among the most beautiful in the world. There are found above the horizon, Orion, the Dogs, the Ship of Argo, and the beautiful constellation of the southern Centaur. If we except those days at the end of the warm season when the sun is most powerful, and others in the winter when he is most obscured by clouds, every day for the rest of the year will be little else than an alternation of light and shade: the proportion between the two varying according as the sun approaches or departs from the southern tropic. In the first instance, the rays of the sun being more direct, have more force and efficacy in dispelling the clouds; while their obliquity in the latter case renders them less efficient. Hence, this perpetual conflict and alternate ascendency of the vapours and the rays of the sun, gives Lima a hot and humid climate, without any of the extremes of these temperaments.

The annual variation of the thermometer is about 9° Reaumur —that is, from 13°, which marks the greatest degree of cold, to 22°, which is the register of the greatest heat. In addition to this, there is a diurnal variation, which is governed entirely by temperature induced by the fluctuation of sunshine and clouds. It ascends, according to the number of clear hours in a day, from half a degree to a degree; and again, from a space of cloudy weather, it descends an equal amount. This diurnal variation of course does not take place in days that are entirely cloudy. In the variable or clear days, the thermometer rises about two thirds of a degree by one in the afternoon, and one third more by four o'clock, which is the period of greatest heat. In the night, it descends to the same lines from whence it rose in the day.

The heat which is felt in Lima is generally proportioned to the indications of the thermometer, corresponding to the changes produced by the winds and clouds. The winds are always refreshing, so that during the days of greatest heat, the thermometer does not rise when they blow; but in calms, the heat is oppressive.

The barometer regularly maintains the height of twenty-seven inches four lines; varying no more than 2° 4′, without any fixed rule, according to the Peruvian observations. But the learned Humboldt discovered a daily flux and reflux. From five to nine o'clock A. M., it ascends to its greatest height; from nine to twelve it is stationary: soon it descends, until four P. M.: at seven it begins to rise, and continues to do so till eleven, and remains stationary till twelve: then again it descends till half past four in the morning. These observations were made by Humboldt, in the city of Lima, in eighteen hundred and two.

It may be said that there are but two seasons in Lima. The one of summer, in which the heat requires all to put on clothes of the lightest kind; and the other of winter, in which a total change of clothing is required. But to a more close observer, it is manifest that the changes of the four seasons are distinctly marked. The most notable of these changes is the equinox of September, which marks the commencement of the southern spring. Every thing then indicates that the god of day has returned from the north to gladden and warm the southern climes. Nature is put more actively in motion, and every thing seems to augment in volume and power. Even the animal creation, by its

animation and energy, shows that the benign and invigorating influence of spring is fully felt. The thermometer gradually rises from 13° Reaum. to 17°, when a sensible change in the temperature is felt: and between this and 18° commences the summer solstice, and marks the heat of the twenty-first December. The southern winds now blow with greater force during the month of January: and soon after succeed those calms common to this season of the year. During the summer solstice, the thermometer rises to 22°; and the gardens and fields fill the air with the fragrance of their flowers. The wheat becomes ripe, and the season abounds with all the sweet and luscious fruits of a tropical summer.

As soon as the sun passes the equator to the north, a distinct change in the warm season is felt. The nights still continue clear, while the days gradually become obscure. In April, the vapours become condensed, fogs cover the heavens night and day, and the mist commences. In the latter part of April or the beginning of May, the mists begin to fall profusely, and continue until the following spring; and an exposure of two or three hours will wet you to the skin. It is a common saying among the Limaians; "Mañanitas de Mayó y Avril nadie las puede sufrir."

The only records of rain in Lima are in the years seventeen hundred and one, seventeen hundred and twenty, seventeen hundred ninety-one, and eighteen hundred and six: and of thunder and lightning in fifteen hundred and fifty-two, seventeen hundred and twenty, seventeen hundred and forty-seven, and eighteen hundred and four; and during the latter year, it is said that the fruits were ripe in the spring two months before the usual time. In the *Serrania*, the atmosphere is very electrical, and to the want of electricity on the coast we may perhaps attribute the want of rain, though this striking peculiarity is generally attributed to the course of the winds bearing vapour, and the attraction of the clouds to the neighbouring Cordilleras, where the rains fall in torrents.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Earthquakes in Lima—Destruction of the city—Callao overflowed and destroyed by the sea—Visit Valparaiso—Return to Callao, touching at Coquimbo—Falmouth sails for the United States—Potomac proceeds to the north.

THOSE who dwell in a tranquil country, seldom visited by the slightest terrestrial vibrations, can with difficulty form an adequate idea of those terrible convulsions of the earth which ravage and lay waste the largest and most splendid cities, and overturn the very mountains, in countries less favoured by nature in this respect.

We are accustomed to look upon the earth with a conviction that it is solid and fixed beneath our feet, and few of us can realize that it has been, and is still, in some parts of the world, subject to undulations more terrific than the mightiest surges of the rolling ocean.

Geologists were formerly in the habit of accounting for all the great revolutions the surface of our planet has undergone, by referring them entirely to an aqueous origin. The ocean, from some causes, was supposed to have overwhelmed the land, and to have buried beneath its waves the loftiest mountains—the fossil shells and other marine animal remains upon them were triumphantly pointed at as proofs that the sea had risen to their summits. It was their opinion that the sea alone was liable to change of level, and it never entered into their minds to conceive that the solid earth was also subject to these changes. It is now satisfactorily ascertained that the land is not always *terra firma*, but is liable to sudden elevation from subterranean causes. That the bottom of the mighty deep has been broken up, and its sedimentary deposites, with all the various organized beings it contained imbedded, were solidified into rocks, and elevated above the surface by powerful causes acting beneath the crust of the globe!

In Europe, the countries most subject to earthquakes are those situated near active or extinct volcanoes. Calabria has been ravaged by them from one extreme to the other. Sicily and Naples

are subject to them; and the force of the shocks depends on the length of time that may have elapsed since the eruption preceding took place, in the neighbouring volcanoes. The cause of this energy in the shocks is supposed to be dependant on the thickness which the crust of cold and solid lava has obtained, and the resistance required to overcome it.

One of the most remarkable earthquakes in Portugal, which took place in seventeen hundred and fifty-five, suddenly destroyed the city of Lisbon; and in the course of six minutes crushed more than sixty thousand persons to death. The quay, constructed of solid marble, sunk down into an enormous chasm, bearing with it all the crowd of people who had assembled upon it to save themselves from their falling houses. The sea now stands one hundred fathoms deep over this spot.

There is no country on the surface of the globe more subject to earthquakes than South America, especially on its western coast, at the base of those gigantic mountains which extend through the country from north to south, and closely approximate the Pacific Ocean. Peru has been most frequently visited by these convulsions; and its capital, Lima, has been often shaken to its foundations. The great earthquake of seventeen hundred and forty-six entirely overturned that city, and crushed many of its inhabitants beneath the ruins of their houses.

But the daring energy of man again rebuilt the city, which, although now better calculated to withstand the shocks of the undulating earth, is still frequently in part laid in ruins; and the inhabitants rush from their homes, and seek refuge in the open plain, from their tottering tenements, which threaten to crush them beneath their walls.

It is surprising to observe how far the human mind can accustom itself to dangers, however imminent, and people can sleep with a feeling of security, when in a moment their dwellings may be tumbled in ruins over their heads,—their houses serving them for tombs. The people who dwell on the flanks of Vesuvius, Etna, or Teneriffe, have become so accustomed to volcanic phenomena, that they view them with little apprehension, although history, as well as their own observation and experience, shows them on what a treacherous soil they live: they still live on, apparently unmindful of their danger; and when their houses are

overturned by an earthquake, or their vineyards are overwhelmed by lava, showers of stone, or volcanic ashes, they return to the very spot, rebuild their fallen houses, and cultivate the new volcanic soil, which in time repays their labour by an abundant harvest or vintage.

So in Lima, earthquakes are of such frequent occurrence, that the ordinary ones excite alarm but for the moment among the inhabitants. There have been, however, commotions of such violence as to overturn extensive districts, and to destroy whole cities, burying their inhabitants in their ruins. In the course of one hundred and twelve days, the city of Lima experienced no less than four hundred and thirty earthquakes.

The history of that event, and the sufferings of the people, are recorded by Father Eusebio, who was not only an eyewitness of the scene, but a sufferer in the catastrophe. We may readily excuse Eusebio for giving free vent to his feelings, in describing such a mournful spectacle, as the horror of the tragedy must have unfitted him for critical observations on the natural phenomena of such an event, and fixed his attention chiefly on human suffering. Notwithstanding the lapse of almost a century, the account of Eusebio contains a freshness and interest which we do not remember ever to have seen given in any account of this wonderful event; and such portions as our limits will permit, cannot fail of being highly interesting to our readers.

It was on the night of the twenty-eighth October, in the year seventeen hundred and forty-six, while the churches in Lima were celebrating, with great pomp and holy zeal, the festivity of those two apostolic saints, Simon and Judas (not Iscariot)—a night when the moon seemed blending only benevolence and loveliness in the brightness of her beams—it was on such a night, and on such an occasion, that the dreadful tragedy occurred alluded to above. Beneath that beauty and brightness were concealed deception and ruin! The heavens were serene, the ocean was tranquil, and the earth slept in quiet;—but it was the awful stillness which precedes the earthquake's birth.

It was at half past ten at night, five hours and forty-five minutes before the full moon; when a sudden and terrible concussion of the earth took place, as if the subterranean caverns were broken up, and the elements of water, and fire, and air, were bursting

forth; each, in its violence, struggling to destroy that which had been spared from the voracity of the other!

Nothing was able to resist an impulse so sudden and so terrible, where the small as well as the great edifices of the city served only for the sepulchres of many of the inhabitants; and where those who were arrested by fright, or unmindful of the event, were crushed by the falling houses, or suffocated by the dust which arose from their ruins!

The duration of this first and terrible movement of the earth lasted a little more than three minutes; but that time, though short, was sufficient for the destruction of what had cost the labour of two hundred and eleven years in the construction! Magnificent temples and sumptuous palaces—edifices of the most splendid and costly character—were tumbled into heaps of promiscuous ruins!

The following day dawned on immeasurable sorrow. Here was the father grieving for his son;—there, the son mourning for the loss of his mother! Relations lamenting the death of their kindred, and friends weeping for the destruction of their friends and acquaintances! All was consternation—all lamentation! Men talked—but their words conveyed no meaning; their thoughts and feelings were read in their looks! Volumes of grief were expressed in convulsive sighs! Indeed, it was not a *life* which they lived—but worse than death which they suffered. Devotion alone found a seat in their hearts, directing their prayers in fervour and in silence to the Most High!

The streets were little else than mountains of earth and rubbish, impeding the movements of the inhabitants, and causing the greatest fatigue to those who attempted to pass. In many places they were inaccessible and insurmountable;—so much so, that in the most approachable of the different squares, it was impossible to distinguish the paths and the most familiar situations; and such was the wilderness of ruins around, that one house could scarcely be distinguished from another.

The consternation continued—every moment augmenting in horror, from the incessant repetition of shocks, which amounted to nearly two hundred in twenty-four hours—from half past ten o'clock on Friday evening, until the same hour on Saturday—when the inhabitants passed out into the free air of the *Plazas Cam-*

panas (open places), expecting no less, at every concussion of the earth, than a mournful termination of their existence. And well might they think so; as not only the moon, and the spangled firmament in which she rode, were suddenly obscured, but the atmosphere thickened with the heavy volume of dust, thrown off by the continued and terrible movements of the earth!

The morning of the thirtieth arrived, adding sorrow to sorrow, and grief to grief! At four in the afternoon the whole city was again thrown into consternation, at the appalling news that the ocean was bursting from its confines—had overleaped its bounds—and was rolling in with such power as soon to overwhelm and destroy every thing that had life in the city! Here language must fail; nor can the most vivid imagination conceive the confusion of the terror-stricken inhabitants of Lima! Who can wonder, if many of them thought the day of doom was at hand? The moon and stars obscured!—earthquakes in quick succession!—"distress and perplexity!—the sea and waves roaring!—men's hearts failing them for fear!"*

One tumultuous and simultaneous rush was made for the neighbouring mountains, with the hope of finding on their summits some safety from the approaching waters! The crowd moved on, some shouting in wild and unnatural accents, and others seeking among those whom they met for priests, to whom they might confess their sins, and from whom they might receive absolution for their souls! Indeed, every mortal in the city appeared to be an actor in the general tragedy! The nuns and *biatas*, and *las Esposas de Jesu Christo*, accustomed to live in retirement within the cells of their cloisters—were seen leaving the ruins of their convents, and, with the multitude, seeking in flight security for their lives!

Until after five o'clock in the evening, did the flight and consternation of the citizens continue; when it became known that the sea was still confined within its usual boundaries. But no one can be surprised that the population should have believed the report of its heaving in; not only because evil news seldom proves false, but on account of the recent destruction of the castle of Callao, and that of its inhabitants, by the waves of the sea, only

* Luke xxi. 25.

two leagues distant; and which happened on the night of the first earthquake, as will be seen in the sequel.

On the first night of the earthquake, a woman with a child, only a few months old, was left buried beneath the ruins of an edifice, where she remained in security; and, four days afterward, was taken out free from injury, and her child living. The latter had derived subsistence from the breast of its mother, whose existence was thus preserved, as Eusebio prefers to call it, by a "miracle."

On the thirtieth, new afflictions threatened the city from the odour of the unburied dead, of whom, at this time, there were probably more than thirteen hundred lying mangled and mouldering amid the ruins, and impregnating the air with worse than pestilence! As companions in these charnel-houses of the dead, might be found horses, and mules, and dogs—all kinds of domestic animals, which had experienced the fate of their owners, and contributed greatly to fill the air with the most offensive exhalations! Added to these were a multitude of men, and women, and children, thrown into the streets, and squares, and gardens—some without arms—others without legs, and severely wounded—others beyond the reach of aid, finishing their lives in fruitless lamentations, and feeling the only cure for their sufferings to be in death!

Prostrated as was the city by these unparalleled sufferings, it was doomed still farther to endure a partial famine, through the destruction of edifices, of mills, and ovens, and every building connected with the manufacture of bread; while provisions of all kinds were buried in the general ruins. People of all classes were doomed to suffer from hunger, before repairs could be made and their wants supplied!

Eusebio dwells, in terms of the severest reprehension, on the conduct of those who could practise extortions on the wants and necessities of their fellow-citizens at such a time! when gold, and silver, and pearls, and precious stones, were given to these infamous usurers for food for a few days, which in other times would have procured abundance for more than a year!

Thus terminated October, that month so unfortunate to the inhabitants of Lima. November presented, on the first night, the heavens bespangled with stars, which had been obscured for some

time before by clouds—dense and heavy vapours. But notwithstanding the favourable aspect of the weather, an earthquake was felt on that day, different from any that had preceded it.

The earth seemed to sink down, without moving violently from one side to the other—again to move itself, without materially altering its position; wanting the sounds and concussions of the other movements, it seemed as if it were swimming in some liquid element! This new movement occasioned the greatest consternation among the inhabitants, as they feared that the earth was about to open its deep caverns and swallow them up; as is said in Tacitus to have been the fate of several cities in Africa.

This motion is a species of earthquake which may be called *inclination*—it being similar to that of a ship when exposed to the movements of the waves of the ocean. The subterranean winds being collected into a tempest, such earthquakes are likely to burst forth with great violence, as was actually the case near Callao, where a considerable portion of earth was cast off to some distance on the plains. A similar phenomenon is said to have happened at New Granada.

At ten o'clock on the same night the clouds yielded a light rain, which continued falling until seven o'clock on the morning of the following day. It seemed as if this rain had opened the subterranean channels and pores with such rapid movement, that currents of exhalations, their particles mixed with nitric, sulphureous, and oleaginous substances, having been cooled and condensed into malignant drops, returned to seek their place again in the centre of the earth; destroying the vegetation of the fields, consuming the labours of the husbandman, and leaving the inhabitants to breathe a pestiferous air—while they were exposed to colds, pleurisies, and dropsies, such as occurred in Lima after the great earthquake which happened in the year sixteen hundred and eighty-seven. At four o'clock in the morning a severe shock was felt—at seven o'clock another occurred, which finished the destruction that the first only fairly begun! The poet Peralta, in his "Lima Fundada," has the following poetical allusion to these two shocks:—

"Dara el orbe mayor baylen segundo,
Y acabarà quanto dexo el primero:
No Fabricas, la Fabrica del mundo—
Teme al impulso vicilar severo:

No las ruinas, el seno si profundo
De la Tierra se amaga horror postrero;
Pues rompiendose en abras, podra creerse;
Que yá hasta el mismo suelo và à caerse."

On the second of the month, the first news from the surrounding country was received in Lima, from which it would appear, that in some places the sound was not heard; in others, the shock but lightly felt; and others again suffered a total ruin, in common with the capital. From the twenty-eighth of October, at half past ten at night, until the first of November, the earth shook two hundred and twenty times; and from the first to the tenth, there were no less than forty-six more distinct movements!

But notwithstanding this almost incessant motion or trembling of the earth beneath the city, the minds of men had gradually assumed more composure; for though the danger was not less, it had become in a degree familiar to the people. The *Cabildo*, or City Council, resumed its meetings, and began to take the most active measures for the restoration of order, and for repairing the damages done to the city. The hydrographer to the vice-king was called on to give his plans and opinions as to the rebuilding of the edifices of the city; and the report of the engineer was highly extolled. He maintained that the country would not permit the erection of elevated or heavy buildings; that the temples, and palaces, and tribunals of justice, should be built with strict reference to the trials they might have to encounter; that balconies, galleries, arches, and towers, should be discontinued, as altogether unadapted to the country.

We know not if it were then recommended for the first time, but certainly it has now gained general use: the dwelling-houses in a great measure are more insulated from each other, with an open square in the centre, as a place of retreat and security to the inhabitants from the falling of the materials around them.

From the tenth to the twenty-eighth, no less than seventy-four distinct shocks were felt, some being very heavy, and others quite light. Including the first days of the month, this calculation gives one hundred and twelve distinct vibrations, happening at intervals more or less distant from each other! How wonderful—how inexhaustibly great must be the combustible materials confined in the deep caverns beneath this country!

On this night, the twenty-eighth, at about eleven o'clock, the greater portion of the inhabitants of Lima were again thrown into commotion, by the repetition of the news that the sea was bursting again from its boundaries! It is certain that so heavy was the sound of the waves, as they lashed the shore, it might well have been apprehended as an inundation and overflowing of the sea!

Unfortunate Lima! The elements seemed leagued for her destruction!—for at twelve o'clock, while the flight, confusion, and consternation still reigned, the windows of the clouds were thrown open, and the rain descended in such torrents, for the space of a quarter of an hour, that, had it continued, it must have completed the destruction already but too far advanced by the feverish throes of the earth. At four o'clock in the afternoon, on the thirtieth, the earth shook. On the same night, from seven o'clock to forty-five minutes past nine, a light rain fell, of a quality so rare that it acted as a caustic on every thing sensitive which it touched!—burning up the green pastures like a consuming fire, and causing among the inhabitants sickness and disease. At twelve o'clock at night the wind blew strong from the north; and increased with such violence, that it seemed as if it would bear off houses and mortals in its fierce embrace! This effect, and the bad qualities which impregnated the air, arose from the infection of vapours issuing from the pores of the earth! On the second of December, at three in the afternoon, from the Dominican church moved a large procession, with the image of Rosario and Santo Rosa Peruana; all of which were borne by the venerable community of religionists, and by a great many penitents of both sexes; and following these the greater part of the ladies of Lima, singing in voices so plaintive, so touching, and so sweet, that it appeared like a holy emulation among this illustrious band. Some with hair cut, feet bare, and besprinkled with ashes, who, in other times, might have been seen decked with much splendour in the magnificence of their equipage, were now dressed in coarse woollens, and in the public streets, to be seen asking pardon for their transgressions; and, in fervent prayer, imploring Heaven to spare their devoted city!

On the sixth, the earth trembled at four o'clock in the morning, when it began to rain, and continued until six; which produced a general catarrh and coughs, and, moreover, innumerable quantities

of tormenting insects! The whole day was obscure and tempestuous; but the night was serene and clear, wanting only the appearance of the stars; which, however, are but seldom seen at this season. On the eighth, a very tempestuous and dark day—the earth had three great movements; the first, at two in the afternoon; at three and three quarters, another; and at four o'clock and six minutes the other, and the last during the day. As with December terminated the fatal year of seventeen hundred and forty-six, so with January commenced one still to be dreaded. On the first, every thing was quiet; the earth still wore its general and natural appearance; though this was in fact a mere truce before the renewal of convulsions about to take place; as on the second, at about twelve o'clock in the day, there was a shock so sudden and so violent, that it might have produced anew the ruin and destruction of the past, had its duration continued for a few seconds longer.

Amid the general excitement of this and the following days, the vice-king still thought of human glory; and in the ruined castle of Callao, at seven in the morning of the sixteenth, laid the foundation of a work of the Pentagon, according to the plan which had been marked out by the royal hydrographer. During this day, also, there was a voice abroad, that the fire of heaven was about to consume what the movements of the earth had left uninjured. The fright appears to have been terrible; depriving some of their lives, others of their reason, and affecting the remainder with such fears of a fatal calamity, that some expected a Vesuvius to overwhelm them—and others, to be consumed by the bursting forth of a new Etna!

"Será el Cielo un Abysmo levantado,
En que las negras Nubes imminentes,
Pareceran al Orbe consternado
Volantes Etnas, Lyparis pendientes;
Caeran luego de un Cielo imaginado
Falsas revelationes, tan frequentes,
Que Cometas se haran aprehendidos,
Mas eficaces mientras mas fingidos."

From the seventh to the twentieth, the earth shook at eight different times, attended with sulphureous exhalations. On the twenty-first, a trembling was felt at half past one in the morn-

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ing; the heavens became obscure, cloaking the neighbouring hills and mountains, nor did the day recover its brightness until two in the afternoon, when the clouds passed away, but not until a heavy dew had fallen for the space of two hours—which would not have been a small matter in moistening the earth, had the rains not already sufficiently saturated the hills of Chapa, los Zoros, Cabeza de Baca, las Minas, Pena Pobre, Mata Covallos, y las Laderas de Arce—which overlook the valley of Guanchi Guaylas—an irregular event, at a time when the sun is most powerful; nor did the wind moderate in its force or in its heat, though it passed over the summits of the Cordilleras; but destroyed the vegetation and consumed the productions of the earth!

The twenty-sixth was in all respects favourable. On the twenty-seventh, an earthquake was felt at three quarters past one A. M., and at ten in the day. The alarming sounds which were supposed to accompany the earthquakes, were found to be nothing but repeated claps of thunder from among the neighbouring mountains. A thing so unusual as heavy thunder at Lima, tended to confirm the general impression, that these repeated sounds came from the earth; and the result was, an unusual degree of terror and dismay throughout the whole city.

There had now been experienced in Lima, in the space of one hundred and twelve days, commencing on the twenty-eighth of October, seventeen hundred and forty-six, and terminating on the sixteenth of February, seventeen hundred and forty-seven, the astonishing number of *four hundred and thirty earthquakes*, the occurrence of which have been observed with the greatest care and accuracy.*

* *A Tabular Exhibit of the several Shocks which followed the Great Earthquake of October 28, 1746, at Lima, from that date to February 16, 1747.*

1746.		Oct. 29.	Three shocks. Great wind, and motion of the sea.
Oct. 28.	The great earthquake: half past 10 at night.	30.	Shock. Rain at night, withering and sickening.
29.	Continued shocks. Nearly 200 by half past 10 at night.	Dec. 1.	Earth quiet and air serene.
30.	Shocks incessant. Fear of a breaking in of the sea.	2–5.	Clear and still. Shock at 12 at night of 5th.
31.	Do. do.	6.	Shock. Rainy. Day stormy—night serene.
Nov. 1.	*Inclination* earthquake. Night preceding, rainy.	7.	Do. do.
2–10.	Forty-six distinct movements.	8.	Three great shocks. Tempestuous.
10–28.	Seventy-four distinct shocks.		

On the night of the great earthquake, as was afterward learned by letter, a volcano burst forth in Lucanas, which inundated the tops of the mountains and the valley below with floods of boiling water. In the mountains del Cerro de la Sal, there were also immense effects produced by this volcano. Some days before the earthquake, there were heard subterranean sounds, like the lowing of immense herds of cattle; which occasionally changed, and seemed like those resembling repeated discharges of heavy

1746.		Jan. 12.	Shocks.
Dec. 9.	Quiet.	13.	Do.
10.	Two shocks.	14.	Do.
11.	Quiet.	15.	Do., and rainy.
12.	Violent shock.	16.	Three shocks.
13.	Two shocks—slight.	17.	Two shocks.
14.	Quiet, but rainy.	18.	Do., and heavy *wind.*
15.	Various shocks. Night very serene.	19.	Quiet.
		20.	Shocks at early morning, but quiet day.
16, 17.	Quiet.	21.	One shock.
18.	Shock at night.	22.	Quiet, but gloomy air.
19.	Shock in the afternoon.	23.	Quiet.
20.	Shocks early in the morning.	24.	Slight shock.
21.	Three shocks.	25.	Do.
22.	Two shocks.	26.	Quiet.
23.	One shock.	27.	Shocks, with sounds of thunder.
24.	One shock.	28.	Shock.
25.	Three shocks.	29.	Quiet.
26.	One shock.	30.	Ten shocks.
27.	One shock—night extremely rainy.	31.	Two shocks.
		Feb. 1.	Three shocks.
28.	One shock.	3.	Quiet.
30.	Three shocks—two severe.	4.	Shocks.
31.	One shock.	5.	Shocks, with high wind.
1747.		6.	Do.
Jan. 1.	Quiet.	7.	Do.
2.	Shocks violent.	8.	Quiet.
3.	Shocks, and rainy.	9.	Shocks, with tempest.
4.	Two shocks.	10.	Do.
5.	Quiet, but heavy rains.	11.	Do., with thick clouds.
6.	Shocks heavy.	12.	Quiet. Public religious services.
7.	Do. do.	13.	Quiet.
8.	Shocks.	14.	One slight shock.
9.	Do.	15.	Quiet.
10.	Do.	16.	Do.
11.	Do.		

This Table gives to each month as follows :—

Months.	Days.	Earthquakes.
October	4	220
November	30	113
December	31	40
January	31	33
February	16	24
	112	430

artillery. These phenomena have also been observed, previous to great earthquakes, in other parts of the world.

A short time after the earthquakes, more than two thousand of the inhabitants of Lima died of the epidemic scarlet fever, pleuritic pains, and liver complaints; the same diseases which were experienced after the earthquake of sixteen hundred and eighty-seven.

At the same hour that the earthquake was felt in Lima, it was experienced in Callao; overwhelming, consuming, and destroying every thing within its reach. There was not an edifice left in the place—not a street that was not filled by the relics of the ruin! Many of the walls and porticoes seemed to resist the first movements of the earth; but they could not withstand the overwhelming force of the ocean, which came pouring in with maddening fury, piled up in mountainous waves, and destroying every thing which the earthquake had spared! Recoiling, as if to gather new power, it again rushed forward, still more elevated, from the increased vibrations of the earth, overthrowing castellated walls and turrets, which wealth in its pride had erected; tearing them up from their deep foundations, and burying them in the dark caverns beneath, leaving scarce a mournful record to show that *here was once a garrison of soldiers!*

Of four thousand eight hundred inhabitants who resided in Callao, the lives of little more than two hundred were spared. Of these, twenty-two were saved on the bastion of a rampart, which was formerly called the strength of *Santa Cruz*. Of the rest, some were thrown upon the Island of San Lorenzo, situated two leagues from the castle of Callao; others on different beaches and forts!

At the same time the sea overwhelmed Callao, it destroyed many other places on the coast. Pisco suffered again, in like manner as it had done in the previous great earthquake, which happened on the twentieth October, sixteen hundred and eighty-seven; and was thus alluded to by the poet:—

> "El man furioso salle,
> Sin que el impulso sufra," &c.

The sea also covered the road called Perdices, and destroyed every thing found in it, overwhelming in its waves whole cargoes,

litters, and mules and muleteers, in the extent of the pass called Salinas de Guaura.

But the most affecting of all the sights was presented by the shore, along which the sea was constantly throwing up dead bodies on every successive wave. There also were seen fragments of dead bodies, which the terrible action of the sea, and the materials commingling with the waters, had separated in the most shocking manner.

Of the twenty-three ships, large and small, which were anchored in the port, there were foundered nineteen; and as they were driven over the town, their anchors caught in the houses, dragging parts of them along to where all were dashed to pieces, far up the road to Lima! The ships-of-war San Fermin, el San Antonio, el Michelot, and the Succoro, shared the general fate! The spot to which the San Fermin was driven is pointed out at the present day, and is designated by the erection of a cross, a little to the right of the road which leads to Lima, and about half a mile from the beach!

By inspecting the records of that period it has been ascertained, that on the same night, and but a short time before the shock was felt in Lima and Callao, the sea rose and extended in about six hundred yards from its usual boundary at Conception, latitude 37° south, in Chili. A few days before this, a hot and scorching wind was felt in Santiago, which seemed to wither and consume every thing over which it passed.

What a field is here presented for philosophical speculation! Is the whole range of South America, west of the Andes, resting on and slumbering over unfathomable caverns of combustible materials? And are not these connected beneath?—or how else could they communicate with each other, with almost the same rapidity that sound passes through the air?

It has been ascertained, that the phenomena of earthquakes are more frequent between the spring and summer; and that when they do happen during other portions of the year, they are most frequent in autumn. The hours are generally those of darkness; two or three hours after sunset; or at the close of the zodiacal light; but perhaps more frequently about the first dawn of day.

The direction which earthquakes pursue is from south to north, along the chains of the Cordilleras.

Mournful experience has shown, that the most violent concussions occur after an interval of about half a century, in that region included between the equator and the tropic of Capricorn; and which seem to follow a certain order, from the extremes to the centre. These are the periods which have marked the great earthquakes experienced since the conquest of Quito, Ariquipa, and Lima. The fatal period had arrived at the end of the last century; and Ariquipa and the provinces of Quito were laid in ruins. Lima had passed the fatal period which nature appears to have established, but suffered in the year eighteen hundred and twenty-eight.

The great earthquakes have generally been preceded by copious rains; the earth becoming saturated, the water penetrates into the interior. Hot days succeeding to these wet ones, necessarily form an enormous quantity of vapour, which, not being able to escape, or become rarefied beneath the surface of the globe, is exposed to the electric shock, or to become ignited from the volcanoes; when, acquiring greater expansion, it produces those violent convulsions of the earth, which in their effects are so terrific. Obscure exhalations rise from the earth at night, clothing the heavens and the stars with the most sombre pall!

The frequency of the earthquakes in the spring is deemed a good sign; as it shows the combustibles beneath are wasting their strength by degrees. But if these concussions are very frequent, following each other in quick succession, they indicate a large quantity of combustible matter, from which a violent shock may at any moment be expected.

Vegetation suffers much in these gloomy epochs. The earthquake of sixteen hundred and seventy-eight rendered an immense proportion of the soil of Peru incapable of producing wheat. The stalks grew luxuriantly until the head began to form, when the grains became affected with rust, which converted the substance into a black powder, and the crop was destroyed. Twenty years did not restore the soil to its former productiveness. Indeed, the injury to the agriculture of the country was fatal. In this scarcity, recourse was had to Chili for wheat, and that country soon

became the Sicily of Peru, to the destruction of its own agricultural interests!

We have devoted a long chapter to the earthquake of seventeen hundred and forty-six. The subject seemed to us as one of great interest, in which the reader cannot fail to participate with us, when he reflects that our goodly frigate now lay at anchor in the same port where the catastrophe occurred; that here "the s and firm set earth" reeled to and fro as a drunken man; that waters of the great deep burst from their limits, overwhelming and destroying a whole people, whose ruined edifices still lie partially visible, amid heaps of sand, over which we have often walked; and that, though tranquil now, no human being can foresee, or human power prevent, at any moment, the recurrence of another and similar tragedy; that here, among a people not devoid of superstition, as the anniversary of the twenty-eighth of October rolls round, a numerous procession moves through the streets of Callao, bearing and escorting the image of old Neptune, as figured by mythologists, with a long and flowing beard, a crown on his head, enriched and bespangled with the gems of the ocean, the three-forked sceptre in his hand, and supported on each side by a Triton, bearing anchors in theirs. Moving along, to the animating strains of music, this pageantry attracts universal attention, and formerly excited the most thrilling interest. The house-tops are lined with spectators, who cannot avoid the reflection, that over other edifices of equal elevation, on that day eighty-odd years ago, had passed heavy men-of-war, borne on the swelling surges of the ocean!

The procession moves to the water's edge, and the old sea-god is made to smite the ocean with his trident; while the Most High, "who holds the ocean in the hollow of his hand," is implored never to permit the ocean again to pass beyond its present bounds!

Turn we again to our goodly ship, which had now been completely overhauled and painted anew. The Falmouth had been despatched to the ports of the north, and the Dolphin was actively employed. The interests of the station required the presence of the commodore in Valparaiso; and on the fifteenth of March, the

Potomac lay snugly at anchor in that port. On our return to the north we made Coquimbo in the way, where we lay more than a month in quarantine, all hands being inoculated with the small-pox.* The commodore during this time remained at Coquimbo, a town founded by Valdivia, in fifteen hundred and forty-four, and about three leagues from the port. The purser, Slacum, also remained on shore, to look out for the fresh provisions of the ship; which was now canopied with an awning, the decks sanded, and in all respects turned into a great fighting hospital.

The port of Coquimbo, in latitude 30° south, longitude 71° 16′ west, is among the very best on the coast; the water shoaling gradually, so that anchorage may be selected at pleasure on the southwest side. The hills around are barren and rocky, while to the east, the towering snow-crowned Andes overlook the whole country. For three years had this province suffered with drought; vegetation had dried up, and the loss of animals had been immense. But while we lay here, the aerial cisterns were opened, and the rain descended in torrents. Numerous bonfires soon proclaimed the joy of the inhabitants, and shouts of gratitude were heard from every side, for the good that had been showered upon them. Vegetation, with astonishing rapidity, sprang up, and the hills and surrounding country were soon re-clothed in green.

Leaving Coquimbo on the ninth, we arrived at Callao on the fifteenth July. Between the commanders and officers of the English and French men-of-war, such interchange of civilities took place as should always mark the intercourse of free nations, who, in spite of national predilection, have in truth so much cause to respect each other.

The time had now come for the return of the Falmouth to the United States; and Captain Gregory having received his orders on this point from the commodore, and the Dolphin being stationed in the port to look out for our interests during the present disturbed state of Peru, on the twenty-second of August we set sail for the ports of the north, intending to go as far as the Galapagos Islands, making Payta in our way.

* See Report of Dr. Foltz—Appendix.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Galapagos Islands—Charles's Island, or La Floriana—Governor Vilamil's Colony —Its origin and advance—Description of the island—Its productions—Pure and wholesome water—Prohibition of spirituous liquors—Fowls, terapins, &c.— Climate and temperature—Abuses connected with our whale-fisheries—Improvements and reforms suggested.

On Monday, the twenty-sixth of August, we sailed from Payta for the Galapagos, and arrived at Charles's Island on the thirty-first. We came to anchor in Essex Bay, on the north end of the island, a place rendered somewhat famous as the anchorage of the old Essex, Commodore Porter, during the late war with Great Britain. Commodore Downes was then first lieutenant of that frigate, but commanded an armed prize, called the Essex, junior, during Porter's glorious but unfortunate action with the Phœbe and Cherub. We remained at Charles's Island, which the new colonists call La Floriana, for the period of ten or twelve days; and every one on board was agreeably disappointed with the visit.

During the frigate's stay, we passed the time very pleasantly at the residence of Governor J. Vilamil, a native of Louisiana, in the United States, but for many years a resident of Guayaquil. Believing that some account of this infant establishment may be interesting to the reader, we shall particularly allude to it, in a very short and hasty description of the Galapagos Islands.

This, in some respects, interesting group, which comprises a large number of small islands, is situated nearly under the equator, between the eighty-ninth and ninety-second degrees of west longitude—about two hundred and forty leagues west of the American continent. A majority of these islands are situated a little south of the equinoctial line, though a few scattering islands are found north of it. Albemarle Island, which is the largest of the cluster, is more than seventy miles in length, and stretches north and south, with an eastern coast that is nearly straight; but its western side is deeply concave, embracing the volcanic Island

of Narborough. The north head of Albemarle terminates westwardly in Cape Berkley, which is exactly on the line. South and east of Albemarle are Charles's Island, Hood's, Chatham's, Barrington's, Downes's, Porter's, and James's Islands.

The name of this group is derived from the Spanish word *galapago*, a fresh water *tortoise;* and it was given to these islands because they abound with the largest class of these animals, a species of terapin, to which Commodore Porter has given the name of elephant tortoise, as their legs, feet, and clumsy movements strongly resemble those of the elephant. Their flesh is most excellent food, and they seem to have been placed here, in these lonely regions, for the sole purpose of refreshing the adventurous mariner, whose hazardous calling is the pursuit of the great leviathan of the deep. Many of them weigh from three to four hundred pounds, and they will live in the hold of a vessel a remarkable length of time without sustenance, and still retain much of their original fatness and richness of flavour. Their drink is pure water, which they carry with them in a vessel provided by nature for that purpose, containing about two gallons, which remains cool, fresh, and sweet for a long time after they are made prisoners.

The hill-sides of these islands, near the shore, are covered with prickly pear-trees, upon which these terapin feed, and thrive in a most wonderful manner. These animals have doubtless saved the lives of many seamen employed in the whale-fisheries in those seas, who would otherwise have perished or suffered much with the scurvy. They sometimes take from six to nine hundred of the smallest of these tortoises on board, when about leaving the islands for their cruising grounds; thus providing themselves with fresh and wholesome provisions for six or eight months, and securing the men from the attacks of scurvy.

Charles's Island, or Floriana, at the northern end of which is Essex Bay, in which the Potomac lay at anchor, is about eighteen or twenty miles southeast of Cape Woodford, which projects from the south head of Albemarle Island. The centre of Charles's Island is in latitude 1° 17′ south, longitude 90° 30′ west; and is about twenty miles in length from north to south, and fifteen in breadth from east to west; giving a superficial area of more than

three hundred miles. Like every other island in the Galapagos group, it was uninhabited until eighteen hundred and thirty-two, when Vilamil first established his long-projected colony. He informed us that he had this enterprise in view as long ago as the year eighteen hundred and eleven; two years previous to the appearance of Commodore Porter in these seas, during the late war with Great Britain.

At this early period, the information which Vilamil had acquired of the Galapagos Islands was so interesting, that at one time he thought of applying to the government of Spain for permission to make a settlement on one of them; but was deterred from this design, being assured by the Spanish authorities in Peru, that the court of Seville would never permit a settlement to be made on this group of islands.

On the establishment of the government of Colombia, and its entire independence of the dominion of Spain, his attention was again turned to an enterprise he had had so long in contemplation. His friends at this time did every thing to dissuade him, pronouncing the plan to be chimerical and rash. Though not entirely discouraged, he remained inactive until the year eighteen hundred and twenty, when he suffered severe misfortunes in his family, in the death of his wife and two children, in the short space of twenty-one days. Tired of society, and worn down with afflictions, he turned his whole mind and energies towards his favourite scheme,—the establishment of a colony. The government of the equator was at once petitioned, and in the year eighteen hundred and thirty-one, a charter in due form was granted, conceding the possession of the islands, and authorizing the establishment of a colony.

In January, eighteen hundred and thirty-two, Colonel Hernandez, with only twelve colonists, was despatched to take formal possession of Charles's Island; and in April and June, settlers of both sexes followed the first. Vilamil, in person, accompanied by eighty colonists, arrived in October, and at once assumed his station as proprietor and governor of the island. Previous to his arrival, little or no improvement had been made; but with this accession, all took greater courage, and began to labour with much zeal; more especially when they found that the whale-ships would

be likely to consume their surplus produce; and, taking all circumstances into consideration, their labours have been really successful. Nor do we deem the remark extravagant, that at this time [September, eighteen hundred and thirty-three] the productions of the island are sufficient for several hundred additional inhabitants; and during the coming year, many of our whale-ships may receive an abundance of vegetable supplies.

This island is not fertile near the shore; for the space of three miles towards the interior, the soil is steril in the summer, or dry season; but capable of yielding one good crop in the winter, or wet season; and during the whole year, this portion of the island is good for raising hogs, goats, &c., as the ground abounds with the carib-tree, the fruit of which, with the tree and juice of the prickly pear, form for these animals an excellent nutriment.

Penetrating towards the interior, there is a beautiful upland valley, spreading from northeast to southwest, in the form of a parallelogram, about five miles in length and three in breadth. From the middle of the valley, another opens to the southeast and inclines gradually to the south, and is nearly equal in extent to the first. In both, the soil is of a superior mould, and is covered with a rich carpet of luxuriant vegetation, shrubbery, and trees. The formation of the island is exclusively volcanic; there is not a rock that does not bear the evidence of fire, and the soil, in all parts, is composed of the decomposition of lava and vegetable matter.

Not only these valleys, but the sides of the higher mountains, may be cultivated from January to December, one crop following another in rapid succession; moistened in summer by continued and heavy dews, and by rains in winter. From the black beach, the place of disembarcation, and so named from immense quantities of lava forming the shore, like massive pot-metal, the road, by continued ascent, leads to the main settlement, at the distance of about five miles; and on the same road there is a fine spring of fresh water, which the governor contemplates conveying to the beach, where he believes it will yield seventy or eighty gallons per hour, for the use of ships.

The eastern skirts of the high hills produce the *paja*, a long coarse grass, used by the inhabitants for covering their houses;

and for which reason they have named it the *Serra de la Paja.* Here a fine view of the first valley is presented, and rising from the steril parts of the coast, the eye dwells with pleasure on the prospect, embracing no less than fifty little *chacras,* or farms, with nearly an equal number of houses; small and rude, it is true, yet not unfit for the climate, and surrounded with plenty, which the fertility of the soil produces at a small expense of labour on the part of man.

On the southeastern extremity of the first valley, a magnificent volcanic mountain rises, around the summit of which, and others of less elevation, the clouds may be constantly seen gathering in mist, which impart to the higher portions of the island a degree of humidity not to be expected from a view of the coast, and certainly in direct contradiction to all previous accounts given of this archipelago.

From one side of this mountain the water, delicious, and of crystal purity, may be seen trickling down from the rocks. One of these *destiladeras* is a real curiosity. That part of the rock yielding most water, presents an exterior entirely dry, and is surrounded and clothed by shrubbery, flowers, and aromatic herbs; and the water, which issues by numerous little filtering streams, is as pure as that which gushed from the rock of old, when smitten by the rod of the prophet.

The governor, who may with great justice be called the father and founder of the colony, has adopted, certainly, one wise measure. He has prohibited, under the severest penalties, the introduction of all kinds of liquor into the island; and this measure is no doubt the secret cause of the successful experiment already made by the Florianas. At a small party given by the governor to Commodore Downes, water was the only beverage to be seen on the table. He apologized for the want of wine, and remarked, that he adopted it as a rule, not to partake of any luxury that policy required him to prohibit in the island; which apology was deemed good by the commodore and all present. It was very easy, however, to perceive that our host had not spent his whole life in such society; as the number and variety of the dishes brought to the table, formed exclusively of the productions of the island, would have done credit to the good taste of a person surrounded by many more advantages.

In the valleys there have been found nine small lakes of sweet water, which fail not the whole year; and others which dry up from August to October. In November they again commence filling with water. In these lakes are found many varieties of ducks, *gallenetas del monte*, and also one species of the snipe. Other lakes are also met with, near the ocean, of much greater extent; but the water is brackish to the taste, and these abound with ducks and flamingoes. The number of doves on the island is almost incredible, and their flesh is sweet and very tender. They are so tame, that any number may be knocked over with a pole, without trouble. Nearly two hundred were brought on board by the men and officers of a single boat, from an afternoon's excursion on shore; and we have heard the governor, when sending out a servant to procure a few dozen for dinner, direct him to select only the fat ones; and the boy went and did accordingly.

The temperature of the island, from the end of May to December, is from fifty-two to seventy-four degrees of Fahrenheit, which gives a medium of sixty-eight degrees, rendering woollen clothes the most agreeable. From January to the first of May, the thermometer stands from seventy-four to eighty-four degrees, giving a medium of seventy-nine degrees, and the heat is consequently rather oppressive. During the ten days we lay in Essex Bay, in September, the thermometer ranged from seventy-one to seventy-eight degrees in the shade, on board ship; and the barometer stood from 29° 70′ to 29° 78′.

The climate we should deem healthy; as during the nineteen months since the arrival of the first colonists, there have been only five deaths. Three of these came sick from Guayaquil; one died of a disease difficult to cure in any clime—that of eighty years of age! and the fifth was shot, on account of an outrageous attack he had made on the life of the captain of an American whale-ship. This severity was of indispensable necessity in an establishment of so recent origin, and which can be sustained by moral force alone. It has done much to teach the colonists their true interests; that peace among themselves, justice and good faith towards the vessels which may visit the islands for the purchase of their surplus produce, will alone promote their prosperity. At the present time, on the arrival of a whale-ship (which the Florianas call their ships), the whole settlement is filled with de-

light; and the captains and crews, when on shore, often participate in the labours and amusements of the inhabitants.

It is easy to perceive, that this island may at no distant day become a place of importance, at least to the whaling interests of the United States. By referring to this group of islands on the chart, it will be found to lie immediately in the neighbourhood of what is called the *off-shore whaling ground;* indeed, to occupy the centre of a circle, around which the hardy wights of the harpoon are fishing up individual wealth, and adding to our national prosperity, by treasures procured from the depths of the sea.

The freedom of the port, and the productions of the island, as well as the absence of all grog-shops, and that miserable gang of worthless keepers, who first intoxicate the sailor and afterward induce him to desert from his ship, seem strongly to recommend this place, at least to the trial of our whalers; to say nothing of terapin, the best of all sea-stores, and which would almost repay the voyage of an alderman to the South Sea.*

The amount of tonnage and capital employed in the South Sea fisheries has so much augmented within a few years past, that the general impression in the United States is, that every thing connected with this great interest is going on prosperously and well. But such, unfortunately, is not the case. Abuses of the most serious nature not only exist, but are of daily occurrence in the whale fleet. The cause of some of these abuses can be corrected by the owners, and others can only be reached by the strong arm of our government.

Our public vessels do all in their power to redress these disorders; but, having the interests of an extensive coast to look after, are often distant from the ports frequented by whalers. Hence

* From the thirteenth of October, eighteen hundred and thirty-two, to the twentieth of August in the following year, thirty-one whale-ships touched, or were reported at La Floriana, with more than nineteen thousand barrels of oil. These vessels were all from the United States, with the exception of two, and belonged to the following places:—one to Hudson; one to Poughkeepsie; three to Newport, R. I.; three to Bristol, and one to Warren, R. I.; thirteen to New-Bedford; six to Nantucket; one to New-London, and two to London. These had been out from six months to two and a half years; and one of them had two thousand four hundred and fifty barrels of oil; one nineteen hundred and fifty; one sixteen hundred, one fourteen hundred, one thirteen hundred, and several from seven hundred to one thousand barrels.

the number of disordered ships, and of protracted, if not broken voyages, with which some of our readers are but too well acquainted. The few consuls we have or have had on the coast are merchants, who probably hold their commissions for the security they yield to their own interests, and to consignments made to their respective houses; while the whaler, who brings them no profit, can receive but little of their attention. Their own occupations do not allow them to look after his interests, or very particularly to inquire into his difficulties; and yet, in a national point of view, the mercantile transactions of our citizens on this coast, and in these seas, are greatly inferior to the interest of those engaged in the fisheries.

The amount of tonnage of our whale-ships which entered the single port of Payta in the year eighteen hundred and thirty-one, was twenty-four thousand four hundred and thirty-nine; having on board forty-six thousand two hundred and ten barrels of oil. For the year eighteen hundred and thirty-two, twenty-seven thousand one hundred tons of shipping, and forty thousand eight hundred and ninety-five barrels of oil. For the year eighteen hundred and thirty-three, up to October, twenty thousand two hundred and seventy-six tons, and thirty-six thousand four hundred and fifty-five barrels of oil. And yet, at a point that is and ever must be of so much importance, so often the seat of abuse and irregularity, as well on the part of the local authorities as among our own shipping, we have never had, up to this day (October, 1833), even an accredited agent to look after these immense interests!

J. C. Jones, Esq., the United States consul at Oahu, in a letter to Commodore Downes, says—"I have never before seen so much the importance of having a vessel of war stationed at these islands, for the protection of the whale-fishery; there has hardly been one vessel in the harbour that has not had more or less difficulties. I have at one time had sixty Americans confined in irons at the fort; and hardly a day has passed that I have not been compelled to visit one or more ships to quell a mutiny, or compel by force whole crews to their duty, who had united to work no longer. I should say, too, that there were over one hundred deserters now on shore from the American ships this season, regular outlaws, ready to embark in any adventure. Had we a ship-of-war here, at the season the whale-ships visit the islands, much

trouble could be avoided. In fact, I think it almost indispensably required. I hope you will be disposed to send us one of your squadron the next spring, as I feel assured that a vessel of war will then be required more than ever."

The commodore received a similar request from J. Lenox Kennedy, United States consul at the port of Mazatlan, dated the sixteenth of May, eighteen hundred and thirty-three, on account of the frequent revolutions which were at that time taking place in the country. He also received a pressing letter, signed by five American ship-masters, in the port of Callao, complaining of the abuses they suffer "from a class of worthless keepers of grog-shops, who entice away and conceal their men, to the great hazard, and even ruin of their voyages."

Immediately on the receipt of this letter from the masters of the whale-ships, Commodore Downes made a communication to the commandant of marines at Callao, which was by him transmitted to the government at Lima; and in the course of a few days, such regulations were introduced, under the superintendence of the captain of the port, as effectually checked for the time the abuses complained of. The readiness with which the local authorities interfered in this matter on the representation of Commodore Downes, is an evidence of what might be effected, if we had commercial agents who attended to their duties.

The mere appointment of a consul, as our consuls are appointed and supported in other places, will not answer for our extended commercial operations of these seas. We require a consul at the islands, one in Payta, and another in Talcuahana, Chili, on salaries which shall command the services of able men, and make them independent in action; to which add one more sloop-of-war to our present squadron, to cruise among the islands; and then, and not till then, will our interests be properly protected in the Pacific.

In Payta we should have an hospital, on a simple and economical plan: there is not a foreign port on the globe which needs one so much. Let it be remembered, that there are more than six thousand seamen traversing the ocean from Japan to this coast, visiting each, in the alternate changes of season, engaged in a business at all times adventurous, and often exceedingly hazardous; and yet, within this mighty range, there is not a spot where the disabled or infirm sailor can be placed, with perfect assurance

of being well attended to. The consequence is, frequent instances of suffering and death, under the most melancholy circumstances, but for which neither the owners nor the captains are responsible. The mild and healthy climate of Payta would be in its favour; and the expense would be very small, as could easily be shown. We could say much more on this subject, but think it high time to return to La Floriana.

The arrival of the Potomac brought the first intelligence to Governor Vilamil, that he had been appointed United States consul for the port of Guayaquil. He remarked, that under any other circumstances, he would have received with pride this mark of confidence on the part of his native country; but having engaged in his present enterprise, nothing could induce him to abandon it; and seated, as it were, upon a rock, separated from all the world, he hoped he should be able to render more important services, at least to one branch of our commerce, than he could in the consulate of Guayaquil.

As governor of the island his power is absolute, and his right in the soil is without limit of time. Crimes are punished severely, and minor offences by sending the delinquent six, eight, or ten months on board any whaler in need of men, to be returned to the island previously to the departure of the ship for the United States. By this policy the whaler is benefited, the offender punished, and also improved by a knowledge of a new business, and by earning something for himself.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Sail from the Galapagos—Visit Guayaquil—Touch at the ports of Payta and Lambayeque—Arrival at Callao—Meet the Fairfield—Return to Valparaiso—Depart for the United States—Falkland Islands.

We left Charles's Island on Tuesday, the tenth of September, and after a passage of seven days made the Main, and came to anchor at Puna Island, Bay of Guayaquil, about forty miles below the town. Guayaquil has been a flourishing commercial city, and the principal port of entry in that portion of the republic of Colombia which, since its dismemberment, forms the republic of the Equador. It is situated about seventy-five miles from the sea, on the north bank of the river whose name it bears, in latitude 2° 12′ south, and about one hundred and forty miles north of Payta. It is built partly on the side and partly at the foot of a hill, which gently descends towards the river. Quito is the capital, once a place of great wealth and splendour, and acknowledged to be the first-born of the independence.

The commodore, with a party of officers, spent a week in Guayaquil, and very agreeably too; for on no part of the coast is there more improved and refined society, or a people who better know how to practise the rites of hospitality. Besides, Guayaquil has long been celebrated for its female beauty. The country, however, is growing poor, from the effects of almost constant revolution with which it has been afflicted.

We sailed from Puna on Sunday, the twenty-ninth of September, and touching at the ports of Payta and Lambayeque, arrived at Callao on Sunday, the twenty-seventh of October. The Falmouth had departed long since for the United States, and in her place was found one of our squadron, the sloop-of-war Fairfield, Master-commandant Vallette. In her first lieutenant, James P. Wilson, we were happy to meet an old acquaintance, a long-tried friend, an able officer, and a worthy man. During all the month of January, Commodore Wadsworth was expected to arrive at Valparaiso, when the Potomac, in course, would depart for the

United States, and every requisite arrangement was made at Callao for our departure. Peru was unsettled, and the afflicted Equador was convulsed with revolution. The Fairfield was despatched to Guayaquil to protect our trade, and the Dolphin, now commanded by Lieutenant-commandant Vorheese, was stationed at Callao for the protection of American interests in that quarter, while we took our final leave of Peru, and arrived at Valparaiso on Monday, the sixteenth of December.

The Potomac had now been fourteen months on the coast, actively employed wherever our commercial interests seemed to require her presence. She had boarded, on the station, seventy-one American vessels, amounting to nearly twenty thousand tons of shipping, and manned by eleven hundred men. In all the ports, the commodore had held official intercourse with the authorities; preserving throughout a strict national character, impressing on the minds of all, that the United States wished for peace and reciprocal commerce with her sister republics of the south.

A word on the political condition and prospects of these countries, and a word only can be given at a moment like the present, when home is on every tongue, until the very Potomac herself almost indicates her impatience of delay. The true condition of these countries, it appears to us, has of late been but too generally misunderstood, and, by superficial observers, but too frequently misrepresented. We allude to the opinion becoming prevalent, that these people are unfit for free institutions and self-government; and their frequent disturbances are referred to as conclusive evidence in support of this opinion.

Now we not only maintain that this opinion is unjust, and unfounded in truth; impolitic, so far as it shall mislead the people of the United States, and render our government less watchful of what is going on in these countries; where, by-the-by, every thing is not always turned to the best account;—but, that the very reverse of the proposition is true—viz., that these people, notwithstanding all their internal convulsions, are nevertheless working out their political salvation, and that they will ultimately succeed in the consolidation of their liberty.

Did not the people of these countries, immediately on achieving their independence, establish governments the most free?—adopting, almost without an exception, the very spirit, and often the

forms of our own hallowed institutions? From that moment to the present, who can point out a single instance in which they have wavered from their determination to establish and maintain their independence, notwithstanding all their sacrifices, civil commotions, and abuses of men trusted too implicitly with power?

If they had not resolved on the establishment of free institutions, why did they not adopt a despotism, or some government more analogous than a republic to the one they had lived under? The answer is easy, and at hand. A despotism can only exist, where the people are ignorant and superstitious; but these people, in bursting their political bonds, in a good measure got rid of many deceptions, and greatly weakened the force of numerous superstitions. The elements for the establishment of a permanent despotic government, therefore, do not exist in these states.

If the numerous instances in which men intrusted with the administration of affairs in these countries, through misguided views or bad motives, have tyrannised over the people for a time, be brought against this assertion, then we refer to the discontent of the people which followed, revolts in the districts, and the final overthrow of their oppressors, as a triumphant reply!

We have travelled some in these countries, from the ocean to the Cordilleras—in their capitals, principal towns, and remote districts; have witnessed the celebration of their national jubilees, and days rendered memorable, on which signal victories have been won by an armed peasantry against superior numbers and discipline; have seen the multitude rejoice, and the serious appear full of hope in the prospect of better times; and following and mingling in the train the youth of the country, chanting their patriotic songs;—and we could not doubt that these people would ultimately succeed in the establishment of their liberty. The soil that has drunk so much blood, shed in the cause of freedom, cannot for ever maintain a race of slaves! Indeed, the love of liberty was scarcely more deeply rooted in the sequestered dells of Switzerland, than it is in these countries. Of this liberty, their ideas, we confess, are often rude and ill-defined; but still the germe is here.

Of the bold assertors of the ignorance and incapacity of these people, who see so much cause of alarm, and are for ever drawing sinister conclusions from their frequent internal convulsions,

we would ask, if any philosopher or statesman has ever been able to reduce to system the process by which a people advance to freedom; or to graduate the precise degree of information necessary, before they commence the work of reform?

Will those persons who maintain that the South Americans are as yet too ignorant or unfit for self-government, have the goodness to state the period when it would have been more wise in them to have made the effort? Ought they to have waited until their country abounded with statesmen and experienced legislators; but which, in truth, never could have been found, except in the very struggles through which they are now passing? Or when should a people resist oppression? There can be but one answer to this question; and that is—the very day when they know their rights!

Now we believe that no one who is acquainted with the history of South America will venture the assertion, that its inhabitants are ignorant of their rights; and if not, we appeal to the records of history, if any people ever retrograded after having made such progress, unless overwhelmed and crushed by a superior power, interested in the suppression of liberal principles?

Their frequent commotions make nothing against this proposition; for these commotions are not carried on between the friends of monarchies and republics; nor of a privileged few against the many. But these commotions occur between an enthusiastic love of liberty on the one hand, and political inexperience on the other; between the ambition of men too confidently trusted by a confiding people, whom experience has not even yet taught to be sufficiently wary and distrustful. But mark!—whatever these abuses may have been, no one has ever yet been able to perpetuate them, nor ever can!

In shaking off the yoke of Spain, these people achieved, and nobly achieved, their independence. But did that achievement give them the requisite knowledge for managing their civil institutions? Certainly not;—for this experience is only to be acquired by repeated struggles;—and hence their internal commotions have been, and for a time may continue to be, absolutely unavoidable. It is the price, the passage-money, which they are doomed from the very nature of things to pay, in their progress towards the consolidation of their liberty, and has grown out of

causes which have taken place since the revolution; and which have not, and never have had, connexion with any party in the country unfavourable to liberty, and the establishment of republican institutions.

We must give these republics time. The birth and maturity of a nation are not the work of a day; and low indeed must be his estimate of the blessings of liberty, who considers that these people, with all their toils, sacrifices, and sufferings, are paying a price too dear!

But what have they not done already? Who worked the mines, guarded the flocks, and tilled the soil of Spanish America? The Indian! From whence issued those immense streams of wealth which flowed from the colonies into the lap of the mother country, during the three hundred years of her tyranny and dominion, but from the poor and subjugated Indian? Who can reflect, without horror, on the destruction of eight millions of these wretched beings, who, in Peru alone, perished under the cruel and unjust exactions of the *Mita?* What excesses and extortions were not committed—civil and ecclesiastical, under the well intended, but much abused, regulation of the *Ripartimiento!*

Does the total abolition of these abuses—of slavery, the Inquisition, and a hundred others,* on the ruins of the Spanish system, argue unfitness for self-government in these people? Indeed, it appears to us, that if we reflect on what these countries were under the Spanish dominion, the restrictions of commerce, of science and the arts, the political deceptions and superstitions which were constantly practised, and then reflect on the spectacle they now present (disturbed as they are), the only matter of astonishment will be, that they have done so much in the short space of twenty years!

If these views be not deceptive, and a vast deal more might be advanced to show that they are not, how deeply interesting to the friends of liberty in our own country, in Europe, and through-

* Though actual toleration has not been extended in these countries, the friends of such a measure are neither few nor without influence. The rising generation will regulate this matter. We have never seen a young man of intelligence, in any of these countries, who was not *ultra* liberal on this point. The power of the clergy has been overthrown, and they are now, comparatively, the humble pensioners, instead of the haughty and bigoted rulers, of the state.

out the world, to behold these states, containing no less than twelve millions of inhabitants, moving on "through good and through evil report," through heavy sacrifices, oft-repeated and severe trials and conflicts, but without for a moment losing sight of or wavering in their first determination to establish free institutions! They must succeed; though they commit errors, they will correct them again, and at some perhaps distant day, the hopes of the philanthropist and patriot will be realized. Liberty can only be attained by great sacrifices, and preserved only by eternal vigilance!

The period for the return of the Potomac to the United States had now arrived; indeed, it had passed some time, from a desire to meet with our relief, Commodore Wadsworth, before leaving the station. The public interest, however, not making it necessary to remain longer, every thing was put in readiness for the homeward-bound passage; and on the morning of the ninth of February, eighteen hundred and thirty-four, the Potomac was ready for sea. Joyous was the impulse that throbbed in every bosom, as her hardy tars heaved up the heavy anchors to her bows, while the parting salute was exchanged with the Chilian flag on shore. The wind was fresh, and in a short time Valparaiso faded in the distance. The aspiring hills, and even the lofty mountains in their rear, sunk by degrees, until they at last could be seen no longer.

In three days we passed beyond the Island of Juan Fernandez, and then, changing our course, stood for the stormy Cape, the passing of which was rendered tedious by light, baffling, and often contrary winds.

On the morning of the ninth March, we came in sight of one of the Falkland Islands, in latitude 52° 55′ south—a low island of about five miles in length. The day was pleasant and clear; and we began to enjoy, by anticipation, the pleasure of visiting the main group, which was now hid from our view by white fleecy clouds suspended over them.

We stood around to the east end of the island, with the intention of going into Berkley Sound, in compliance with discretionary instructions which the commodore had received from the department to that effect.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Falkland Islands—Controversy between the United States and the Argentine Republic, in reference to our right to a free use of the fisheries in the waters which surround these islands and their adjacencies.

Towards the conclusion of our last chapter, among other things we mentioned the arrival of the Potomac at the Falkland Islands, and that it was the intention of the commodore to have stopped at Port Egmont, agreeably to his conditional instructions from the department, had not the thick fogs, contrary winds, and exceedingly rough weather, rendered it impracticable to do so.

While in the Pacific we had occasionally seen, through the medium of the Buenos Ayrean press, some accounts of the late controversy between the United States and the Argentine Republic, in relation to the sovereignty of these islands, and of our rights to a free use of the fisheries there. The subject struck us at the time as one of deep interest, because there are a thousand other points on the globe where similar questions affecting our rights might be set up with equal pretensions.

We have taken a great deal of pains to inform ourselves of the merits of this controversy, and we have now before us a quarto pamphlet of about one hundred and twenty pages, in Spanish, purporting to be "A collection of Official Documents, showing the origin and present state of the question between the two countries."

This publication, however, is not the best source for obtaining accurate and exact information of the state of the controversy between the United States and the Argentine Republic; but, as yet, it is the only source: for on the ground that the negotiation is still pending, the president did not communicate the correspondence relating to it when called for by the House of Representatives, on the motion of the Honourable John Quincy Adams.

The correspondence contained in the pamphlet to which we have alluded, was published by order of the government of

Buenos Ayres, soon after Mr. Baylies, the late chargé d'affaires of the United States, left that country; and his part of the correspondence, as well as that of the Consul Slacum, as yet, can be seen only through the medium of two translations, first from the English into Spanish, and then from the Spanish into English. Of the instructions to Mr. Baylies, and his correspondence with his own government, we, of course, can have no knowledge; and we have been obliged to rely on this foreign publication, and on information from sources which we believe to be accurate, for the following account of the negotiations.

The attention of the public within a few years has been attracted to the Falkland Islands; and controversies have been revived, with a change of parties indeed, like those which once employed the pens of Junius and Johnson, and called out the eloquence of Lord Chatham! One of the Hispano-American colonies has endeavoured to maintain, in its own behalf, those rights of sovereignty and jurisdiction once claimed by Spain; and a new element has been infused into the existing controversy, which embraces the right of the people of the United States to a free fishery at those islands, and those adjacent.

The steril soil and inhospitable climate of the Falkland Islands, have hitherto prevented their occupation; they were uninhabited when discovered, and, with the exception of occasional and transient residents, have so remained. Yet their position will always render them important in the estimation of commercial nations.

This group, consisting of two large islands and many smaller ones, some of which are mere rocks, is situated for the most part between the fifty-first and fifty-second degrees of south latitude, and nearly opposite the southern extremity of Patagonia, which is the nearest land. The islands lie near the track of all the navigation which passes around Cape Horn, and at no inconvenient distance from the Cape of Good Hope, the harbour of Rio Janeiro, and the Rio de la Plata.

In the long voyages around Cape Horn, into the Pacific Ocean and back, ships are frequently in want of provisions: if a *depot* were established at the Falklands, supplies might be obtained without any great deviation from a direct course; and this *depot* might sometimes be of service to the crews of vessels, when,

baffled in the attempt to double the Cape of Good Hope, they have been brought upon short allowance. If there were also a *depot* of naval stores, vessels which had been crippled by the furious winds and storms of the southern seas, would find these islands a convenient place for refitting; such a *depot* might also be of service to the vessels engaged in the whale-fishery on the Brazil Banks.

Considered in a military view, the Falkland's are a commanding position, from their proximity to the track of navigation in passing around Cape Horn, or through the Strait of Magellan. All the vessels engaged in the seal-fisheries at these and the adjacent islands would be exposed to the depredations of armed cruisers issuing from their various harbours, whose cruises could be easily extended, to the great annoyance of that rich trade which is carried on between Europe and the United States, and India and China. It is true, there is no timber or materials for ship-building on the islands, but a maritime people can always provide themselves with vessels. A piratical people, in possession of this station, could annoy the commerce of the world more effectually than all the piratical states of Barbary, and this evil the people of the United States, in some degree, have already experienced.

Before the revolution, the North Americans, as they were termed in South America, had extended their voyages so far, that, in the language of Burke, the Falkland Islands were but a stage in the progress of their victorious industry. Soon after the peace of seventeen hundred and eighty-three, these voyages were resumed. The fisheries on the Brazil Banks and in the Pacific Ocean employed a great number of vessels, many seamen, and much capital. The seal-fishery also became important, and our mariners frequented these desolate islands and coasts during the period of the Spanish domination without interruption, and their right to pursue this fishery there was never questioned by Spain: nothing was done to impeach or deny it until June tenth, eighteen hundred and twenty-nine, when, during the temporary existence of a government at Buenos Ayres, originating in a mutiny, and disgraced by the murder of the chief magistrate, one Louis Vernet, a German adventurer and a naturalized citizen of the United States, obtained a decree by which he was constituted civil and military governor of the Falkland Islands, Terra del Fuego, and the adjacent islands.

The decree asserted the right of Buenos Ayres to the Falkland Islands and all the others, on the ground of having been formerly occupied by Spanish subjects, and of having been incorporated in the viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata, when under the Spanish monarchy, whose successors the government of Buenos Ayres claimed to be, by virtue of the revolution of the twenty-fifth of May, eighteen hundred and ten.

It is proper to state here, that by this revolution the dominion of the Spanish nation was thrown off at Buenos Ayres, but not that of the Spanish king. Ferdinand VII. was acknowledged there until eighteen hundred and sixteen, and, in some parts of the viceroyalty, several years longer.

This decree was never communicated to the government of the United States, nor to Mr. Forbes, our resident at Buenos Ayres, nor does it appear that he protested against it. Mr. Parish, the British resident, under instructions from his government, formally protested against it as early as the nineteenth of November, eighteen hundred and twenty-nine, on the ground that the Argentine Republic had assumed authority over the Falkland Islands incompatible with his Britannic majesty's rights of sovereignty, which were founded on original discovery and occupation, and sanctioned by the King of Spain, who, on the requisition of the King of Great Britain, had formally restored them after a military occupation; and when they were abandoned by the British forces, in seventeen hundred and seventy-four, there was no intention of abandoning the sovereign jurisdiction, and therefore "the marks and signals of possession and property were left upon the islands," indicating an intention of resuming possession at a more convenient period.

Vernet had resided at the islands previous to his appointment. Soon afterward he issued a circular, which fell into the hands of some of the Americans who were in that region, in which all persons were required to desist from the use of the whale and seal-fisheries in the waters and on the coasts of the islands included in the decree. Considering these waters and coasts as free to all nations, and the exclusive property of none, our countrymen continued their fisheries as usual.

Vernet did not commit any violences until after the death of Mr. Forbes, which happened on the fourteenth of June, eighteen

hundred and thirty-one. On the thirtieth of July following, the Harriet, Captain Davison, of Stonington, was taken while in harbour. On the seventeenth of August, Captain Carew, commander of the schooner Breakwater, also of Stonington, while on shore, was arrested and confined, and on the next day his vessel was seized: he was compelled, against his wishes, to embark in a British vessel bound to Rio Janeiro, but his vessel was recaptured by the crew. On the nineteenth of August, Captain Stephen Congar, of the schooner Superior, belonging to the city of New-York, was arrested and imprisoned—his vessel seized, and his crew confined.

The seizures were attended with many outrages of a piratical character. The crew of the Harriet were put in close confinement; her papers were seized, and a part of the cargo was sold, without condemnation or legal process. While Davison and Congar were in confinement, this civil and military governor compelled them to sign a contract, by which they became obligated to proceed with one of the vessels to the western coast of South America, to catch seals on his account: without condemnation, he substituted himself forcibly in place of the owners, and compelled the imprisoned shipmates to obligate themselves, by oaths, "not to do any thing to prejudice his interests;" and to agree that any deviation from this compulsory contract should be considered "as a breach of faith," and that no law should liberate them from such penalties and forfeitures as he should impose upon them; "thus attempting (in the words of Mr. Baylies) to secure his own piratical interests from the operation of the laws, by oaths of his own devising." Without bringing them to trial for their alleged offences, he compelled them to agree to enter his service for his private and personal benefit, using his civic and military powers to extort from them a written obligation in the shape of a mercantile contract, to go beyond his pretended jurisdiction to catch seals on his account. The Superior and Captain Congar were selected for this service.

Seven of the crew of the Superior had been left on Staten-land, who were engaged in taking seals there, and were to be taken off at the end of six months, for which time they were supplied with provisions. Congar was prevented from relieving them, by being compelled to go directly through the Strait of Magellan to the

western coast of South America, and by being interdicted from all communication with the sealers by the terms of the contract.

Vernet attempted to entice American seamen into his service by the promise of extravagant wages.

He arrested and imprisoned four seamen, a part of the crew of the schooner Belville, wrecked on the coast of Terra del Fuego: he took from them a quantity of sealskins and whalebone, which he converted to his own use: he compelled them, under threats of being sent to Buenos Ayres to be tried as pirates, to sign an agreement in behalf of themselves and five shipmates then on Eagle Island engaged in building a shallop, stipulating that the shallop, when completed, should be employed in the seal-fishery on his account; and he engaged to share with them the plunder of vessels which they should capture,—thus inciting them to engage in a piratical warfare against their own countrymen. One seaman he endeavoured to force into his service, by depriving him of food while in prison. He declared to Davison that it was his determination to capture all American vessels, including whaling as well as sealing vessels, on the arrival of an armed vessel for which he had contracted. While he was pursuing this system of depredation and outrage against American commerce, he spared the Adeona, a British vessel, whose crew were taking seals at the mouth of the harbour, declaring that he could not take an English vessel with the same propriety that he could an American! These outrages of Vernet are set forth at length in a communication of Mr. Baylies, addressed to the minister of foreign affairs at Buenos Ayres, dated June twentieth, eighteen hundred and thirty-two.

The government of the United States having obtained knowledge of the existence of the decree of the tenth of June, eighteen hundred and twenty-nine, formally instructed Mr. Forbes, the agent at Buenos Ayres, to address to the government of the Argentine Republic an earnest remonstrance "against any measures that may have been adopted by it, including the decree and circular letter referred to, if they be genuine, which are calculated in the remotest degree to impose any restraints whatever upon the enterprise of the citizens of the United States, engaged in the fisheries in question, or to impair their undoubted right to the freest use of them."

The president called the attention of congress to this subject, in his annual message of December, eighteen hundred and thirty-one.*

Soon after the capture of the vessels, Vernet left the Falklands in the Harriet, taking Captain Davison with him, and on the twentieth of November arrived at Buenos Ayres, and immediately caused a process to be issued from one of the judicial tribunals against the vessel, under which she was held for trial.

Mr. Forbes at this time was dead: no successor was appointed; and George W. Slacum, Esq. was the consul of the United States at that port.

On the twenty-first of November, Mr. Slacum addressed a note to the minister of foreign affairs, Don Thomas Manuel de Anchorena, inquiring why "a *bona fide* American vessel, engaged in lawful trade, should be captured by an officer of a friendly government."

On the twenty-fifth the minister replied, informing him that the affair was before the minister of war and marine; and after the customary forms had been passed through, the affair would be laid before the government for its consideration, whose resolution thereon would be conformable to the laws of the country.

On the twenty-sixth, Mr. Slacum, in another note, informed the minister of foreign affairs that he considered his reply as a virtual avowal of Vernet's right to capture American vessels, engaged in the fisheries at the Falkland Islands, &c. He denied the right in toto, and protested against its exercise—the decree of June

* "I should (says the president) have placed Buenos Ayres in the list of South American powers, in respect to which, nothing of importance affecting us was to be communicated; but for occurrences which have lately taken place at the Falkland Islands, in which the name of that republic has been used to cover, with a show of authority, acts injurious to our commerce, and to the property and liberty of our fellow-citizens. In the course of the present year, one of our vessels, engaged in the pursuit of a trade which we have always enjoyed without molestation, has been captured by a band acting, as they pretend, under the authority of the government of Buenos Ayres. I have therefore given orders for the despatch of an armed vessel, to join our squadron in those seas, and aid in affording all lawful protection to our trade which shall be necessary; and shall, without delay, send a minister to inquire into the nature of the circumstances, and also of the claim, if any, that is set up by that government to those islands. In the meantime I submit the case to the consideration of congress, to the end that they may clothe the executive with such authority and means as they may deem necessary for providing a force adequate to the complete protection of our fellow-citizens fishing and trading in those seas."

tenth, eighteen hundred and twenty-nine—the circular of Vernet —the seizure of the vessels, and the imprisonment of American citizens, &c.

A few days after the date of this last note, Captain Silas Duncan arrived at Buenos Ayres, in the United States sloop-of-war Lexington, and, as it would seem, addressed a note to the consul, with a view to obtain information respecting the transactions at the Falklands. The evidence and documents were furnished, and Duncan then determined to proceed there "to protect the citizens and commerce of the United States engaged in the fisheries," and particularly to relieve the seven men who had been left on Staten-land without the means of subsistence: this intention he communicated to the consul by note, and requested him to transmit a copy of the note to the government of Buenos Ayres, to prevent misunderstanding with respect to his visit to the islands, "and in conformity to the open and candid mode in which the affairs of the United States were conducted." This communication was dated December first.

On the third of December, the minister of foreign affairs replied to the consul's communication which contained the protest, refusing to receive it, inasmuch as the authority from his government to offer it was not shown, and the governor did not consider that a consul was authorized to protest against any act of the government *ex officio*, "much less when it was indubitable that the government of the United States had no right whatever to the aforesaid islands, or to fish upon them; while that which upheld the republic of Buenos Ayres was unquestionable."

On the sixth of December, the minister of foreign affairs acknowledged to the consul the receipt of the copy of Captain Duncan's letter of the first.

On the same day, the consul addressed another communication to the minister, informing him that Captain Duncan would delay his departure until the ninth, to receive communications from the government of Buenos Ayres, having reference to the suspension "of the exercise of the right to capture" the fishing-vessels, and the restoration of the Harriet and her cargo, and to place things as they were previous to the seizure of the vessels. He informed him, that the anxiety of Captain Duncan to relieve the seamen on Staten-land, and to prevent future captures, was the cause of

his haste:—that the proposition was based on a suggestion in one of the minister's communications, of a desire on the part of the government of Buenos Ayres to settle the question as to the right of fishery, by a direct understanding with the government of the United States; and he urged the propriety of suspending the seizures, and placing things on their former ground, until an attempt should have been made to settle the question amicably.

In the same note the consul contended for his right to protest, when the interest of American citizens was concerned; and he averred, that in doing so he acted by the authority of his own government—and that he had been considered and treated with as the representative of the government of the United States, since the death of Mr. Forbes, the chargé d'affaires.

On the seventh of December, Captain Duncan addressed a note directly to the minister of foreign affairs, declaring that he had it in proof that Vernet did plunder the schooner Harriet; and requested, that inasmuch as he had been guilty of piracy and robbery, he should be surrendered to the United States for trial, "or that he be arrested and punished by the laws of Buenos Ayres."

On the ninth of December, the minister of foreign affairs addressed another note to the consul, complaining of the impropriety and indecorum of pressing the government to a decision on "an affair of a private litigious nature," in which he had no right to interfere, "it being a private contentious affair;" especially when he could not be ignorant "of the weighty and urgent attentions which notoriously surrounded the government." The consul was informed, that if the commander of the Lexington "should commit any act, or use any measure, which might tend to a denial of the right which the republic had to the Falkland Islands, and coasts adjacent to Cape Horn," or to impede the seal-fishery, the government would address a formal complaint to the government of the United States, "and would cause to make valid and respected its rights, by all the means it might esteem convenient." The minister also informed the consul, that he laboured under a remarkable error in supposing himself as being considered the representative of the United States, when he was considered in no other light than as consul of the United States for the city of Buenos Ayres; and expressed the hope that he would confine himself to his particular function, "and refrain from per-

sisting in the protest which he had made against rights which had been and were in possession of the government; and which, until this time," says the minister, "nobody has questioned."

Another note of the same date was addressed by the minister to the consul, informing him, that on a memorial or "solicitude" of Don Louis Vernet, a process had been issued against Captain Davison, of the Harriet, for the purpose of holding him in arrest, and preventing his departure, until he should appoint an attorney; but that Davison had gone on board the Lexington. The consul was requested to inform him of the pains and penalties of his evasion.

Both notes were answered by the consul on the fifteenth of December. The consul could not see on what principles the government could detain Davison, already the victim of a "protracted incarceration," to coerce him to execute a power of attorney on the requisition of Vernet, when Davison had already declined to litigate the questions growing out of the seizure of the Harriet before any of the local tribunals; and had denied to the government their right to seize his vessel.

With respect to his authority, he quoted the instructions to Mr. Forbes, and contended that the fisheries were free to all nations, and the exclusive property of none. He defended himself against the charge of indecorum; maintained the propriety of his conduct, and his right to interfere by protest for the protection of his countrymen, with becoming spirit and force. This communication closed the correspondence between the minister of foreign affairs and the American consul.

We are not prepared to say how far a consul is authorized to act, in case of the death or absence of a minister. The secretaries of legation are generally considered as temporary chargés d'affaires on such occasions; but at Buenos Ayres there was no secretary of legation. If a minister or chargé of the United States should die in a country so remote as Buenos Ayres, nearly a year from the time of his death would elapse before he could be replaced. The voyage back and forth would consume four or five months: the appointment of a minister would require inquiry and deliberation, and some time would necessarily elapse before the person appointed could prepare himself for a voyage so long, and for a residence in a country so remote. In the meantime it

would seem, that some person should be charged with the interests of the United States *ex necessitate rei;* and if there be no secretary of legation, none would seem so proper for such service as the consul residing at the seat of government; we mean, especially, in all matters relating to commerce.

Dignity is never to be trifled with—it is sometimes extremely troublesome to those who assume it and still wish to do business, and it is better to wave its punctilios, even in diplomatic intercourse: but being once assumed, it is a derogation to abandon it: the consul's notes should have been rejected in the outset, or at least after the first intimation that he had transcended his authority, or not at all.

While the consul and the minister were engaged in these discussions, Captain Duncan, with Davison for a pilot, sailed on the ninth of December for the Falklands, where he arrived on the thirty-first. He did no more than spike some guns which were lying on the beach, and which he had good reason to suppose were to be used in vessels which were to be employed in the capture of American sealers and whalers: as much of the plundered property as he could find he restored to the right owners: he arrested seven men who were proved to have been concerned in the capture of the vessels, among whom was one Brisbane, a British subject, who had been the chief agent in the atrocities of Vernet: the remainder of the settlers he brought away at their own request, who complained much of the deceptions which had been practised upon them by Vernet: some of the Guachos, who formed a part of this settlement, fled to the interior: he seized no *bona-fide* property of Vernet's, and scrupulously respected all private property: after despatching the Shallop (whose flag was changed) with its crew to Staten-land, to relieve the seamen there, he left the Falklands, returned to the river, and anchored at Montevideo on the seventh of February, eighteen hundred and thirty-two, from whence he addressed a note to the government, offering to surrender his prisoners if they would give an assurance that they acted under their authority.

Commodore George W. Rogers, who had been appointed to the command of the Brazil squadron, arrived at the river, in the United States schooner Enterprise, and hoisted his flag on board the Warren, Captain Cooper. The commodore found himself in

a situation which presented only a choice of difficulties. The honour or the peace of the American nation might be affected by his conduct. It was his desire to maintain friendly relations with the wayward government of Buenos Ayres, but he was not disposed to make unreasonable or humiliating concessions to sooth their rage or gratify their caprices. After weighing all the circumstances, he resolved to proceed to Buenos Ayres.

In the meantime the news of Duncan's transactions had reached the city, and the community there were thrown into a paroxysm of rage. The consul was suspended. The newspapers were filled with inflammatory publications. On the fourteenth of February a proclamation was issued by the delegate government, signed by Don Juan Ramon Balcarse and Don Manuel I. Garcia, two of the ministry, in which the conduct of Duncan was denounced in language of the most violent and inflammatory character; and while magnifying their own magnanimity and forbearance, and duly eulogizing their own honour, they could find no greater indulgence for Duncan than to stigmatize him as a public robber, who had invaded, "with rancorous fury, their ancient colony, in the midst of profound peace;" and they declared that the unanimous explosion of indignation at this odious outrage was fully justified, &c. &c. At the same time a circular letter, signed by the same ministers, was issued to the governors of the several provinces, composing, according to their denomination, the Argentine Republic, repeating the same denunciations of the American commander. In this paroxysm the government admitted what they had carefully abstained from admitting before,—that Vernet was the civil and military governor of the Falkland Islands. The consul was suspended on the alleged ground of "a notable irregularity in his ideas and language" in his official correspondence, which had been closed two months before, and was held with an individual not then a member of the government.

To the note in which he was informed that his functions were suspended, the consul replied that he had received no intimation from his own government to suspend his functions, neither had he any authority to appoint a substitute (a course suggested by the government of Buenos Ayres). He concluded by declaring, that the responsibility of the act of suspension rested on the govern-

ment of Buenos Ayres, as well as every other step which they saw fit to take.

On the twenty-seventh of February Don Manuel I. Garcia resigned his place in the ministry, and on the seventh of March Don Juan Manuel de Rosas resumed the command of the provinces, as governor, with dictatorial powers. Garcia, previous to his resignation, informed Slacum (then divested of office, and unacknowledged) by note, that Vernet, under decrees of the first and thirteenth of June, was the civil and military governor of the Falkland Islands, &c.

Commodore Rogers arrived before the city, bearing the olive-branch: a reciprocation of civilities took place—mutual salutes were fired, and the seven men, arrested by Duncan at the Falklands, were surrendered on the ground that they had acted under the orders of Vernet, now acknowledged to be an officer of high civil and military rank under the republic. This "era of good feelings," however, continued but a short time: the peace-offering was not sufficient to appease the angry gods of Argentum. When the chamber of deputies met, which was about the middle of May, the governor, in his public message, again alluded to the "scandalous" acts of Duncan, and assured the deputies that a minister was daily expected from the United States, who would doubtless be instructed to offer reparation for his outrages. This public manifestation of the governor convinced Commodore Rogers that no amicable feeling existed towards the United States on the part of the government. He had pursued a course of conduct of the most conciliatory character; but the governor, without waiting the arrival of the minister, who was momentarily expected, and who, according to his belief, was authorized to offer reparation, renewed, in an official document of the highest character, the insolent and irritating language of subordinates, and applied it again to the second officer of the squadron. The commodore ordered his officers on board their ships, which then lay in the outer roads: returned to his own, where he was taken sick, and soon after died.

It is proper to pause here and examine the conduct of Captain Duncan, with a view to ascertain whether the violent reproaches which have been cast upon him by the government of Buenos Ayres are founded on justice. This gallant and patriotic com-

mander is dead, and he bore to his grave the scars of wounds which were received in fighting the battles of his country:—that country must honour his memory, unless his fame has been tarnished by his memorable transactions at the Falkland Islands. What he did there has been related already:—he resorted to force, and it remains to be seen whether the circumstances would warrant its application.

Louis Vernet, by virtue of the decree of June tenth, eighteen hundred and twenty-nine, claimed the right of capturing American vessels engaged in the fisheries at the Falkland Islands and their adjacencies. He did capture such vessels, and discovered in his proceedings more of the character of a pirate than of a high officer of a regular government, by disposing of their cargoes without adjudication, and imprisoning and maltreating the seamen. Previous to his interference, we had been accustomed to use the waters there for the purposes of fishery as freely as the waters on our own coasts. The decree under which he pretended to act, and from which he derived his authority, had never been communicated or made known to the American government or their representative at Buenos Ayres. It was issued by a government, denominated by the existing government, a mutiny. A government never acknowledged by them to be legitimate,—not existing according to constitutional forms or popular election, but usurped in a military sedition, which was signalized by the murder of the chief magistrate of the republic: resisted in arms from its commencement: the resistance continued until it was overthrown, and all its acts declared void by a decree, signed by Governor Rosas himself, and the very persons whose names were affixed to the decree of the tenth of June had been banished as political malefactors. The government, in their correspondence with the consul, had evaded the avowal of Vernet as their officer: the capture of the Harriet they had denominated "an affair of a private litigious nature," as "a private contentious affair;" and no presumptions arising from the circumstances could have warranted a belief that the captures were authorized originally by them. On his arrival at the islands, Captain Duncan found none of the outward marks which indicate sovereign jurisdiction: none of the badges and emblems of national authority: neither soldiers, flags, fortresses, nor national vessels. The colony was composed of Germans,

Englishmen, North Americans, Montevideans, and Buenos Ayreans —the two last, for the most part (as it is said), were the sweepings of the prisons at Montevideo and Buenos Ayres. There were no indications of a national colony authorized by law, nothing but a band of wild and lawless adventurers. A German, naturalized in North America, had delegated his powers to a citizen of the United States (one Metcalf, from Portland, in Maine), and directed him to seize the vessels, and imprison the persons of his own countrymen; and the principal agent in his outrages against the fishermen was one Matthew Brisbane, a British subject. Duncan intended no insult to the authorities of Buenos Ayres; but under his general instructions to protect American commerce and American citizens, he did his duty.

While things were in this unsettled state, and early in June, eighteen hundred and thirty-two, the Honourable Francis Baylies, who had been appointed chargé d'affaires from the United States to the Argentine Republic, arrived at Buenos Ayres in the sloop-of-war Peacock. Mr. Baylies had left the United States before the news of Captain Duncan's transactions at the Falklands had reached this country; and instead of being instructed, according to the suggestions of the governor of the chamber of deputies, to offer reparation and indemnity for Duncan's act, he was instructed to demand reparation and indemnity for Vernet's acts; which instructions, when he had ascertained that every attempt at honourable conciliation had failed, he carried into effect, by addressing the communication of June twentieth to the minister of grace and justice then charged with the department of foreign affairs, Don Manuel Vicente de Maza. In this communication the acts of Vernet were set forth at large, which were followed with sundry comments. With respect to the discrimination made by Vernet between English and American vessels, Mr. Baylies said "that it might happen that nations would sometimes mistake their rights and attempt to establish sovereign jurisdiction over territories not clearly their own, or to which their title might be disputed; and that other nations, whose rights might be affected by such assumptions, were not necessarily obliged, in the first instance, perhaps, to regard acts enforcing such jurisdiction as intrinsically and absolutely hostile, if their operation were equal and indiscriminating. But if the citizens or subjects of one nation only are sub-

jected to penalties and punishments for violations of sovereign jurisdiction so assumed, while the subjects or citizens of other nations, committing the same violations, are unmolested, such partial selection is evidence of hostile feeling, at least, in the officer to whom the authority to punish is delegated; and the government which justifies an officer who thus favours and spares the one, and punishes the other, when both are in *pari delictu*, must be considered as avowing a preference injurious and hostile to the nation which suffers."

He also called the attention of the government to the period when Vernet commenced his system of depredation, which was soon after the death of Mr. Forbes, "choosing a time for the exercise of his powers in acts of despotism, when no high diplomatic functionary was there to advocate and protect the interests and rights of his countrymen."

He utterly denied the right of the Argentine Republic "to interrupt, molest, detain, or capture any vessels belonging to citizens of the United States, or any persons being citizens of those states, engaged in taking seals, or whales, or any species of fish or marine animals, in any of the waters, or on any of the shores or lands of the Falkland Islands," or the other islands mentioned in the decree of the tenth of June, and claimed a restitution of all the captured vessels and property, and indemnity for all American citizens who had been aggrieved; and he respectfully suggested the restoration of the consul to his functions, until the views of the government of the United States could be ascertained, declaring that the American government had always respected the feelings of the people among whom their consuls resided.

This communication was answered by the minister of foreign affairs on the twenty-fifth of June, stating merely that explanations would be sought from Vernet, on which the governor would form his judgment and pronounce, "without pretending to impair the private rights of the citizens of the United States who might be aggrieved or injured, or to sacrifice either to exorbitant pretensions those of Don Louis Vernet, and much less those public rights which, by the common law of nations, belonged to the Argentine Republic as a sovereign and independent state." No

answer was given to the intimation respecting the restoration of the consul.

On the next day Mr. Baylies answered this note. He denied the necessity of delay for further explanations, inasmuch as Vernet had admitted, under his own signature, in the public newspapers of the city, that he had captured American vessels, and the Harriet was then detained in the port by virtue of a process from a tribunal under the jurisdiction of the government. "The aggravations with which the injuries on the persons and property of American citizens were accompanied, could not affect the principle assumed by the government of the United States, but were only important in ascertaining the measure and magnitude of those injuries," inasmuch as that government not only denied the right to Vernet, but the right of the Argentine Republic to inflict them. "His excellency has been pleased to say (he continued) that the public rights, which, by the common law of nations, belong to the Argentine Republic, as a sovereign and independent state, he will not pretend to sacrifice; to this he could only say, that the government which he represented had neither the intention or the disposition to bring into question any of the *rights* of the Argentine Republic, but they wished distinctly to know from the government whether it claimed any right or authority to detain, or capture, or in any way to molest, interrupt, or impede the vessels or the citizens of the United States, while engaged in fishing in the waters, or on the shores of the Falkland Islands, and the other places already mentioned."

To this note a reply was made on the tenth of July, stating the determination of the governor "not to surrender questions which had immediate connexion, in order to anticipate an answer, which appeared to be the desire of the chargé"—"and not to venture his judgment in any case."

It would seem that the government, although they had probably determined on their course, were puzzled as to the mode of proceeding, and the nature of the questions, not knowing exactly whether they should consider them as public or private questions. They were anxious for a delay, and probably supposed that they might mystify the negotiation by blending the questions, and evading a direct answer to his plain and direct inquiries. The

chargé probably perceived their drift, and pressed the negotiation forward.

On the eleventh of July he addressed a cool and dispassionate note to the minister of foreign affairs, accompanied by an argument which embraced, *in extenso*, all the topics in dispute.

He commenced by saying, that as the plain inquiry, which he had submitted in his note of the twenty-sixth of June, had not been answered, he must take it for granted that the inquiry was considered futile, inasmuch as the rights of the Argentine Republic to the exclusive fishery at the islands had been asserted in the decree of June tenth, eighteen hundred and twenty-nine, and in the correspondence between Mr. Slacum, the consul, and Don Tomas Manuel de Anchorena, and in the proclamation of the fourteenth of February, and in the circular of the delegate government in which Vernet was styled the civil and military governor of the Falkland Islands, &c.: but inasmuch as the decree, the proclamation, and the circular had never been communicated to his government, and inasmuch as the diplomatic character of the consul was positively denied, and his functions subsequently suspended, "he felt some solicitude to obtain an avowal of the claim made distinctly to himself, as the accredited representative of the United States:"—but as the inquiry had not been answered, he should act on the presumption of its having been maintained by the Argentine government, and would, therefore, lay before the minister the views which his government had taken of the questions in issue, which, being well considered, he hoped would produce a happy termination of the unpleasant controversy which had arisen. Although the Argentine Republic had been the aggressors, having first employed force, and therefore it was incumbent on them to prove their rights before their justification could be made good, yet the chargé waved the advantage, and undertook to prove—that they had *no* such rights. With what success remains to be seen. The question was stated by him in this manner:

"The Argentine Republic claims sovereignty and jurisdiction over the Falkland Islands, Terra del Fuego, Cape Horn, and the islands adjacent in the Atlantic Ocean, by virtue of having succeeded to the sovereign rights of Spain over these regions.

"As these sovereign rights, thus claimed, are altogether deriva-

tive from Spain, the first inquiry naturally divides itself into two branches.

"First—Had Spain any sovereign rights over the above-mentioned places?

"Second—Did the Argentine Republic succeed to those rights?

"If it can be shown that Spain had no such rights, the question is terminated, unless the Argentine Republic should abandon all title under Spain, and claim an absolute vested sovereignty, original in itself.

"If it should be shown affirmatively that Spain had such rights, then it must be as clearly shown that the Argentine Republic succeeded to them; and if that can be shown, then it must also be shown that the Argentine Republic had authority to capture and detain American vessels and American citizens engaged in the fisheries at those places, without notifying the American government, or its representative here, officially, of such assumptions and such claims."

The chargé further stated, that the United States claimed no more than the privileges "which they had been accustomed to exercise in common with other maritime nations."

He then proceeded to discuss the nature of the title which civilized nations acquired over countries not inhabited, or inhabited only by savages, by prior discovery, taking formal possession, and by prior occupation. This branch of the argument was extended to a considerable length, but our limits forbid us from saying more than he admitted, that conditional rights accrued from discovery and taking formal possession, and positive rights from occupation.

He then carefully traced the progressive discovery of these islands.

Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese in the service of the Emperor Charles V., entered the strait which bears his name in October, fifteen hundred and twenty, and was probably the original discoverer of the southern coast of Patagonia, and the northern coast of Terra del Fuego:—"More fortunate (says Mr. Baylies) than Columbus, he not only left an undying name to the strait which he traversed, but he has fixed it eternally in the celestial regions of the southern hemisphere." Magellan made the first attempt to circumnavigate the world; but, before the voyage was

completed, he was killed at the Ladrones, in fifteen hundred and twenty-one. In fifteen hundred and twenty-seven, Groaca de Loaisa, a knight of Malta, in the service of Spain, passed the strait, but his squadron of seven ships was lost, and he, with all his men, perished. Sebastian Cabot, Amerigo Vespucci, and Simon de Alcazara, made abortive attempts to pursue the same route. Cabot was the first person who explored the Rio de la Plata. "These repeated failures disheartened the Spaniards, and they gave over all attempts at discovery for many years."

Sir Francis Drake, the great English circumnavigator, passed the Strait of Magellan in fifteen hundred and seventy-eight, and was driven by storms beyond fifty-seven degrees of south latitude, "where (says the writer of his voyage) we beheld the extremity of the American coast, and the confluence of the Atlantic and Southern Oceans." Mr. Baylies is correct in supposing that Drake discovered Cape Horn, and the western and southwestern coast of Terra del Fuego.

So little was known of the southeastern coast of Terra del Fuego, as late as seventeen hundred and seventy-four, that Cooke, when actually in sight of Cape Horn, was unable to decide whether it was a detached island, or a part of the great island of Terra del Fuego. He laid down with much accuracy the headlands, bays, and harbours of the southeastern coast of the latter island.

The discovery of Cape Horn has generally been ascribed to Jacob Le Maire, a Dutchman in the service of the States of Holland, who was the first who doubled that *terminus* of South America, in sixteen hundred and sixteen. He called it Cape Hoorn, from a village in Holland. To the strait between Terra del Fuego and Staten-land Le Maire has attached his own name. Staten-land was so called in honour of the States of Holland.

It is supposed that Davies, an Englishman, and a companion of Cavendish in his voyage to the South Seas in fifteen hundred and ninety-two, was the first person who saw the Falkland Islands.

In fifteen hundred and ninety-four, Sir Richard Hawkins discovered these islands, and called them, in honour of his queen and himself, Hawkins' Maiden-land.

In fifteen hundred and ninety-eight, they were seen by a Dutch

squadron under the command of Admiral Verhagen and Sebald de Wert, and were called by them Sebald's Islands. This name appears in the ancient Dutch charts; and Dampier, who visited them in sixteen hundred and eighty-three, calls the islands the Sibbet de Wards. They were called the Falkland Islands by Strong, an English navigator, in sixteen hundred and eighty-nine, and that name has been adopted by the English geographers and men of science, particularly by Dr. Halley. The journal of Strong yet exists, unprinted, in the British Museum.

The French, who visited these islands between the years seventeen hundred and seventeen hundred and eight, called them *Malouines*, which name the Spaniards have adopted. The honour of the discovery was claimed by the French; but Frezier, a French voyager to these seas, admits them to have been discovered by Sir Richard Hawkins, and such is the opinion of the great French geographer Malte Brun.

If this relation of the progress of discovery in these regions be correct, and we see no reason for doubt, Spain could have gained but a feeble title on the ground of priority of discovery: certainly none that would apply to the southern, eastern, and western coasts of Terra del Fuego, Cape Horn, Staten-land, and the Falkland Islands; the honours of discovery there being divided between the English and the Dutch.

If the title of Spain was ever valid, Mr. Baylies contended that its validity was unimpaired—that Spain had never renounced it, and had not even then acknowledged the independence of the Argentine Republic: that it was as perfect and entire then as it was previous to the independence of the South American republics. The rights of Spain, if dormant, were not extinct, and she had the ability to maintain them.

Following a suggestion of Mr. Baylies, we have viewed this question in another light. Buenos Ayres, or the Argentine Republic, claimed sovereignty over the islands by virtue of the revolution of May twenty-fifth, eighteen hundred and ten, when the authority of Spain was renounced: while the authority of the king was acknowledged until eighteen hundred and sixteen. If, during the period between eighteen hundred and ten and eighteen hundred and sixteen, Ferdinand VII. had undertaken to occupy the islands in question, according to the manner of sovereigns,

with garrisons and colonies, would Ferdinand VII., King of Buenos Ayres, have declared war against Ferdinand VII., King of Spain and the Indies, for an invasion of sovereignty and jurisdiction? And would Buenos Ayres, like the long parliament of England, have fought against the king in the name of the king?

The charge also contended, that if it were admitted that the sovereign rights of Spain were vested in the ancient viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata, by virtue of the revolution of May twenty-fifth, eighteen hundred and ten, those rights could not have been vested in the Argentine Republic, because that republic constituted only one of the four nations into which the viceroyalty was divided, and could not show the releases of the others; and that the Oriental Republic of Yruquay, commonly called the Banda Oriental, Paraguay, and Bolivia, all independent nations, had equal rights to the possession of the islands in question with the Argentine Republic. The chargé might have pushed the argument on this ground still further: there is no Argentine Republic: a number of provinces, once connected by a very feeble and imperfect tie, assumed that name, and did, for a short period, acknowledge a common government; but that confederation was dissolved, and each province became independent: before the dissolution, however, a *quasi* power to manage the foreign relations was conferred on Buenos Ayres; but the other provinces regard no stipulations with foreign nations, made by Buenos Ayres, as obligatory on them, unless they are pleased to make them so. Between these provinces, being twelve or fifteen in number, there is no existing political dependant connexion; and they are all independent nations, with all the attributes of sovereignty; and each one as much entitled to the possession of the Falklands and the adjacent islands as Buenos Ayres: and yet, in fact, Buenos Ayres is the only party in interest; and on this mere fragment of a right, according to their own showing, have all these overweening pretensions to sovereign power, over islands distant a thousand miles from their continental possessions, been set up.

Mr. Baylies asks "if the Argentine Republic, claiming no original title or rights but such only as were derivative from Spain, could assume any higher title than that which Spain assumed; and Spain certainly never assumed any right to capture or detain American vessels or American citizens engaged in the

fisheries at these islands." He quoted a provision in the treaty of San Lorenzo el Real, made between Spain and Great Britain on the twenty-eighth of October, seventeen hundred and ninety, in which it was stipulated mutually, that no settlements should be made on the islands in question by either party; but that the waters and the shores might be used by the subjects of each for the purposes of the fishery. Can it be supposed that Spain, a nation jealous of her rights and sovereignty, and peculiarly sensitive on the subject of her South American dominions, would have virtually abandoned her sovereign rights over these wide regions, if she supposed her title to be well founded, and free from doubt? There could be no dispute as to the real object of the treaty, which was to leave an open fishery in these regions.

In the year seventeen hundred and sixty-four, a squadron was ordered to the South Seas by the King of Great Britain, George III., which was placed under the command of the Honourable John Byron. In his instructions it is asserted, that the Falkland Islands were first discovered by English navigators; and he was directed to survey them. On the twenty-third of January, seventeen hundred and sixty-five, Commodore Byron took possession of the Falkland Islands, with all the usual solemnities, in the name of the King of Great Britain.

On the eighth of January, seventeen hundred and sixty-six, Captain Macbride arrived at Port Egmont with a military force, erected a block-house, and stationed a garrison, under the authority of Great Britain. Some attempts at cultivation were made, and several thousand young trees, with the mould about their roots, were brought from Port Famine Bay for the purpose of being reset at the Falklands. All these proceedings were had by order of the King of Great Britain, "and as to all consequent rights the occupation was complete."

It is a well-known fact, however, that some Frenchmen had made a temporary establishment on one of the Falkland Islands about this period, and that in consequence of a remonstrance made by Spain, the King of France ceded all his right to those islands to his Catholic majesty. If the doctrine assumed by Spain was correct,—that France had not even a colourable title—the cession was a nullity; and it is a fact that Spain so re-

garded it, and relied on her prior rights alone in her subsequent controversy with Great Britain.

On the tenth of June, seventeen hundred and seventy, the British were dispossessed by a Spanish force, when their title had been placed on the triple ground of prior discovery, formal possession, and actual occupation; and the islands being uninhabited, there was no aboriginal title to be extinguished.

The act of dispossession was disavowed by Spain, and the islands restored. Great Britain resumed possession, and then voluntarily abandoned the islands; but avers that she did not relinquish them.

"It is true (says Mr. Baylies) that many years have elapsed, since, under these circumstances, she ceased to occupy the Falkland Islands: but the lapse of time cannot prevent her from resuming possession, if her own maxim of law be well founded, *nullum tempus occurit regi*"—and that she persisted in her claim was evident, from the protest of November, eighteen hundred and twenty-nine, a copy of which had been communicated to him officially by his excellency Henry S. Fox, her minister near that government. Mr. Baylies thought this protest must have been overlooked, when Don Tomas Manuel de Ancherona, the former minister of foreign affairs, had asserted, in his correspondence with the American consul, that, until then, nobody had questioned the rights of the Argentine Republic; for he had in his possession a copy of the official acknowledgment of its receipt, also communicated to him officially by the British envoy.

We have always thought that it was a silly and unfounded censure cast upon our chargé, in the government newspapers of Buenos Ayres, for this exposé of the British title. He stated nothing, as we can perceive, but historical facts, of such notoriety that no British statesman could have been presumed to be ignorant of them. It seems his object was to persuade the government of Buenos Ayres, that their title to the Falklands was not so indubitable as they supposed, for the purpose of inducing them to relinquish the high ground which they had taken against his country, and therefore he gave them a view of the strength of the British title; and they, in their wisdom, instead of placing his argument with the British protest in the secret places of their archives, thought proper to publish it; and then, through the me-

dium of their newspapers, charged their own imprudence upon him!

Our chargé contended further, that if the Argentine Republic had even acquired the entire rights of sovereignty over the islands in question, yet even those rights were not such as to justify the republic in excluding citizens of the United States from the use of the fisheries. On this point he brought the argument to the following conclusions:

"First—That the right of the United States to the ocean fishery, and in the bays, arms of the sea, gulfs, and other inlets incapable of being fortified—is perfect and entire.

"Second—That the right on the ocean within a marine league of the shore, where the approach cannot be injurious to the sovereign of the country, as it cannot be on uninhabited regions, or such as are occupied by savages—is equally perfect.

"Third—That the shores of such regions can be used as freely as the waters: a right arising from the same principles.

"Fourth—That a constant and uninterrupted use of the shores for the purposes of a fishery, would give the right perfect and entire—although settlements on such shores should be subsequently formed or established."

He contended, that if long and uninterrupted use could impart a right, the right of the United States was unimpeachable; and to prove that the right may be so acquired, he cited Vattel, book i., ch. xxiii., § 287, where it is laid down as a rule, that if a nation has once acknowledged the common right of other nations to use fisheries on its own coasts, it cannot afterward exclude them: the fishery was then left in its primitive freedom, at least, with respect to those who had been accustomed to take advantage of it; and so the English not having originally taken exclusive possession of the herring-fisheries on their coasts, it has become common to them with other nations.

The acknowledgment spoken of in such cases may be express or implied. A long-continued use, without interruption, is a virtual acknowledgment of the right to use; and in the instance cited—the herring-fisheries on the English coasts—there has been no formal acknowledgment on the part of England, that other nations have a right to use that fishery: from the acquiescence of England, the acknowledgment is inferred.

He then examined the question on the hypothesis of a sovereignty so perfect, that all the rights claimed by the Argentine Republic would spring from it—yet he contended that there were preliminary acts to be performed before the capture and detention of the persons or property of American citizens could be justified. If regions (said he) not occupied, or brought under any positive jurisdiction, without garrisons, or naval forces, or inhabitants—are to be occupied and brought under civil or military rule, and those who have enjoyed the privilege of a free fishery there are to be excluded from that privilege, it is incumbent on the nations assuming such powers to give official notice to the resident representatives, or to the governments of all nations with whom relations of amity are maintained, before any acts of violence, in assertion of such sovereign rights, can be justified. A warning to individuals was not enough, for that was not a general notice; and individuals not warned might incur forfeitures and penalties without any knowledge of their liabilities, and their governments, equally ignorant, could take no preventive means for their security; and that laws or decrees enforcing penalties for such offences, not made known to the nations whose citizens or subjects were liable to fall under their operation, were in the nature of *ex post facto* laws.

This long communication was concluded by professions of the most amicable and conciliatory character. The chargé said, the questions in controversy extended far beyond the South American regions, and affected in a serious manner the most important interests of his nation; and that it was a cause of deep regret to the American people to be compelled to contend for these vital principles with a nation for whom they had ever cherished the most amicable sentiments—whose independence they had recognised at an early period of their national existence,—a recognition springing from sympathies excited to enthusiasm in favour of a gallant people, who had won their freedom by their prowess and valour.

He informed the minister that he was instructed to say, "that the President of the United States was fully sensible of the difficult situation in which the internal troubles of the republic had placed its government, and did not attribute to any unfriendly disposition acts that, in ordinary times, might wear such an aspect;

but he expected, from the similarity of the republican forms of the governments of both nations, and from a recollection of the early recognition of the independence of their republic by the government of the United States, and their uniformly amicable dispositions since, that, on consideration of their complaints, full justice would be done."

He concluded by informing the minister that he was authorized to conclude a commercial treaty "on free and reciprocal terms."

The correspondence between the American chargé d'affaires and the Argentine minister appears at this period to have been suspended for some days. The former, however, appears to have kept his main object steadily in view, and persevered in his endeavours to bring the government of Buenos Ayres to a distinct avowal or disavowal of their right to capture American vessels or American citizens engaged in the fisheries, and thus to reduce the questions in issue to a single point. After waiting a reasonable time for the minister to answer the inquiry in the note of the twenty-sixth of June or the sixth of August, he addressed to him another note, recalling his attention to the subject, and renewing the inquiry.

On the fourteenth of August the minister transmitted to Mr. Baylies a long memorial of Vernet, who was then for the first time styled "Political and Military *Commandante* of the Falkland Islands," accompanied with a communication of an extraordinary character, in which the chargé was accused of attempting to change, by a violent effort, the ground of negotiation, for the purpose of keeping out of view "the daring and cruel outrage committed at the islands by Mr. Duncan;" and then followed a long train of abusive epithets, in which Duncan was berated in the most exaggerated and hyperbolical style. The minister declared that the perfidy, ferocity, black anger, and barbarity of the American commander, and the enormity of his outrage, attacking the settlement by surprise and with deception, like a highway robber or pirate, had excited universal astonishment, wounded intensely the honour and dignity of the two republics, outraging and insulting the Argentine nation, and tarnishing the credit and reputation of the United States. Vernet was likened to one who had been robbed, and had caught the robber with the booty in his hands. The minister, in an awkward attempt to identify Duncan

with his country said, "such conduct would not have been practised by respectable nations, as England and France: it could only have taken place by an ignoble abuse on the part of the powerful against the weak, or among barbarous people, who know no law but the dictates of their passions, nor resort to other means of obtaining reparation of real or feigned wrongs than those of a blind and ferocious vengeance." To complete the catalogue of Duncan's offences—"he had the audacity to address an official note to the minister in an uncivil and impolite manner." The consul was complained of "for occupying himself in extemporaneous and unresonaable matters greatly above his authority—and of adopting a tone which did not comport with the respect and modesty with which the government of a sovereign state ought to be addressed. Disorder, therefore (says the minister), injustice, insult, and violence, have been on the side of Messrs. Slacum and Duncan, but especially on that of the latter, he having carried his turpitude and ferocity to the last extremity—destroying, with unspeakable inhumanity and perfidy, the Falkland Island colony. They have openly contemned, depressed, and outraged the dignity of the Argentine people—with a manifest stain upon their own nation and government." The minister then proceeded to demand, "before any thing else, prompt and complete satisfaction, reparation, and indemnification for these outrages, not only for the Argentine Republic, but *Commandante* Vernet and the colonists;" —and until such satisfaction, reparation, and indemnification were obtained, he assured the chargé that the government would not enter on the discussion of any of the points comprehended in his notes—"and, in the meantime, would exercise their rights in such manner as they might esteem convenient."

In reply to this communication, our chargé, on the eighteenth of August, sent a short and emphatic note to the minister.*

* "Legation of the United States of America,
"Buenos Ayres, August 18th, 1832.

"The undersigned has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note of his excellency the provisional minister of foreign affairs, dated the fourteenth instant.

"A communication, addressed to his excellency, appearing to be a memorial of Louis Vernet, is returned.

"Having no authority to stipulate that reparation shall be made to Louis Vernet, or to the Argentine Republic, for the acts of the commander of the Lexington at the Falkland Islands, *and being expressly directed by his own government to justify*

In this manner terminated the mission of Francis Baylies to the Argentine Republic.

It appears to us, that the attempt of Mr. Baylies' negotiation to bring the Argentine government to a direct avowal or disavowal of the right of Vernet, or their own right, to seize the vessels and citizens of the United States, was based on sound policy. If a disavowal was obtained, the main object was effected; the question as to the amount of indemnity was of minor consequence, for in the disordered state of the Argentine finances, a treaty or stipulation covering the whole amount would be no more than a "promise to pay" at some indefinite period. The principle in question affected interests of the first importance to the United States—interests existing in other places besides these regions. If the government of Buenos Ayres avowed the acts of Vernet, and claimed the right of excluding all nations from the fisheries,—then every maritime nation would justify the proceedings of the United States. Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, and, we believe, Russia and Holland, have used these fisheries freely. The United States, instead of incurring the odium of aiming at a monopoly, would have been regarded as the champions of a common right.

Some have thought our chargé too precipitate, and that he did not make sufficient allowance for that tendency in all nations of Spanish descent to procrastinate; we think the reflection unjust, for one of less sagacity must have known, that delay would have been sought for no purposes of ultimate benefit to the United States, whose plain and obvious interest it was to have the question settled; it not being of material consequence to them *how* it was settled. In one alternative, their citizens would have been relieved from depredations on their commerce—in the other, meas-

those acts, the undersigned must yield to that alternative which his excellency has made imperative:—and as his continuance here would be useless to his country, he asks passports for himself and for his family. He relies on his excellency for the necessary and usual facilities for embarking his personal effects, and the library and archives of the legation.

"In closing his correspondence, the undersigned tenders to his excellency the assurance of his respect and consideration.

"FRANCIS BAYLIES.

"His Excellency D. Don Manuel de Maza, Minister of Grace and Justice, charged provisionally with the Department of Foreign Affairs."

ures would have been taken for its effectual protection. As the Argentine government had gone so far, previous to the arrival of Mr. Baylies, the question would seem to have been deliberately considered, so far as deliberation can be predicated of the character of a people under such circumstances.

With respect to the charges contained in the *informé* of Vernet, it appears to be confined principally to extenuations and censures of the chargé. Mr. Baylies did wisely in returning it, and declining, in behalf of the United States, the honour and the privilege of presenting them as a party *versus* Louis Vernet, before the Argentine government, acting as judges and umpires, especially as that government had called Vernet into their councils, and submitted the correspondence of the department of foreign affairs to his inspection.

We will state, however, that Vernet admitted the material facts set forth in the note of the twentieth of June. He admitted the capture of the Harriet, the Breakwater, and the Superior. He admitted that he seized their papers. He admitted that he took a part of the cargo of the Harriet for his own use, and the use of the colony, before adjudication. He admitted that he imprisoned the captains and the seamen; but he calls the imprisonment a precautionary measure of police, because the colony was in a mutinous state, and there were only twenty persons in whom he could confide. He admitted the contract with Davison and Congar, and, although these captains were under duresse, he denied that it was compulsory: he declared that he was sure both vessels would be condemned at Buenos Ayres, and therefore he thought it best, for the interests of the American owners, that one should be profitably employed while the other was awaiting her trial;—a very honest desire indeed to promote the interests of the owners, when he was sure both would be condemned! He admitted the stipulation respecting his personal interests. He admitted the oaths. He admitted that he made the contract as a private individual: he acted in a double capacity it seems: when acts of violence and piracy were to be committed, the criminality was hidden under the gubernatorial shield: when that well-known law, by which a condemnation by a judicial tribunal is made necessary before the original owners of vessels can be divested of their property in them, was to be violated, and a swindling contract effected, the

governor was sunk in the director: the civil and military escutcheon was removed, and the trader's sign appeared: the sword of state was sheathed, and the ruler of boundless regions betook himself to retailing rum, and biscuit, and molasses! He prides himself on his generosity in suffering the Superior to sail without a guarantee; but he forgets the sealskins in his possession uncondemned, and the penalty of five hundred dollars in the contract. He admitted that seven of the crew of the Superior were left on Staten-land, but avers that they were provisioned for nine months instead of six; the difference was wholly immaterial, if they were not to be relieved at all. He admitted that he arrested five seamen at Eagle Island, instead of four, as alleged by Mr. Baylies; but avers that only two of them belonged to the shipwrecked crew of the Belville. He arrested them (he says) because other Americans, including Davison, had informed him that they were "dangerous persons, of a disposition to piracy." He found them useful, and admitted them members of the colony,—whether from their "disposition to piracy" or not, does not appear. He admitted the contract respecting the shallop. He admitted that he took from these men the sealskins and whalebone; but says they were to be indemnified from their future earnings in his service! He denied that he induced or obliged American citizens to capture the vessels and persons of their countrymen—"To effect the detention of the Harriet, Superior, and Breakwater (he says), nobody was induced or forced, nor was I under the necessity of doing it. All the individuals, Americans and of other nations, who united in the capture of these vessels, did it because they desired it, and because it was agreeable to them. All were members of the colony, and, as such, participated in the prizes." This is a curious avowal of this civil and military governor. His colony must have been somewhat like Morton's at Merry-Mount: every man did what seemed right in his own eyes—captured and plundered vessels, and imprisoned their crews, not in pursuance of law and just authority, but because it was agreeable to them! "Well, then (continues the governor), the fishery was the property of the colony; and if all those who composed it had a right to sequestered goods, to make those Americans participators of them who were on the roll of the colonists was not to induce them to rob their countrymen, but to exercise an act of rigorous justice,

which would not be denied to them, since they were members of the colony."

The ethics of the governor are singular—he takes credit to himself for his rigorous justice in sharing the plunder with the robber, and denies that the prospect of plunder was any inducement to robbery! He denied that he practised any cruelty on the seaman Crawford, or that the declarations which were imputed to him by Captain Davison, of an intention to discriminate between the English and the Americans, in favour of the former, and to interrupt the American whale-fishery with an armed vessel. As to these facts, Mr. Baylies quotes his authority, and at present those charges are to be viewed with reference to the superior credibility of Vernet or Davison. With the exception of the three last, almost every important allegation embraced in the note of the twentieth of June is admitted, and extenuated in the manner as related above.

What a picture does this governor exhibit of himself and his colony—a picture drawn by his own hand! In a period of profound peace, the vessels and the property of the nation which had first stretched forth the hand of fellowship to the infant Argentines, and greeted them as equals in the family of nations, were forcibly seized and appropriated without legal adjudication. American seamen were imprisoned: shipwrecked mariners, first plundered of the scanty earnings of their hours of desolation, were converted into Argentines for the purpose of plundering their own countrymen. Argentines and Montevideans, Germans, Old Englishmen and New Englanders, were conglomerated in one foul mass, and fashioned into a lawless colony under a reckless governor!

As to the remainder of Vernet's communication respecting the title, &c., we shall content ourselves with saying, that the government of Buenos Ayres must have been sadly in want of *materiel* when they fashioned this vagabond into a *quasi* minister of foreign affairs.

There is, however, one fact mentioned in the "informé" which deserves a passing notice. "In eighteen hundred and twenty (says Vernet) the government of Buenos Ayres entered on the formal possession of the Malvinas (Falklands), by means of the Colonel of Marine, Don David Jewett:" the act was solemnized by a salute of cannon, &c., in presence of the officers and crews of several English and American vessels. From this account it

would appear, that the act was not performed in behalf of the Argentine Republic, but for the government of Buenos Ayres.

If Don David Jewett took possession under a salute, from whence came the guns? Vernet says he landed them. If so, they must have been taken from a vessel—why is the name of the vessel suppressed?

We have some recollection of having heard of a vessel called the Heroine, which, in some publication of Governor Vernet, was dignified by the name and style of the national corvette Heroine. This vessel sailed from Buenos Ayres in eighteen hundred and twenty, and in the same year visited the Falkland Islands, being under the command of one David Jewett. She was unfortunate—having been captured by the Portuguese frigate Perola, off Cape Spartel, on the twentieth of March, eighteen hundred and twenty-two,—the kingdom of Portugal and the Argentine Republic, as to each other, then being in a state of profound peace. Notwithstanding, the Heroine was condemned in the court of admiralty at Lisbon, as a lawful prize to the captors, her officers and crew having been found guilty of many aggravated acts of piracy. Jewett was not the commander at the time of the capture.* Did he abandon her at the Falklands? Was the plunder of the first cruise shared there? If the Heroine was a national corvette, the national loss was greater in amount than the damages done Vernet's colony by Captain Duncan. We have heard of no reclamations—no denunciations of the Portuguese for this "Vandal" outrage on the Argentine flag: this capture of "a national corvette," in a period of profound peace:—this seizure of the very guns which (if it was the vessel commanded by David Jewett) had solemnized the great act by which a nation proclaimed her sovereignty over a great region. If the David Jewett, *Coronel de Marina* of Vernet, are identical, there would seem to be a wonderful congruity in all things relating to this celebrated settlement. A symmetry, fitness, and adaptation of parts, disclosing the perfection of the original design. The guns of a pirate announced the sovereign rights of the—Argentine Republic! The ceremonies might have been rendered more appropriate and exact, by burying a *chest of money* with its usual accompaniments!

* She was then under command of one Mason, an Englishman, who took charge of her at the Falkland Islands.

After the rupture of the negotiations, one Mestivier, a Frenchman, was appointed civil and military commandant of the Falkland Islands and their dependances in the Atlantic Ocean; on the tenth of September, the appointment was promulgated by a decree, signed by Rosas, the governor, and Balcarse, the minister of war and marine. The whole naval force of this maritime republic, which claimed to hold so many remote islands as colonies, being the Sarandi, a schooner of six or eight guns, was put in requisition to convey the governor, his suite, garrison, and colony, to the islands. A bloody mutiny broke out soon after his arrival, and the governor was assassinated.

Notwithstanding the form, parade, and publicity which attended this new demonstration of the claim of sovereignty, the settlement was again broken up by Captain Onslow,* of the British ship-of-war Clio, who rivalled Duncan in deeds of violence. John Bull had ships, and seamen, and commerce, and had no greater love for pirates than Jonathan. The wrath of the Argentine government was turned against that *respectable* nation, which had been represented by them, in their correspondence with Mr. Baylies, as incapable of such acts. The captain of the Clio resumed the possession of the islands in the name of William IV. No regular military garrison has as yet been placed there by Great Britain. Some of the settlers were left, among whom was Brisbane, the Scotchman, the agent of Vernet. To complete the melodrame, or rather the mingled farce and tragedy of the Falkland Island settlement, Brisbane has been murdered.

Though a person by the name of Smith, of whose office or character nothing is known, has lately warned sealers not to visit these islands,—still it is presumed they can do so with perfect safety. If they are molested, it is an easy sail for one of our sloops-of war on the Brazil station to run down there and break up Mr. Smith.

Buenos Ayres has been in trouble too. Rosas, the governor,

* In January, eighteen hundred and thirty-three, Captain Onslow took possession of these islands, and hoisted the British colours under a salute; hauling down at the same time the Buenos Ayrean flag, and sending it on board the schooner Sarandi, with a message, that it was a foreign flag, found on British soil. The Buenos Ayrean government, through an agent at London, has protested against this occupation, without having, as yet, received any assurance, on the part of Great Britain, of her intentions to abandon the islands.

resigned, not long after the rupture of the negotiations, and took the command of the army of the interior, as it is called. The office of governor was conferred on Don Juan Ramon Balcarse. A revolution was enacted. Balcarse was overthrown and exiled, and escaped to the Banda Oriental. Viamonte, who is the *locum tenens* in all changes, was appointed governor. The people were not satisfied, and three times was the government tendered to the real Cæsar, Don Juan Manuel de Rosas, "which he did thrice refuse." Twice has it been offered to Don Tomas Manuel de Ancherona and refused. It was finally accepted by De Maza, the former minister of grace and justice. The civil government has the mere shadow of authority: the treasury is empty—feuds and factions distract this unhappy country. Good men—enlightened and patriotic men, there are in this country, but they have no affinity with the *moral elements* which surround them. The seminal principle of free institutions is there, but it is like the roots of the trees in the Pampas, as soon as it shoots above the earth, the pamparo of a revolution stops its growth,—the hopes of the better people are constantly blasted; time alone can bring a remedy!

The government of Buenos Ayres have repeatedly assured the government of the United States that they would send a minister to this country, but none has appeared. It is not probable that any new outrages will be committed on our commerce or citizens. Should any be attempted, the cannon of our ships will negotiate a settlement more effectually than the most accomplished diplomatist.

If Great Britain should advance any pretensions to the exclusive use of the fisheries at the Falklands, it is to be hoped that such pretensions will be as strenuously resisted as were those of the Argentine Republic—indeed, more strenuously—for we could afford to laugh at the empty bluster and sounding bravadoes of the Argentines, and smile at the pompous pretensions of a province with a population of less than two hundred thousand—but should the empress of islands come into the field of controversy with the same pretensions, she must be met as an equal in the family of nations; and while we carefully abstain from all encroachments on her rights, our own should be defended with unflinching vigour and firmness.

CHAPTER XXX.

Passage north of the Falkland Islands—Icebergs—Perilous situation of the Potomac —Arrival at Rio—Naval etiquette—Excursion up the Bay—Island of Paqueta—National festival—Sail for the United States—Arrival at Boston—Public despatches—Splendid ball on board—End of the voyage.

AFTER passing the Falkland Islands we stood on to the north, shaping our course for Rio de Janeiro. On the morning of the seventeenth of March, at an early hour, land was reported from the look-out aloft. The commodore was on deck, and though the outlines of the object ahead could be clearly seen, in despite of the mist, no one believed that an island was to be met with north of the Falklands, which had for centuries remained undiscovered, in the common highway of nations. A short time removed all uncertainty; as we bore down under a heavy press of sail, a towering iceberg, shrouded in a cold mist and fog, was moving slowly on, by the power of deep currents, from the gloomy and cheerless regions of the south.

"Thus in the Atlantic, oft the sailor eyes,
While melting in the reign of softer skies,
Some Alp of ice, from polar region blown,—
Hail the glad influence of a warmer zone."

It moved along with awful, but not solitary grandeur, being but one of a squadron which successively rose to the view; so that in sailing more than two degrees, we occasionally encountered these floating pyramids—now clothed in vapour, and again showing forth in a pure, cold, and silvery brightness. On the morning of the nineteenth the Potomac was for a moment in imminent peril, as she dashed through between two of these crystal towers, the large hummucks grating along her sides with a force that showed the power of their resistance. "Hard down the helm!" resounded on deck, and the order was instantly obeyed, followed again by the harsh grating of the ice along the sides and copper of the vessel. For a moment, the frigate bore off in perfect

obedience to her helm; when an iceberg on the other bow required the counter order, "hard up the helm! steady! steady! she will now go clear!" and our noble ship passed out unscathed!—To manage a vessel under such circumstances requires the highest exertion of nautical skill.

It is not easy to do justice to the profession of the sailor. His noblest efforts are witnessed only by the few hardy spirits who are themselves actors along with him. Not so in other professions. The persuasive accents of the pulpit orator fall upon the ears of an attentive and tranquil audience, and by the numerous chords of human sympathies are preserved and extended to a crowded circle; the resistless advocate, while in the courts of justice he pleads the cause of injured innocence, or stays the strong arm of the proud oppressor, is surrounded by multitudes, who can pay homage to his eloquence; the erudite judge records his opinions, and his name will be referred to in the coming time; while the venerable senator, it may be said, by means of the press, speaks to a listening nation, and not unfrequently to an admiring world; the artist, whose pencil imparts life to the "glowing canvass," leaves the impress of his genius to mellow and improve with time; the writer of romance creates and peoples realms of his own, and keeps alive a world of ideal sympathy and passion in the human heart!

Not so the sailor. Much of the grandeur, we might say sublimity, of his profession, is lost to the rest of the world: nor can any language breathe into description the imbodied spirit of his experience! While we admire the noble bark, that breasts the billows, and moves on battling with the elements until she reaches the point of her destination, though it be the farthermost port in the known world, yet how much more sublime to our contemplation is the intelligence which directs her movements with such unerring certainty! And how often, amid the wide waste of ocean, is that intelligence brought to contend with the wild spirit of the storm, the goodly ship writhing beneath the angry tempest, while a single error in command, or the mind unpoised for an instant, would be fatal to all on board. How the good ship, among the proudest monuments of the genius of man, still rides on, till the very elements have wasted their strength, and wearied themselves into repose, in vain attempts for the mastery! But of this mighty

The U.S. Frigate Potomac passing through a field of Ice
between two Ice Bergs, before daylight, March, 1834.

HARPER & BROTHERS

struggle, no record is left; for the sailor, child of the tempest-tossed ocean, forgets the grandeur of the scene almost as soon as the *white caps* have ceased to run, or the waters become smooth in the wake of his vessel!

The dangers of the icebergs passed; we continued our course to the north until the morning of Wednesday, the twenty-sixth of March, when land was again announced, and the towering sugar-loaf of Rio was soon after visible from the frigate's deck; and, favoured by the seabreeze, we succeeded in coming to anchor at an early hour. The sloop-of-war Peacock, Captain Geisinger, late from her cruise to the East Indies, was lying at anchor, and on recognising the Potomac, saluted the broad pennant of Commodore Downes, which compliment was returned by the usual number of guns. The schooner Boxer, Lieutenant-commandant Farragut, was also at Rio. On the same day, Commodore Wolsey came from Montevideo, his broad pennant flying on the sloop-of-war Natchez. Salutes with the forts, and the other men-of-war in the harbour, were exchanged during the afternoon and the following day, Rio being a station of much naval etiquette.

In addition to our former remarks on this interesting portion of South America we would here observe, that the whole empire of Brazil contains a population of not far from five millions. Of these, three millions are slaves; one million are free people of colour; and one million are whites, or descendants of the Portuguese; and even of this number we have heard it stated, on the best authority, that there were in reality not more than two hundred thousand in all Brazil, of unmixed blood!—Our authority is Sylvester Rebelo, formerly minister from Brazil to the United States, to whom we are indebted for other valuable information, which, we regret, our limits will not permit us to imbody.

An interesting celebration occurred at Rio on the twelfth day after our arrival, it being Monday, the seventh of April. This day is celebrated as the anniversay of the departure of Don Pedro, on which occasion the young emperor, attended by the regents, receives visits from all the public functionaries. All our commanders, and a suitable number of officers, were presented to his imperial majesty by our minister, Mr. Brown who, being the oldest diplomatic agent in Brazil, had the precedence; and from him, also, custom required a short speech. In the evening, a

splendid imperial ball was given by the members of a society* who commemorate the day, ostensibly in anticipation of the coronation of the young emperor; but, in fact, to keep alive the spirit of hostility to his father and the mother country. His young *imperial* majesty and his august sisters, together with the regency, ministers, and diplomatic corps, attended, as usual, this annual gala.

To be relieved from the bustle of the ship, we embraced an opportunity of visiting the upper part of the bay, in one of the fine ferry-boats which ply between Rio and Praya Grande. Magnificent as is the harbour at the city, no one can form any conception of its extent and beauty, unless by taking a wider excursion for that purpose. Starting early in the morning, the land-breeze compelled us to stand over to the opposite side, and make our way to the southeast shore. As one advances, numerous islands are scattered along at intervals, thickly clothed with orange and coffee-trees, with here and there a neat little hut or cot, peering above the shrubbery, with gardens attached, filled with the richest flowers, and breathing the most delicious odours.

At about ten miles from the city is the Island of Paqueta, one of the largest and most important in the bay. Here are to be seen elegant country-seats, and quite a dense population. The soil is very rich, producing the sugarcane, plantain, orange, chocolate, coffee, and lime-trees, all huddled together; and sometimes apparently from spontaneous growth.

From this point you have the view of other islands, and the still vast expansion of the bay. What a delightful spot—clothed with the richest verdure, with various walks among the trees of delicious fruits, and flowers of the most delicate and richest hues. No noise—no tumult. We had almost said, no motion! Quiet stillness reigned undisturbed. After having been so long confined to the ship, tossed and buffeted about in doubling the stormy Cape, and tired with the noise of sailors, and still more with the songs and din of the narrow streets of Rio—what a relief—what sweet repose!

Yes—and then a night away from the dull, but deafening tattoo—the sharp discharge of the evening and morning gun—the change of watch—the passing of lanterns—the hum of partially-

* Called the "Defenders of the National Liberty and Independence."

suppressed voices—the incessant tramp of the lonely watch-officer—and the call through the trumpet to the look-out aloft—we repeat, to be free from all these, with a thousand other annoyances—and to find one's self alone in a peaceful, paradisiacal retreat—why, what luxury of solitude!—what a heaven of rest! To sleep in quiet—dream in peace—and wake at pleasure; undisturbed by the sudden and tremendous burst of the reveille—this is what we experienced at the sweet little Island of Paqueta!

On the morning of Wednesday, the ninth of April, at an early hour, we got under way, and, by the aid of boats and a landbreeze, soon cleared the harbour. Our passage to the line was tedious, nor was there aught of interest until Thursday, the twenty-second of May, when we made the land at the entrance of Boston harbour, and with a fine breeze ran in, and came to anchor off Boston light-house. On the following morning, the tide serving, we stood up the isle-speckled bay, and soon came to anchor off the navy-yard, at Charlestown. It was a joyous morning—for the hardships and perils of the cruise were over.

In his official despatch to the secretary of the navy of this date, May twenty-third, the commodore says: "During the cruise of the Potomac, she has touched at Rio de Janeiro twice; Cape of Good Hope, Africa; Quallah-Battoo and Soo-soo, coast of Sumatra; Bantam Bay and Batavia, Island of Java; Macao and Lintin, China; Sandwich and Society Islands; Valparaiso, three times, Callao, the same; Coquimbo, Payta, Galapagos Islands, and Puna, Bay of Guayaquil; has sailed over sixty-one thousand miles, and been at sea five hundred and fourteen days, crossing the equator sixtimes, and varying from 40° north to 57° south latitude, while circumnavigating the globe; and during this time, she has not had a spar carried away, or lost a man by casualty, or had one seriously injured."

During the interval which elapsed in waiting the return of despatches from Washington, a party was given by the commodore and his lady, on board the Potomac, to the circle of their numerous friends. It was allowed on all hands to be a beautiful and brilliant affair; every circumstance combined to render it interesting and delightful,—the frigate had just returned from a long voyage, of which it formed the closing scene; the season was that

joyous one in which the highest zest is given to a party of animated and elegant enjoyment—the flowery month of May,

> "When eyes are bright with pleasure,
> And brows with wreaths are crowned."

At an early hour on the appointed evening, barges were in waiting, at the steps of the granite dock, to convey the company on board the Potomac, which lay but a short distance from the shore, so that the passages were made with ease and rapidity. The guests were received, as they stepped upon the frigate's deck, by an officer, who escorted them from the spar to the gun-deck, when another presented them to the commodore and his lady, in the after-cabin. This portion of the ship was a place of general promenade; while the spar-deck, from the mainmast to the taffarel, covered with a spacious awning, constituted the extensive and brilliant ball-room, lined and festooned with a beautiful cluster of national flags.

One extremity of this fairy saloon might well have attracted the attention and envy of those classical creations of fancy alluded to by one of our best poets, Woodworth:

> "Sea-nymphs leave their coral caves,
> Deep beneath the ocean waves,
> Where they string, with tasteful care,
> Pearls upon their sea-green hair;
> Thetis' virgin train advances,
> Mingling with our joyous dances!"

The other extremity of it was admirably illuminated by a pyramid of light, arranged with singular effect, and with taste unquestionable. A circle of muskets constituted its base, their barrels being devoted to the office of candlesticks, while the upper portions of the novel chandelier were formed, by a similar necromancy, from a multitude of flower-encompassed bayonets. Wreathed about the whole hung roses and tulips of every colour the poet could dream of, with every description of leaf and evergreen that is composed and arrayed in the ideal triumph of beauty.

Far away, in the other extremity of the saloon, rendering still more striking the beautiful perspective, hung a transparency of

Washington; which, as the eye glanced along the illuminated distance, glowing with lesser pyramids of light, rose with a new lustre upon the view.

The supper-table was arranged on the starboard side of the gun-deck, and light was profusely scattered from its numerous fanciful centres, radiating from among banners tastefully festooned, and illuminating a scene of various and elegant bounty.

But who would dwell upon the luxuries of the banquet, when such loveliness was nigh to engross senses more exalted and refined? It would be idle to say that this aquatic gala was not to be surpassed for its brilliant display of female grace and attraction, under their thousand forms of witchery, when it is remembered that on board that noble frigate was concentrated so much of the beauty of Boston. Fashion never glittered in more perfect communion with taste, and wit and intellect never sparkled from eyes, or fell from lips, that more admirably told their stories!

Again the dance went forward; and the revelry of music, and glee, and light hearts, was resumed. Again fairy forms floated among the banners, and again gayety and brightness flashed from the mazes of the cotillon. And thus the scene continued until an hour of which few took note, for all time was then centred in the present. But, late or early as may have been the "breaking up," the scene was one that cannot be forgotten! It was deep night—and thick clouds were pouring in from the sea, filling the bay with a still deeper gloom; while the thousand lights from the yet resounding frigate, rendered still more striking the "darkness visible" about her, and threw into a wild and strange relief the towering outline of her masts and spars, against the shifting and lurid heavens.

And thus the curtain fell, on this scene of new and elegant festivity. But it will be long, indeed, ere the splendour of the Potomac's decks, or the unsurpassed beauty which swept them on that night, will be found among the dim things of memory.

APPENDIX.

Navy Department, June 27th, 1831.

SIR

WHEN the frigate Potomac is in readiness to leave Norfolk, you will proceed to New-York without delay, that her complete preparation and equipment may be effected at the navy-yard there.

When she is in every respect ready for sea, which must certainly be accomplished by the first day of August next, you will receive on board the Honourable Martin Van Buren, minister from the United States to England, and his suite, and immediately make sail, shaping your course for Portsmouth, on the southern coast of England, or for any other port within the British Channel which you may find to be more safe and convenient, where you will land Mr. Van Buren and suite.

After fulfilling this part of your instructions, you will, with all practicable despatch, direct your course for the Pacific Ocean, and assume the command of the naval forces on that station. You will touch on your way out at Porto Praya of the Cape de Verd Islands, if not inconvenient, and also at Pernambuco, St. Salvador, and Rio de Janeiro, on the coast of Brazil; and communicating with the consuls or commercial agents of the United States at these ports, and rendering every lawful aid and protection to the persons and property of our citizens which may be needed; not, however, making any unnecessary delay at either of these places.

On your arrival in the Pacific, you will obtain from Master-commandant Gregory all necessary information relating to our commerce and squadron, and adopt suitable measures for executing and accomplishing the instructions and objects which he has not had it in his power to fulfil previous to your arrival. A copy of his orders is furnished.

The force under your command will consist of the Potomac, as flagship, the sloop-of-war Falmouth, Master-commandant Gregory, and the schooner Dolphin, Lieutenant John C. Long.

It is hoped that this force will be competent to afford efficient protection to our extensive and important interests in that region of the world; and placing every confidence in your skill, intelligence, and judgment, no doubt is entertained of your using every exertion in your power fully to accomplish the objects of your command.

You will, on all occasions, render to our citizens, vessels, commerce, and interests, that assistance and protection to which they are lawfully entitled.

For your information and government in the execution of the duties assigned to you, I transmit a volume containing the treaties concluded

between the United States and foreign powers, a compilation of the laws of the United States relating to the navy, a circular respecting the discharge of our seamen in foreign ports, another directing a quarterly report to be made of American vessels boarded, and a third regulating the official intercourse between the commanders of our ships-of-war and the consuls of the United States in foreign ports.

It is important that you should keep yourself always correctly advised of passing events; and it is therefore advisable that you commence and continue a regular correspondence with our public and commercial agents within the limits of your station.

Cases may arise which it is impossible to foresee, and to meet which definite instructions cannot be given; should such occur out of the ordinary way, you must be left to the exercise of a sound discretion.

Our relations with the governments of the southern continent of America, as well as with Mexico, are on the most friendly footing; and care should be taken to abstain from any act which may impair their present character, so far as this can be done consistently with the maintenance of our own just rights.

You will be careful, on entering any harbour, or meeting a public vessel of another nation, to manifest the accustomed civilities; as we confidently expect them to be paid to us, it becomes us to be prompt in tendering them to others.

At all places you may visit, you will encourage the best feelings towards our government, nation, citizens, and interests; exhibiting, wherever an opportunity offers, that moderation and urbanity which become your own character and that of the government you represent.

Should war arise on the western coast of America, it will be recollected that the belligerant parties are entitled to equal rights; and the utmost caution must be observed to refrain from all acts towards either of them, that might have a tendency to affect or compromise our neutral character. Acts of kindness to either, although equally extended to the others, might be misconceived or misconstrued to our prejudice. You will, therefore, to avoid all causes of complaint, decline, if requested, taking on board the vessels of your squadron, for either party, men, money, provisions, or supplies, to be carried from such party to any port or country whatever.

If hostilities should take place, it is probable that the parties will resort, as formerly, to the system of blockades, without an adequate force to maintain that mode of annoyance, and to the great injury and inconvenience of neutral vessels and commerce.

In the event of such a state of things, you will use your best efforts to protect our citizens and their property from the illegal exercise of power; claiming for them all the rights and privileges to which they are entitled by the laws of nations. At the same time you will avoid, as much as possible, all collision with either party, without compromitting in any manner our own just rights and national honour.

It is to be feared that some of the freebooters, whose depredations have been so successfully checked in the West Indies, and some of the privateers and parties employed during the wars which have existed in that quarter, may change the scene and character of their operations, in hopes of finding our commerce in a defenceless state. To guard against such

an occurrence will require, on the part of the vessels under your command, the utmost vigilance.

Among the accompanying papers, you will find a copy of the General Instructions issued in relation to piracy and the slave-trade; they may be applicable to cases which may arise within the range of your command, although specially designed for another station.

Misrepresentations, arising, no doubt, in most instances, from misapprehension and partial information, have often found their way to the public papers, to the injury of the service and the prejudice of our government. This renders it proper that you should endeavour to prevent communications from those under your command, respecting the movements of the squadron and your official transactions, which may possibly reach the public in such a manner.

The propriety of such publications must be left to the government, which will take care to afford full information, from the authentic means in its possession, of whatever the interests of the nation will permit to be made known.

You may receive on board the vessels of your squadron specie and other articles, permitted by the act of Congress for the better government of the navy, belonging exclusively to our own citizens, and carry them from one port or place to another, when it does not interfere in any degree with your other more important duties, or infringe the laws of the country where such articles are to be received or carried; and, also, on your return to the United States, you may bring with you gold, silver, and jewels, the property of our own citizens. But our national vessels ought not, and must not, be used for purposes of commercial adventure; and you are, in no case, to allow any thing in the shape of a public advertisement, giving information that you will carry such articles. So many complaints have been made on this subject, that I must impress upon you the necessity of avoiding every thing which may give rise to unfriendly comments. In order that the government may be informed of the extent to which the commercial interests of our citizens have been benefited on this point, and be prepared to answer any inquiries on this subject, you will, from time to time, make reports of all the specie, &c. carried, the places to and from which it may be taken, and the circumstances and conditions under which you do it.

The health of your officers and crews will demand unceasing attention; the moral conduct and professional acquirements of the junior officers, the exercise of constant watchfulness.

Rigid discipline, exactly enforced, is essential to maintain the reputation of the navy, and it must not for one moment be neglected. You are perfectly aware that a firm and energetic course on the part of the superior, accompanied by mild, humane, and gentlemanly deportment, is the best mode of accomplishing, in a satisfactory manner, the various objects intrusted to your command.

It is also especially necessary that commanding officers should guard against the influence of feelings of partiality or prejudice in the treatment of inferiors. Every officer is entitled to, and must enjoy, all the privileges of rank and station. Whenever these are permitted to one and

denied to another, or preferences are shown, insubordination and unkind feelings are immediately engendered, to the lasting injury of the service.

I am well persuaded that you do not require to be urged upon this subject, and shall not therefore press further arguments upon your attention.

You will transmit, semi-annually, on the first of January and July, confidential reports of the character, conduct, skill, and acquirements, of all the officers under your command. In making them, it is proper that strict impartiality should be used, and all personal prejudices or predilections avoided.

The blank monthly returns, forwarded to you herewith, for the use of the squadron, are to be regularly and carefully filled up, and transmitted through you to this department. The books ordered to be purchased for the use of all our ships in commission, are to be placed in charge of the schoolmaster, and on your return carefully packed in boxes, which must be labelled, and deposited in the public store.

It is intended to send out, from time to time, ample supplies for the squadron, which will render it unnecessary for the purser, acting as agent for the squadron, to make purchases, unless on urgent occasions, when special instructions shall be given by you to him.

You will obtain from this officer the funds required for the pay of the officers and men, and the general uses of the squadron; and to enable him to be at all times ready to meet those demands and fulfil the injunctions of the department, you will furnish him, from time to time, with estimates in detail of the wants of the squadron, six months in advance, particularizing the various heads of appropriation under which the money should be drawn, and forward the duplicates thereof to this department.

It may be, in your power, while protecting the commercial, to add something to the agricultural interests of our country, by obtaining information respecting valuable animals, seeds, plants, &c.; and by importing such as you can conveniently, without expense to the government, or neglecting the more immediate and appropriate duties assigned you.

The cultivation of the sugarcane has become an object of increasing importance and value, and you may be able to meet with different varieties in the course of your cruise, and procure directions as to the mode of culture. It is very desirable that this branch of agriculture should not be lost sight of in your inquiries.

The copy of a resolution of Congress, of the twenty-fifth of January, eighteen hundred and thirty, upon this subject, and the collection of vegetables, grain, &c., is enclosed for your information and attention.

There are many scientific, botanical, and agricultural institutions, to which your collections might be profitably intrusted, and by which, whatever you procure, would be applied to the greatest advantage; among them is the Columbian Institute of the city of Washington.

This society, as well as the Treasury Department, has prepared directions for the preservation of articles, and requested that they might be distributed among our naval commanders. In compliance with their wishes, I send you a few copies.

As frequently as opportunities offer, you will report your proceedings to the department, transmitting copies of your official correspondence

with the authorities of Chili and Peru, and with other powers and persons, and carefully numbering your despatches, of which it would be prudent to send duplicates by different conveyances.

You will also be the medium of communication to the department from the officers and men under your command.

Previously to sailing from the United States, you will cause complete muster-rolls of all persons on board of the Potomac to be made out and forwarded to the department.

I am respectfully, sir,
Your obedient servant,
LEVI WOODBURY.

Commodore JOHN DOWNES,
Commanding U. S. Frigate Potomac,
Norfolk, Virginia.

Navy Department, July 25th, 1831.

MESSRS. NATHANIEL SILSBEE, DUDLEY L. PICKMAN, AND ROBERT STONE.

Gentlemen—Your communication to the President of the 20th instant has this day been received and referred to this department.

I feel happy in assuring you that, since the 19th instant, every necessary preparation has been making to demand immediate redress for the outrage committed.

On the 22d instant, not hearing from Salem but through the newspapers, I addressed a letter to one of your number, as a personal friend, asking further information on this subject; and which letter, ere the arrival of this, will doubtless have been received by him. Though it was then confidential, he is hereby authorized to communicate it to the parties interested.

The department would now invite attention to procuring and forwarding here a few particulars not contained in the communication received to-day.

1st. It is desirable to have the originals or authenticated copies of all protests made in relation to the loss, and of affidavits by any persons who witnessed the outrage, detailing its origin and progress.

2d. Any special information, as to the character of the rulers and the population, and the part of the country where the injury occurred, which the owners may have, and which is not to be found in the books treating of those regions, would be acceptable.

3d. Intelligence is asked as to the political relations, if any, existing between those rulers, &c., and the English or the Dutch; whether useful hints can be given as to the draught of water, dangerous reefs, or circumstances connected with the navigation in that region, and thence to Macao, by a frigate of the largest class.

Your early attention to these subjects will greatly oblige the department.

With sentiments of respect,
I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,
(Signed) LEVI WOODBURY.

Navy Department, August 9th, 1831.

SIR,

Circumstances have occurred since the last instructions to you, which require a change in your route to the Pacific, and which may impose on you some new duties of a character highly delicate and important. A most wanton outrage was committed on the lives and property of certain American citizens at Quallah-Battoo, a place on the western side of the Island of Sumatra, on the 7th of February last; the particulars of which are contained in the document annexed, marked A and B.

You are therefore directed to repair at once to Sumatra, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, touching on the voyage thither only at such places as the convenience and necessities of your vessel may render proper. On your arrival at Quallah-Battoo, you will obtain from the intelligent shipmasters, supercargoes, and others, engaged in the American trade in that neighbourhood, such information as they possess in respect to the nature of the government there, the piratical character of the population, and the flagrant circumstances of the injury before mentioned. Should that information substantially correspond with what is given to you in the documents marked A and B, the President of the United States, in order that prompt redress may be obtained for these wrongs, or the guilty perpetrators made to feel that the flag of the Union is not to be insulted with impunity, directs that you proceed to demand of the rajah, or other authorities at Quallah-Battoo, restitution of the property plundered, or indemnity therefor, as well as for the injury done to the vessel; satisfaction for any other depredations committed there on our commerce, and the immediate punishment of those concerned in the murder of the American citizens, Charles Knight, chief officer, and John Davis and George Chester, seamen, of the ship Friendship.

If a compliance of this demand be delayed beyond a reasonable time, you are authorized, in the following manner, to vindicate our wrongs:—Firstly, having taken precautions, while making the demand, to cut off all opportunity of escape, from the individuals either concerned in that savage outrage, or protecting the offenders, or participating in the plunder, you will proceed to seize the actual murderers, if they are known, and send them hither for trial as pirates by the first convenient opportunity; to retake such part of the stolen property as can there be found and identified; to destroy the boats and vessels of any kind engaged in the piracy, and the forts and dwellings near the scene of aggression, used for shelter or defence; and to give public information to the population there collected, that if full restitution is not speedily made, and forbearance exercised hereafter from like piracies and murders upon American citizens, other ships-of-war will soon be despatched thither to inflict more ample punishment.

Any property restored, or indemnity given, you will deliver to the owners of the ship Friendship, or their agents, taking receipts therefor. Should the information obtained on the spot give a different character to the transaction from that furnished by the department, marked A and B, showing any real disapprobation of the plunder and murder by the population at large or by their rulers, or any provocation given on the part of our citizens, or the existence of a regular responsible government, acting

on principles recognised by civilized nations in their conduct towards strangers, you will confine your operations to a regular demand for satisfaction on the existing authorities at Quallah-Battoo; to be rendered by a restoration of the property, indemnity for the other injuries, and a punishment of the offenders. If referred by them to the King of Acheen, you will cause a like demand to be made on him. Should such satisfaction be not speedily given by either, you will inform them that future measures will be taken by the United States effectually to enforce it, and to vindicate the violated rights of their citizens.

At the same time, in this latter event, assure the rajah or other responsible authorities, that this government entertains no hostile feelings towards the people of Quallah-Battoo, or their governors, rajahs, or rulers of any kind; and if the assaults, plundering, and murders, were unauthorized, and not afterward countenanced, that it will be peculiarly gratifying to discover, on the part of the authorities of those places, a disposition to redress, as far as may be in their power, the wrongs wantonly inflicted on the citizens of the United States.

You will forthwith report to the department the result of your expedition to Sumatra, forwarding the report by the first convenient opportunity, from that island or from China.

Leaving Quallah-Battoo, or the dominions of the King of Acheen, you will proceed to Macao, where disturbances to our commerce are said to have recently occurred; touching at Batavia, if convenient, and at all events conferring with our consul there, in person or by letter, on the interests and condition of American commerce in that quarter. To our consul resident in Macao or Canton, and to the American merchants there, you will apply for information, and give any temporary aid or relief in your power, without involving this country in any hostilities with the regular and authorized authorities of China.

After a short stay there for the above objects, and for taking in necessary supplies and refreshments, to obtain which, if indispensable, in addition to the funds placed in your hands already, you are empowered to draw on this department to the amount of five thousand dollars, you will proceed directly to your station in the Pacific, stopping only at such islands in your way as may be in the usual track, and interesting to our commerce in that region of the world.

Your former instructions will be your guide, after reaching the rest of your squadron; except that, whenever a vessel can be spared from it to visit any of the islands in the Pacific, resorted to by our merchantmen and whalers, you are directed to detach one for that purpose.

Great care must be taken to have such vessel conduct with caution, forbearance, and good faith towards the natives; to render any assistance in its power to American citizens; to make as favourable an impression as possible on the population, of the justice and strength of our government; and to collect and report to this department all valuable information, of every kind, connected with the places visited.

With much consideration,

Your obedient servant,

LEVI WOODBURY.

Commodore JOHN DOWNES, on board the U. S. frigate Potomac.

A.

Monday, February 7th, 1831.—At eight A. M., the captain, second officer, and four men, went on shore to weigh pepper; at half past three P. M., succeeded in procuring one boat-load; saw her leave the bank of the river, opposite the scale-house, with the usual complement of men in her, that is to say, one steersman and six oarsmen; the natives still bringing pepper to the scales, with the promise of giving us another boat-load to-day. The first boat was observed to make considerable delay in getting out of the river, and we supposed her crew might be stealing pepper from her, and secreting it among some neighbouring high grass. Two of the ship's men were accordingly sent down to watch them; and upon their approaching the boat, five or six Malays were seen to jump up from the grass, and hurry on board her: the ship's people supposed them to be the boat's crew, as they had seen about the same number quit her previous to their being observed by the Malays. At this time there was a brig standing into Soo-Soo. While waiting for the natives to complete our other boat-load of pepper, Captain Endicott went to the beach to ascertain if the brig approaching had hoisted any colours. He then saw that the pepper-boat, which at this time was within a few yards of the ship, had at least double the number of men in her that she had when she left the scales. He immediately returned, and inquired into this circumstance. The men who were sent down to watch the boat in the river then informed him, that they had seen her take in several men out of a ferry-boat at the mouth of the river; but, as they all appeared to be "youngsters," they did not think the circumstance of sufficient importance to report it. Our suspicions were immediately excited that all was not right; yet trusting they would not be permitted to go on board—it being contrary to the established regulations of the ship, in the absence of the captain, to admit more than two Malays on board her at a time,—and deeming it too late to render any assistance if they were, the second officer and two men were sent to the beach to observe the movements on board; who almost instantly returned with the information that there was trouble on board, and that men were seen jumping overboard from her. Convinced from this circumstance that we on shore had no time to lose, we immediately sprang into the ship's boat, and pushed off. Almost instantaneously crowds of Malays began to assemble on the banks of the river, which are about sixty yards asunder, brandishing their weapons and otherwise menacing us; at the same moment a ferry-boat, with eight or ten men in her, armed with spears and krises, pushed off to intercept our passage out of the river; but by pulling directly for her, and presenting a Malay sword, our only weapon, we succeeded in keeping them off. When we had cleared the river and came in full sight of the ship, we found the Malays had full possession of her; some of them walking about the deck, while others were making signals of success to the people on shore; none of the ship's crew, except one man aloft, was to be seen. At this moment three Malay boats, with forty or fifty men each, came out of the river, and pulled towards the ship and us. We then concluded, our only chance to recover the ship was by obtaining assistance from some other vessel; and for this purpose we made the best of our way to Muckie, where we knew two or three Ameri-

can vessels were lying. At one A. M. we reached Muckie, which lies twenty-five miles distant from Quallah-Battoo, and found there ship James Monroe, Porter, of New-York; brigs Governor Endicott, H. H. Jenks, of Salem, and Palmer, Powers, of Boston; who determined, on hearing our misfortune, to proceed to Quallah-Battoo, and endeavour to recover the ship. They accordingly got under way, but, owing to the lightness of the wind, did not reach Quallah-Battoo in season to effect any thing that day; but on the morning of the 9th, a Malay was sent on shore to demand the ship of the rajah, accompanied with the threat, that if the Malays did not immediately desert her, we should fire upon them and the town. The rajah, however, positively refused to give her up, and sent word we might take her if we could. The three vessels then commenced firing upon the ship and the boats which were passing with plunder, and were answered by the forts on shore, the Malays also firing the ship's guns at us. In their attempts to get her on shore, she had become entangled among a large cluster of shoals, which rendered it extremely dangerous for either of the vessels to attempt to lay her alongside.

The Malays, however, after blowing themselves up with an open keg of powder, out of which they were loading the guns, soon ceased firing on board the ship; when a boat from each vessel was discharged to board her, under cover of the guns from the vessels, and which we did without opposition; the Malays deserting her on the approach of the boats. We found her within pistol-shot of the shore; and, on examination, ascertained that she was plundered of every thing valuable, and scarcely any thing but her pepper remaining.

The appearance of the ship, at the time we boarded her, beggars all description: every part of her bore ample testimony of the scene of violence and destruction with which she had been visited. We subsequently learned that the pepper-boat exchanged her crew of fishermen at the river's mouth for a set of opium-smokers, rendered desperate by their habits; and to these men added also others of the same class, taken from the ferry-boat; that when she came alongside, not one of them was recognised by the ship's company as having been off to her before. They were all, however, indiscriminately permitted to go on board; and the attack was commenced simultaneously at different parts of the ship by some concerted signal. Three or four men, with the first officer, were instantly krised; and the crew being taken by surprise, and unprepared, the ship fell an easy prey to them.

Killed on board the Friendship, Mr. Charles Knight, chief officer; John Davis and George Chester, seamen, wounded; Charles Converse, seaman, badly; John Mussey, seaman, and William Francis, steward.

Captain Endicott informs us, in addition to the particulars before given, that just as he had pushed off from the shore at Quallah-Battoo, half the boat's length (after learning his ship had been attacked), Po Adam, formerly of Quallah-Battoo, but for the last two or three years a resident at Pulo Kio, a man of considerable property and influence, sprang into the boat, bringing with him his sword and other arms. Captain Endicott said to him, at the moment of his reaching the boat, "What, do you come too, Adam?"—"Yes," was his reply; "if they kill you, they must kill me first, captain." To this man, Captain Endicott and the

boat's crew felt that they principally owed, under Providence, their escape, as the appearance of his weapons, no doubt, gave the Malays in the ferry-boat the impression that all on board the Friendship's boat were armed, and they in consequence suffered the latter to pass almost without molestation.

After having thus cleared the river, Captain Endicott submitted himself much to the counsel and advice of Adam; and when he concluded to proceed with all despatch to Muckie for assistance, this man not only piloted the boat in the night, but pulled an oar nearly the whole distance; and discovered as much anxiety that every possible despatch should be made in procuring assistance, as if he was to be personally benefited by the recapture of the ship. To his exertions Captain Endicott also owed the recovery of some of his nautical instruments. For the interest Po Adam took in this affair, the Malays at Quallah-Battoo confiscated all his property which they could get hold of at that place, amounting to several thousand dollars, and even set a price upon his life. The conduct of this generous and noble-hearted Malay should entitle him to the gratitude of every American, and we hope he will not go unrewarded. Four of the Friendship's crew, who jumped overboard at the time of the attack, swam the distance of two miles before they could find a safe place to land, as the Malays lined the shore for some distance around Quallah-Battoo. As soon as they reached the shore they fled into the bushes, where, almost without clothing, and having nothing to subsist on, they remained for three days—at night walking to and fro in hopes of finding some means of escape. The third night they discovered a canoe, which they took possession of, and proceeded for Pulo Kio (the residence of Po Adam), knowing that they should be safe if they put themselves under his protection. On their arrival they were informed of the recapture of the ship, and the benevolent Adam not only furnished them clothing, but, with two of his men, proceeded with them himself in their canoe, and put them on board the ship James Monroe, of New-York.

At the time of the attack upon the crew of the Friendship, Mr. Knight, the chief mate, was busily engaged in taking an account of pepper. The Malays had placed themselves in the best manner for making the attack. All the men who were killed or wounded (seven in number) were struck at the same moment. Two of the Malays stabbed Mr. Knight—one at his side and the other at his back. He ran to the starboard side of the quarter-deck, and seized a boarding-pike, after he was wounded; he was there met by one of the ship's crew, who heard him exclaim, "Do your duty." He was immediately after seen lying dead near the same place, with the boarding-pike under him, the Malays having rushed upon and despatched him.

The exultation of the natives at this achievement was unbounded, and their insolence insufferable. When Captain Endicott and the other American masters and supercargoes landed at South Tallapow, after the recapture of the ship, the natives followed them through the streets in great crowds, exulting and hooting with exclamations similar to these:—"Who great man now, Malay or American?"—"How many man American dead? How many man Malay dead?" &c. &c. What the consequence of such a feeling will be, it is impossible to foretel. May the

mistake under which they rest, that the Americans have not the power to chastise them, be corrected with all convenient despatch.

Amount of Injury.

Specie, twelve thousand five hundred and thirty-six dollars.
Opium, eight thousand eight hundred and eighteen dollars.
Stores and provisions, two thousand five hundred dollars.
Instruments and clothes, one thousand two hundred dollars.
Loss of voyage, freight, &c., fourteen thousand dollars.
Salvage, &c., two thousand dollars.

The attack was evidently concerted some time before hand, and one of the acting rajahs aided in the combination. The Achenese rajah, Chute Dulah, received the specie and opium into his possession, and refused the restoration of that as well as of the ship. Others of distinction united, and hired persons of less note to go on board and commit the outrage and murders.

B.

Character and Condition of the Population and Country at Quallah-Battoo in the Island of Sumatra.

Quallah-Battoo is situated in about 3° 44′ north latitude, and 96° 56′ east longitude, on the western side of the Island of Sumatra.

That part of the island is called the Battas, and is in the possession of the natives, who owe no particular allegiance to any foreign power, and a very slight one, if any, to the King of Acheen, whose country is north-west of the Battas; and who does not hold himself responsible for their outrages.

The different tribes have rajahs or chiefs, sometimes two each, and often wantonly plunder and kill strangers, without possessing any civilized principles of government conforming to national law, so as to permit or open regular diplomatic relations with the rest of the world. They frequently war with each other and with the King of Acheen, with much perfidy and barbarity. Neither the British nor Dutch claim any control over that part of Sumatra; and the nearest fort of the former is at Tappanooly.

Many American vessels resort to that coast, and are in danger of capture, and of having their crews murdered, from the savage and piratical conduct and principles of the population. The arrogance and treachery of the natives, especially towards Americans, have of late years increased; and in this instance, their aggressions were countenanced beforehand by some of those in authority, and all relief and restoration, when demanded, were refused.

Quallah-Battoo lies entirely open to the sea, defended by only two or three small forts, of three or four guns each, having a population, including the pepper-plantations, four or five miles in the interior, of about four thousand. The depth of water in the roads, within a quarter and half a mile of the shore, is from eighteen to twenty fathoms, muddy bottom; but much stone, flung in from ballast, rendering chain cables expedient when at anchor.

U. S. Ship Potomac, off the Town of Quallah-Battoo, February 6th, 1832.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that, according to your orders heretofore received, I effected a landing with the several divisions under my command, about one mile and a half to the northward of the town. Although there was a heavy surf upon the shore, the divisions were landed and formed without the slightest accident. The following was the order observed:—First, the marines under Lieutenant Edson; then the different divisions under the command of Lieutenants Pinkham, Hoff, and Ingersoll, and the six-pounder in charge of Acting-sailingmaster Totten; the boats being left under the command of Passed-midshipman Godon, with orders to follow to the town as soon as the attack commenced. I feel much indebted to Lieutenants Edson and Terret for the promptness displayed by them in forming the marines, and in assisting and forming the other divisions; all of which was effected with coolness in fifteen minutes. As soon as the day dawned we proceeded along the beach towards the town, undiscovered by the enemy until within a short distance of the northernmost fort, when I immediately despatched Lieutenant Hoff with his division to surround it; and in the event of the enemy's firing upon him, to carry it by storm. As soon as he approached the gateway, he was fired on; when, after a close action of nearly two hours, the American flag was hoisted; the enemy carrying off his wounded, and leaving behind him his dead—twelve in number, and the women. Lieutenant Hoff had to surmount great difficulties in the capture of his fort; he tore up the palisades which surrounded it, and formed a bridge, upon which he entered, and drove the enemy from their almost impregnable position; during the whole of which time an incessant fire was kept up upon him.

After leaving Lieutenant Hoff, I proceeded with the remaining forces; and at the northern end of the town, Lieutenants Pinkham and Edson, with their respective divisions, filed off to the left, to the attack of the two forts assigned to them, in the rear of the town; while, with the third division under Lieutenant Ingersoll, and the six-pounder,—Acting-sailingmaster Totten, I pushed on to attack the principal and strongest fort, situated at the southern end of the town. At the distance of fifty yards from the fort, perceiving the enemy preparing to receive us, I directed the six-pounder, loaded with round and grape, to be discharged, which threw them into confusion. The coolness and precision with which Acting-sailingmaster Totten worked the six-pounder, did great execution during the action. Lieutenant Ingersoll at this time rushed on to the attack. At this juncture Lieutenant Pinkham, with the first division, rejoined me; Sailingmaster Barry, the guide, having been unable, from material alterations in and about the fort assigned to Lieutenant Pinkham, to point it out. The pioneers, with their crows and axes, having forced the gate, portions of the first and third divisions, under the direction of their respective officers, rushed into the area, and took possession with little resistance; but few Malays appearing, two of whom were killed on the spot. A charge was then made at the inner gate, which communicated with a narrow passage leading to the stronghold of the enemy (which was a strong plat-

form, considerably elevated, upon which were mounted several cannon, protected by a thick wall), which being forced, it was discovered, to the disappointment of the officers and men there engaged, that the ladder leading to the platform had been drawn up; and, in an ineffectual attempt to climb the parapet, I regret to say, that William P. Smith, seaman, was killed; Henry Dutcher, ordinary seaman, and Levi M'Cabe, quarter-gunner, of the third division, were wounded; and Midshipman J. W. Taylor, and Peter Walsh, ordinary seaman, of the first division, were also wounded. I then gave the order to fire the buildings within the area, which was promptly done; but it being calm, and these buildings detached from the main fort, the fire did not communicate with it as I had hoped. A short time after the fire commenced, two magazines of powder blew up; but I am happy to state that the explosion injured none of us, although in their immediate neighbourhood. Lieutenants Hoff and Edson, after storming the forts against which they had been sent, hoisted the American flag, and leaving a detachment in each, they formed between the fort and water; a brisk fire was thus poured in from two sides. Passed-midshipman Godon, in the launch, took a position immediately in front of the fort, and kept up a spirited and well-directed fire; but so tenaciously did the enemy cling to their position, that not until nearly all of them had been destroyed could we carry the fort. This was, however, gallantly done by Lieutenant Ingersoll, Passed-midshipman Sylvanus Godon, and Midshipmen Joseph C. Walsh, J. W. Taylor, and Henry C. Hart, who spiked and threw the guns from the platform. The American colours were then hoisted, with three hearty cheers. Apprehending that the enemy had laid a train to his magazine, and the fort being mostly destroyed, and completely dismantled, I deemed it proper to call off the officers and men, as it would have been an act of inhumanity to expose them to an explosion.

For some time previous to the surrender of this last fort, another, situated about one hundred and fifty yards from the east bank of the river, and upon the opposite side of it, had been firing upon us with a twelve-pounder. It being impracticable to enter the river with our boats, and not possible to ford it without wetting our fire-arms, I did not deem it expedient to attack this, but made preparations for the reduction of another in the neighbourhood of the one left in charge of Lieutenant Terrett of the marines, which would have remained undiscovered (the town and forts being situated in so thick a jungle), had the enemy not opened his fire upon Lieutenant Terrett. I immediately despatched Lieutenants Pinkham and Edson, with portions of their divisions, to reduce it; when, being invested upon two sides, the enemy, after a short but ferocious resistance, fled to the jungle with much loss. It pains me, sir, to state, that in this attack private Benjamin T. Brown was killed, and private Daniel H. Cole wounded, supposed mortally. I omitted to mention, in its proper place, that John L. Dubois, seaman, belonging to Lieutenant Hoff's division, was severely wounded by a sabre-cut on the head and hand, and several others slightly, from darts and javelins. The action having lasted nearly two hours and a half, and the town being almost reduced to ashes, the surf at the same time rising very fast, I deemed it prudent to com-

mence the embarcation under cover of the marines, hoping that what had been done would meet with your approbation.

From the knowledge of the place possessed by Sailingmaster Barry, and his coolness, I derived the utmost advantage. Assistant-surgeons Foltz and Pawling were active and zealous in the discharge of their duties, binding up and dressing the wounded under the fire of the enemy. The different orders I had occasion to send to those separated from me, were conveyed with promptness and great precision by Passed-midshipman Tooley and Purser William A. Slacum. The lieutenants commanding the different divisions, have reported to me the entire satisfaction they derived from the coolness and bravery of the officers and men under their particular commands. I feel it a duty to state to you how much I am indebted to Lieutenants Pinkham, Hoff, Ingersoll, and Edson, for the promptness and alacrity with which they executed all orders, and my warm admiration for the gallantry evinced by them upon all occasions. The loss of the enemy must have been considerable; at least one hundred and fifty killed. I am happy to state, that among the killed was Poolow N. Yamet, commonly called Po Mahomet, the principal rajah concerned in the plunder and massacre of the crew of the ship Friendship. We captured one pair of colours, twenty-six stand of arms, and one brass fieldpiece. We also set fire to and destroyed a number of proas on the stocks. The cannon in all the forts, with the exception of one, being of iron, were spiked and thrown over the parapet, and the powder destroyed. The following is a list of the killed and wounded.

Killed—William P. Smith, seaman; Benjamin T. Brown, marine.

Wounded—Lieutenant Edson, contused leg; Midshipman J. W. Taylor, slightly; Daniel H. Cole, marine, supposed mortally; Henry Dutcher (o. s.), severely; Peter Walsh (o. s.), severely; Levi M'Cabe (qr. gun.), slightly; John L. Dubois, seaman, severely; John Addison, seaman, slightly; James A. Huster, marine, slightly; James F. Noland (o. s.), slightly; James M'Cabe (o. s.), slightly.

I have the honour to be, sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,

(Signed) IRVINE SHUBRICK,
Lieut. commanding the Expedition.

Com. JOHN DOWNES,
Commanding U. S. Ship Potomac.

Medical Statistics of the Crew of the U. S. Frigate Potomac, during a Voyage round the World, by J. M. FOLTZ, M. D., *Assistant-Surgeon, U. S. Navy.*

A concise statistical account of the health of the crew of the U. S. frigate Potomac, consisting of five hundred individuals, during a period of three years—in which time she performed a voyage of circumnavigation, and passed through every variety of climate, from 40° of north latitude to 57° south latitude, having spent twenty months between the tropics, and five months in the most unhealthy parts of the East Indies—exhibiting the manner in which our crew were affected by the change of climate and the long confinement on board ship, the most prevalent diseases, with a few brief hints on prevention and modes of treatment,—cannot but be interesting to the philosopher and physician, and may prove of utility to some future navigators. The following observations, extracted from my journals and notes taken at the time, are submitted, with a confidence in their correctness.

I joined the Potomac at the navy-yard, Washington, and was the first medical officer that reported for duty, on the 22d of May, 1831; at that time there were two hundred of the crew on board ship, of whom twenty-four were on the sick-list. On the 3d of June the ship was hauled off to Greenleaf Point, a distance of two miles from the navy-yard, where her armament and stores were received on board. Throughout the day the crew were exposed to a very hot sun for the season, and were obliged to use the river water, of which they drank copiously. The sick-list in consequence increased from twenty-two to thirty-six in one day. The men were seized with cholera-morbus, accompanied with violent spasms, which in several robust young men were so severe as to require copious venesection. The submur. hydrarg. et opii (calomel and opium), and submur. hydrarg. et pulv. Doveri (calomel and Dover's powder), were administered with the most happy results. On stating my opinion of the cause of the illness to Mr. Shubrick, the commanding officer, who also attributed it to the same source, water was brought from shore for the use of the ship's company; after which there were no new cases. The river water at this season contains a large quantity of vegetable and animal matter in a state of decomposition, and is unfit for use until after it has been kept for some time.

On the 15th of June we left Washington for Hampton Roads, where we arrived on the 22d. The change from a fresh water river to the salt water materially improved the health of the crew; several cases of vernal intermittents were speedily cured; but as we were frequently receiving draughts of men, who came on board after the most violent debauchery and dissipation, the sick-list continued large, having an average daily of twenty-three, during twenty-four days while we remained at Norfolk. On the 4th of July, our boatswain, æt. thirty-six, went on shore to congratulate himself on his having received a warrant, and was brought on board after an absence of three days, labouring under mania a potu (delirium from intemperance), and hæmoptysis (bleeding from the lungs), which put a period to his existence in five days, falling a victim to intemperance.

On the 16th of July sailed for New-York, with three hundred and fifty

of the crew on board, and anchored off the Battery, in North river, in five days. The complement of her officers and crew was supplied here; and on the 24th of August, 1831, the Potomac sailed with five hundred and two souls on board, all in apparent good health, except one officer, whose case will be noticed in the proper place. The average age of the crew, as near as could be estimated, was thirty-one years. During our passage to Rio de Janeiro we did not fall in with the northeast tradewinds; variable winds and calms prevailed until we reached the third degree of north latitude when we met the southeast trades, which carried us to Rio. After passing the Cape de Verd Islands, the Potomac's course for eight days was parallel with the coast of Africa, distant four hundred miles. Here we met with the most violent rains, with constant thick, heavy weather; the sick-list increased; several cases of fever occurred. On the 6th of October crossed the equator, at which time the thermometer* stood at 79°, with twenty-two on the sick-list; fresh tradewind and cloudy weather. Many of the younger part of the crew, who had not been previously at sea, suffered much from the change of diet and confinement to the ship during the passage, and were troubled with indigestion and catarrhs; several obstinate cases of sea-sickness continued until our arrival at Rio. There were ten cases of fever, and twelve were admitted with slight injuries. The average of the thermometer, during the passage of fifty-one days, at noon, was 76°.

During our stay of twenty days in the harbour of Rio de Janeiro, the crew were daily supplied with fresh provisions, and were permitted to use the tropical fruits, which are very abundant at this season, without restraint. The thermometer, at noon, averaged 76°, and the barometer stood at 29.70, and the daily proportion on the sick-report was seventeen. Several cases of diarrhœa and derangement of the bowels occurred. At Rio, malignant diseases seldom prevail; the natives are of a bilious, lymphatic temperament, and are subject to elephantiasis, sarcocele, and framboesis.

Ships-of-war that remain a long period in the harbour of Rio, usually have large sick-lists; diarrhœas commonly prevail; they are very insidious in their approach, and frequently terminate in ulceration and a severe form of dysentery. Ships' crews should be protected from the rain—they should never be permitted to remain below decks with wet clothes on, and be careful to avoid the unripe fruits that are daily brought off for sale in the bomb-boats, and bathe frequently during the dry season.

Sailed on the 5th of November for the Cape of Good Hope, where we arrived on the 6th of December, after a passage of thirty-one days. The passage was boisterous, with much rain and thick foggy weather. Our easting was made between 32° and 34° of south latitude, where we met with westerly winds, and the thermometer ranging at 60°. During the passage there were forty admitted with dysentery and diarrhœa; most of them occurring immediately after leaving port, and continued to swell the sick-list during the passage; they however yielded to medical treatment and farinaceous diet. The average number sick during the passage was twenty-one.

* Fahrenheit's is always given.

Upon our arrival at the Cape of Good Hope there were twelve cases of intermittent fever on the sick-list, which were produced by the cold and wet weather during our passage, most of them having had the disease the last autumn in the United States; they were soon relieved after our arrival at the Cape, where intermittent fevers are of rare occurrence.

The climate at the Cape of Good Hope is very good; the average temperature throughout the year is 68°, and there are many instances of longevity among the natives and foreign residents. The bills of mortality kept at the Cape, exhibit all the diseases to be met with in the same latitude north; while the malignant diseases of the tropics are unknown. Invalids from British India frequently resort to this place for the restoration of health, and many are benefited.

The southeast winds prevail here, and frequently blow with great violence, when they are accompanied with a remarkable phenomenon—a small stationary cloud hangs over Table Bay. This is produced by the cold air that comes charged with humidity in its passage across the Indian ocean, coming in contact with the highly heated air on the north side of Table Mountain; the humidity is condensed, and produces the cloud; but as it obtains the temperature of the surrounding atmosphere it again disappears, so that there is a constant generation and destruction of the cloud in question. The Hottentots, at present, are said not to exceed seven thousand, whereas one century ago they were estimated at twenty thousand.

While the Potomac remained in port, the thermometer ranged at 68°. On the 12th of December sailed from the Cape of Good Hope, between which and the Island of St. Paul's we encountered rough, cold weather, with strong westerly winds. Several cases of pleurisy occurred, and many had catarrhs and colds, which, however, did not disable them from attending to duty. After passing the Island of St. Paul's, our course was northeast to the west coast of Sumatra; we met with the southeast trade-winds, which continued with much regularity. The equator was crossed on the 27th of January. During our passage the crew was formed into divisions, and exercised almost daily in the use of fire-arms and cutlass, to prepare them for the landing at Quallah-Battoo; and such was the state of excitement on the subject, and the great anxiety of all to participate in the affair, that our sick-list was smaller during this passage than at any other period during the cruise. The proportion on the sick-list was ten; which was made up of intermittents, catarrhs, and slight injuries; and upon our arrival at Quallah-Battoo, on the 5th of February, 1832, after a passage of fifty-one days, there were but three on the sick-list.

On the morning of the 6th the attack was made, by which we had eleven of our crew wounded and two killed.. In one of the wounded the ball passed through the right lung, entering a little to the right of the sternum, at the sixth rib, and passing out under the scapula, having carried with it pieces of his belt, cloth jacket, and shirt. He expectorated blood copiously, and after much suffering has recovered, with a collapse of the lung and an abscess on the right side. The wounded recovered remarkably well: a circumstance to be attributed to the uniformity of temperature, and their comfortable condition on the gun-deck of the frigate. We remained twelve days at Quallah-Battoo, during which time the thermometer ranged at 85°, with alternate land and seabreezes. The crew were carefully

protected from the sun; but, in consequence of the intense heat, watering ship was found very laborious. Fresh beef and vegetables were daily served out to the crew, who also indulged freely in fruits. The severe exertions of the crew during the attack on shore, after a long period of rest, want of mental excitement, and change in diet and climate, produced a material change in the health of the crew. In one month our sick-list of three swelled to fifty-seven. Fifty-two cases of complaints of the bowels, and twelve cases of bilious fever, were reported within a month. The Malays are healthy and robust when compared with their Asiatic and Javanese neighbours; are very temperate in their living, use little animal food, and, like all Mahommedans, bathe frequently. They are afflicted with goitre; which cannot be attributed to the use of snow-water, as there is no snow on the island. I met with many who had recently suffered much from smallpox.

16th February, sailed for the Island of Java, where we arrived in eighteen days. In crossing the equator the thermometer stood at 85°. On the 25th of February there were thirty on the sick-list, which was made up of cases of diarrhœa; no new cases having occurred since leaving port, and the wounded were all doing well.

On our arrival in the Straits of Sunda, a change was made in the rations of the crew by Commodore Downes, which contributed materially to the preservation of the health of the ship's company. Portions of the beef, pork, and beans, which constitute the daily rations, were discontinued, and rice and curry served out in lieu of them; and the spirituous ration was divided into three portions—one of which was given in the morning, one at noon, and the remainder in the evening. All hands were ordered to wear flannel, and were inspected daily by the officers, to ascertain that the order was complied with. The Potomac arrived at Bantam Bay on the 6th of March, and remained there twelve days, during which time the ship was wooded and watered. The latitude was 6° south, and the average temperature during our stay was 82°, with regular land and sea-breezes and frequent showers. The average number on the sick-report was twenty-nine; of which fifteen had diarrhœa and dysentery, and four fever.

On the 19th March arrived at Batavia, and anchored four miles from the shore; this port having been more fatal to navigators than any other on the globe—Dutch and English vessels having been laid up for want of hands to man them. It was here that Dr. J. Johnson met with that malignant fever which committed such dreadful ravages in the English squadron in 1806. We were consequently not without the most dreadful forebodings, and enforced every precaution and mode of prevention that had heretofore been found useful. Awnings were spread over the ship day and night; native Javanese boats' crews were employed to do the necessary boat-duty of the ship, and our men carefully protected from the sun, and all unnecessary duty avoided.

Those officers who went on shore spent as little time as possible in the city; going directly to the country, where a purer atmosphere prevails; and the most rigid temperance was strictly enjoined.

From Dr. Johnson's valuable work on tropical climates we received many useful hints on prevention, and after the occurrence of disease were able at once to strike upon a course of treatment, the result of which we

had much occasion to be highly gratified with, and would strongly recommend it to every navigator who visits those seas. Notwithstanding every precaution, the number of sick daily increased; and those who reported themselves sick were attacked with enteritis (inflammation of the bowels), attended with much tormina and tenesmus. In several cases the disease assumed a most malignant character from the commencement, and in one case—a robust, vigorous young man—it proved fatal within twenty-four hours of his first indisposition. Violent inflammatory symptoms obtained in the onset of the disease, for which they were copiously bled, and the subm. hydrar. (calomel) given in large doses and frequently repeated; and emetics were also prescribed in the commencement of the disease with much benefit, as they counteracted the great tendency to visceral congestion. Mercurial inunction was freely used to accelerate copious salivation, which, when once well established, was generally useful, although it did not in every instance preserve life. The course of the disease was, violent inflammatory symptoms from the beginning; tormina and tenesmus; severe spasms; bloody fetid evacuations; collapse, and death.

We remained at Batavia twenty days, during which the thermometer averaged 83°, with very little variation throughout the twenty-four hours; but alternate land and seabreezes prevented the severe oppression of so high a temperature. When the landbreeze came off at night, it brought with it putrid exhalations from the fens and marshes that were extremely offensive, and oppressed the respiration to such a degree that there were few on board who did not complain of it. This malaria doubtless brings with it the seeds of disease, from which foreigners suffer so much.

The wall that formerly surrounded the city was demolished by the French and English when in their possession, and the city extended to the high grounds, three or four miles from its former site; and as the dwellings of the merchants here are large, spacious, and airy, it has effected a great change in the salubrity of the place.

The foreign residents are temperate in their living, and never expose themselves to the sun. The governor and Dutch troops are stationed in the interior, where the climate is not so obnoxious to foreigners; yet a few years residence on the island is certain to bring with it physical and mental enervation.

Ships going to Batavia, should be careful to enforce the regulations adopted in the Potomac. They should use little animal food, and entirely abolish the spirituous ration; as I am convinced by so doing they would prevent much disease, and save many valuable lives.

On the 10th of April we sailed from Batavia, with forty-two on the sick-list, including twenty-eight cases of dysentery. On the 14th the thermometer stood at 90°, and the sick-list increasing; and on the 17th passed through the Straits of Gasper, the thermometer at 85°, and fifty-four on the sick-list. On the 21st, at meridian, we were at anchor one mile south of the equator, calm, thermometer 85°, and fifty on the sick-report. New cases occurring daily. "The chloride of lime is used freely about the cots and hammocks of the sick, and every possible attention paid to cleanliness."—"1st of May—There have been three deaths* within the last

* Among the number was Mr. Oliver, commodore's secretary; he had been labouring under *tracheal phthisis* for two years, and came on board with the expectation that a resi-

twenty-four hours; the total number on the sick-list is thirty-four, with twenty-eight cases of dysentery and five of fever. The thermometer has been ranging at 86° since we left Batavia, with calm and light airs; we are out twenty days, and are but six hundred miles from Batavia. Last night we had the most tremendous thunder, lightning, and rain."

The Potomac arrived at Lintin (China) on the 20th of May, with twenty-nine on the sick-list, after a most tedious passage of thirty-nine days. After the 2d of May we fell in with moderate breezes, which continued until our arrival at Canton; after which the number of sick diminished daily. There were one hundred and fifty cases of dysentery in the Java and China Seas, out of which there were thirteen deaths,—a proportion truly small, when compared with the number of deaths in other vessels while in those seas. We remained at Lintin seventeen days, during which the thermometer had a daily average of 80°, with a regular seabreeze, which well ventilated the ship. The average number on our sick-list was twenty-six; three fourths of which were chronic cases of dysentery, and several cases of bilious fever.

Canton was formerly considered the most unhealthy district in China, but at present it is one of the most healthy. The Lintin fleet, which usually remain stationary for many months, enjoy good health; dysenteries and fevers are the prevailing diseases. The Chinese and natives of British India have so little vitality in their lower extremities, that fractures and ulcerations of those parts are very difficult to cure—a circumstance to be attributed to the debilitating effects of the climate.

Sailed on the 5th of June for the Sandwich Islands, with thick foggy weather and a fresh breeze. On the 9th, during a gale, with the thermometer at 80°, there were two deaths—cases of chronic dysentery. During the passage there was much rain and thick heavy weather; the easting was made between the thirty-fourth and thirty-sixth degrees of north latitude, with the thermometer ranging at 72°, and the average on the sick-list twenty-five, during the passage.

Arrived at Oahu, Sandwich Islands, on the 23d of July, after a passage of forty-eight days. The character of the diseases had much changed; during our passage there were no new cases of dysentery, but the old cases convalesced slowly. Pleurisies, catarrhs, and intermittent fevers took the place of the enteric diseases, and yielded more readily to medical treatment.

The Potomac remained twenty-three days at the Sandwich Islands, during which time the thermometer stood at 79°, and barometer at 29.90. The crew were allowed to go on shore; in consequence of which the sick-list was swelled by the men who had been on shore. On the day of our arrival there were seventeen on the list, and on the day of sailing it had increased to twenty-six. The climate of the Sandwich Islands is good; the foreign residents enjoy good health; the natives are large, corpulent, and of a lymphatic temperament. Their usual diet consists of the ARUM MACULATUM, or wake-robin, which is cultivated, and attains a great size; and contains a large portion of fecula, out of which they manufacture

dence between the tropics would prove beneficial. The disease was so far advanced that a change of clime could not arrest the progress of the disease. His conciliating manners, cheerfulness of disposition, and intelligence, gained him many friends: he died regretted by all who enjoyed his acquaintance.

starch;—made into *poye*, with *raw fish*, it is considered one of their greatest luxuries, and the natives say it occasions their corpulency. The islanders are subject to a disease of the skin which they call *crawcraws*—a species of leprosy,—and for which they undergo a course of the kava-root, which is a powerful alterative and narcotic. They are also much afflicted with ulcerations, which are very difficult to heal, in consequence of the torpor of the circulation. When the missionaries arrived, infanticide was of frequent occurrence: a drastic-purgative indigenous bean was used, which occasionally destroyed the mother, and seldom failed in producing abortion. This horrid practice has been discontinued through the influence of the missionaries. The population of Honoruru is estimated at seven thousand, and the town is healthy.

Sailed for the Society Islands on the 15th of August, and crossed the equator on the 5th of September, in 5° west longitude, with the thermometer at 80°, and the southeast tradewinds; at this time there were twenty-four on the sick-list. For several days previous we had calms and rains, with the thermometer at 90°; the tradewinds continued until we arrived at Otaheite, after a passage of twenty-eight days, during which time the sick-list averaged twenty-four; there having been twelve cases of intermittent fever; the chronic cases of dysentery convalesced very slowly, and continued to crowd the sick-report.

The Potomac remained six days at Otaheite, during which time the crew were kept hard at work on shore watering ship. They indulged freely in tropical fruits; yet they remained healthy, in consequence of their not being able to procure ardent spirits, which they drank to excess at Oahu. Here we lost one of the crew from concealed strangulated inguinal hernia. The latitude of this port is 16° south; dysenteries are more frequently met with here than at the Sandwich Islands. The natives are not so large, and the females more delicately formed: many whiten their skin with the juice of the *papa*, an indigenous plant, and avoid the sun to improve their complexions.

Those missionaries who remain some time on the island seldom escape being attacked with *elephantiasis*. I met with several of them who were labouring under this disease in an aggravated form; the natives also suffer much from it.

Their diet consists of vegetables and fish; the breadfruit constitutes a large portion; and as all the tropical fruits are here produced spontaneously, labour is not necessary, and their lives are consequently inactive and indolent.

Sailed on the 20th; our course was southeast until we arrived in the thirty-fifth degree of south latitude, where we met with fresh westerly winds that continued until our arrival on the west coast of South America. Throughout the passage we encountered much boisterous and wet weather; the thermometer changed from 84° to 55°, which was lower than it had been since our sailing from New-York; which, together with the wet, uncomfortable state of the ship, produced several cases of pleurisy, inflamed tonsils, rheumatisms, and intermittent fever. The average on the sick-list during the passage was thirty-six, of which twenty-two were admitted with rheumatism, and fifteen with pleurisy.

We arrived at Valparaiso, after a passage of thirty-four days, on the

24th of October, having been fourteen months from the United States; more than eleven months of which had been spent at sea. The number on the sick-report on our arrival was thirty-four; two of which had symptoms of scurvy, owing to the long confinement to the ship and salt provisions. The symptoms were very mild, and did not manifest themselves until we came under the influence of the land-air: the first few days in port the disease became more severe; after which they speedily recovered, and were the only cases that occurred during the cruise.

Shortly after our arrival liberty was granted to the crew, which, as usual, increased the number of sick. Ten cases were admitted with mania a potu, and a number with lues venerea.

The Potomac remained forty days in the harbour of Valparaiso, during which time the average of the thermometer was 66°, and the barometer 29.75. This is the spring in Chili, when high winds prevail from the south without rain. The sick-list was large for this port; but could safely be attributed to the excesses and intemperance of the crew on shore; thirty-five was our daily proportion, a majority of them having derangement of the stomach.

Santiago, the capital of Chili, is situated ninety miles inland from Valparaiso, and has a population of forty-five thousand. It is remarkable for the extreme heat of the day and coldness at night, occasioned by the cold atmosphere from the snow-clad mountain immediately in the rear of the city, rushing down to occupy the place of the highly rarefied air in the plains below, in which the city is built. Remitting and bilious fevers prevail to a great extent; but the most usual disease is goitre, which is frequently hereditary, and in some cases produces cretinism. The water that supplies the city is produced by the melting of the snow on the mountains, and to this the natives attribute the cause of the disease. Iodine and the hydriodate of potassa are used with more success in the treatment than any other article in the materia medica. While in Santiago, I heard of one case of extirpation of the thyroid gland; the patient did not recover.

December 2d, sailed for Lima, where we arrived on the 15th. We had a south wind with pleasant weather during the passage, and on our arrival at Callao, the sick-list was reduced to eighteen.

Remained in Callao seventy-five days, the thermometer ranging during that period at 70°, and barometer at 29.85. This is the most healthy season at Lima; with clear, dry weather, the proportion sick was twenty-four.

The ship was broken out, and well cleaned and painted, and the chloride of lime freely scattered throughout the hold.

Four cases of remitting fever occurred here; they were attended with little arterial excitement, and would not bear the lancet. The sick-list of the ships of war in this port is usually large, and they frequently suffer much from dysentery. In July and August a constant mist and fog fills the atmosphere, which the inhabitants of Lima much dread. This wet season is very inimical to diseases of the lungs, and individuals predisposed to phthisis (consumption) will be certain to have the disease developed by a residence in Lima. One of our crew died from phthisis while in port; and on our sailing for Valparaiso, an officer of the U. S. ship Fal-

mouth was transferred to the Potomac, in consequence of being attacked with hæmoptysis.

The climate of Lima is enervating and injurious to the constitution. The natives are small, delicate, and short-lived; although the foreign residents suffer less from acute diseases than in the Indies, yet they are insidiously worn down by the climate, notwithstanding the most exemplary temperance and regularity in living.

The streets of Lima are kept clean, and many of them have streams of water running through them. The remarkable property of the atmosphere producing dry putrefaction, and preventing all noxious effluvia, is, perhaps, one cause of the absence of malignant diseases. Dead animals are suffered to remain in the roads; and the Pantheon, where all the dead of the city are interred, is open to the air; yet in no instance is there the least noxious effluvia.

28th February, 1833, sailed for Valparaiso, where we arrived in sixteen days, having a cold, wet, and boisterous passage; the thermometer ranged at 74°, and the proportion on the sick-list during the passage was twenty-three. The officer, Mr. S. E. Penniman, with hæmoptysis, from the Falmouth, had a return of the hemorrhage, which assumed a periodical form, returning every evening during our passage, and died nine days after our arrival at Valparaiso, from pneumonia, in the 25th year of his age. He was a gentleman of talent, and promised much future usefulness, and fell a victim to the climate of Peru.

The Potomac remained sixty-seven days in Valparaiso, during the months of March, April, and May (the autumn in Chili). The thermometer was not so high as during our previous visit, and there were occasional rains, which accompanied a north wind, which is much dreaded in this port, as the harbour is then unsafe. They were in every instance announced by the barometer, and only occur in the fall and winter. The average on the sick-list during our stay was twenty-one, and the list was kept thus large by the excesses of the crew on shore, and slight injuries; the number ill whose indisposition could not fairly be traced to dissipation on shore did not exceed eight, which were cases of rheumatism, pleurisies, and enlarged glands. Several cases of chronic diarrhœa that occurred at Lima were speedily relieved on our arrival in Chili. The ship's company were supplied with fresh provisions four times a week during the period we remained on the coast of South America.

On the 25th of April a case of smallpox occurred in one of the servants, who contracted the disease on shore; he was immediately transferred to a temporary hospital on shore, hoping by that means to prevent the propagation of the disease throughout the ship. A few days after, another case presented itself in one of the boats' crews, who was daily on shore, and was also sent to the hospital without delay. The first case proved to be a severe case of confluent smallpox, and the second lost the use of the right eye by opacity of the cornea.

On the 1st of May a severe norther set in, during which the thermometer fell to 45°, and the sick-list increased; all of the invalids were labouring under inflammatory affections; during our stay in port there were fourteen reported with scrofula, sixteen rheumatism, twenty-two hepatitis (inflammation of the liver), and thirteen syphilis (venereal). Four weeks

had elapsed since the appearance of the last case of variola, and as the crew were prohibited from going on shore during that period, we anticipated the entire disappearance of the disease.

On the 20th of May we sailed for Coquimbo, where we arrived in three days. On the 11th of June another case of smallpox was reported, and was speedily succeeded by two other cases. It was now placed beyond doubt that the contagion was in the ship, and that it would inevitably extend throughout the whole ship's company; when it was determined to inoculate the ship's company, as by so doing the violence of the disease would be much mitigated, and its progress through the ship much hastened. On the 20th of June all hands were called to muster, and commencing with the officers, every individual that was not marked with smallpox was inoculated with pus taken from a well-developed case of variola. The number inoculated was two hundred and eighty-seven. The ship's company were placed on fresh provisions, and the spirituous portion of the ration stopped for all those who had undergone the operation. At this time the health of the crew was very good, there being but eighteen on the list, exclusive of the cases of smallpox.

On the 24th, examined all who had been inoculated; when it was ascertained that eighty-five had taken the disease—many of them in a very mild form. Where there were symptoms of inflammation and fever, the patients were bled, and the sulp. magnesia (Epsom salts) administered; supertart. potass. (cream of tartar), in water, given as their common drink, and all were ordered to abstain from animal food. An eruption appeared in eleven cases; but in no instance was it attended with any unfavourable symptom. On the eleventh day after inoculation the febrile symptoms were most severe, after which they began to subside. There were thirteen individuals on board who had no evidence of having been previously vaccinated, and who all took the disease from inoculation; twelve of the crew took the disease from the infection, and, as was proved by inoculation, eighty-five were susceptible to the disease.

At Coquimbo we met with the American whale-ship Corinthian, with the smallpox on board; the first officer had contracted the disease at Conception, of which he died. I visited the ship, and found the third officer, cook, and a small lad (two last both coloured), labouring under the first stage of the disease; the two adults were copiously bled and placed on the solution of tartras. antimonii (tartar emetic); and at the recommendation of the fleet surgeon, Dr. Jackson, I inoculated the whole crew, twenty-seven in number, out of which eleven took the disease; in several it was a mild varioloid, and all recovered without any unfavourable symptoms. Four took the disease from infection, of which two died—the first officer and cook,—while all who were inoculated recovered: strong evidence in favour of inoculation.

Coquimbo is very healthy, and has a great uniformity of temperature throughout the year. The city was called La Serena by the old Spaniards, from the serenity of the atmosphere, and was selected by the proprietors of the silver and copper-mines as their residence, in consequence of its salubrity. To this purity of the atmosphere and uniformity of temperature, together with the medical police enforced on board ship, can be attributed the great success in not losing one man out of five hundred

from this terrible disease. During our stay, the average on the sick-list was nineteen; the thermometer standing at 65°, and the barometer at 29.80. There had been no rain at Coquimbo for three years previous to our arrival; while we were there they had several showers.

The smallpox list was so far reduced on the 8th of July as to enable the commodore to put to sea, when, after a passage of eight days, we arrived at Callao, a regular south wind continuing during the passage. Two sporadic cases of smallpox occurred after our arrival.

On the 22d of August sailed from Callao, having been there thirty-five days; the thermometer ranging at 69°, and the barometer at 29.77, with a daily average of twenty-eight on the sick-report. A constant mist and fog filled the atmosphere, and was so heavy as to supply the place of rain which was much dreaded by the natives, as this is the sickly season when dysenteries, intermittent fevers, and pulmonary diseases obtain. Several cases of low grade of fever occurred in this part, which frequently prevails throughout the shipping; it is attended with a small and frequent pulse, and great prostration. Dr. Ruschenberger, surgeon of the U. S. ship Falmouth, has seen much of this disease, and found small and frequent doses of the submur. hydrarg. et pulv. antimonialis (calomel and James's powder), the most successful in its treatment. Fourteen cases of adenetes were admitted to the list, which in the crew usually terminated in suppuration.

On the 22d sailed for Payta, where we arrived in three days; and although so short a distance from Callao, where we were constantly enveloped in fogs and mist, we here found the climate all we could desire, —a clear, dry atmosphere, regular winds that prevent the extreme heat of the day, and but little change of the thermometer at night. On the 26th sailed for the Galapagos Islands, and in six days anchored in Essex Bay, Charles Island, lat. 1° 13′ south. A large number of the crew were daily on shore after terapin, and frequently exposed throughout the day to a hot sun, with those immense animals on their backs, travelling over the broken lava; yet the health of the ship's company remained comparatively good. Ardent spirits could not be procured, and the crew were kept upon their regular allowance. Essex Bay was frequently visited during the late war by Commodore Porter, and it was found to contribute materially to the health of his ships' companies.

A settlement is now being made on the island, which promises to do much good; they have located on the high and fertile parts of the island, where the temperature is much lower than in the bay, and the residents, who are from Guayaquil, complain much of the cold.

Our whale-ships frequently touch at this port, and never suffer from the climate. The crews of our whale-ships are temperate, and always wear flannel; their only wants are vegetables, for which they frequently suffer during their long periods at sea.

As our crew were much predisposed to bowel complaints after our visit to India, there was a return of dysentery, attended with some of the high inflammatory symptoms, tormina, and tenesmus, that characterized the disease at Batavia. They were copiously bled, emetics of ipecacuanha administered, followed by large doses of the submur. hydrarg. We remained ten days in port, during which the temperature ranged at 73°,

barometer stood at 29.90; when we sailed for Guayaquil, and anchored at the Island of Puna in eight days. There were thirty-eight cases of dysentery and diarrhœa admitted within the last three weeks, and at this time there are twenty on the list; eight cases of hepatitis occurred within the same period, which, however, yielded to medical treatment; two cases of dysentery terminated fatally. During ten days at Puna, the sick-list averaged twenty-eight daily; a majority of the patients were labouring under dysentery and diarrhœa. Guayaquil is very unhealthy during the wet season, when the rain descends in torrents, and continues for many weeks; hepatitis, bilious and remitting fevers, prevail. The natives are remarkable for the clearness of their complexion, as the latitude is but 3° south, and is occasioned by their frequent and protracted rains, and their carefully protecting themselves from the sun.

Sailed from Puna on the 28th of September, and arrived at Payta in three days, at which time there were twenty-eight on the sick-list. The few days we remained in this port the list was reduced to fifteen, which were chronic cases of dysentery, the sequel of the disease on board at the Galapagos Islands. The climate of Payta is the most salubrious on the coast of Peru, and is remarkable for the uniformity of temperature, dryness of the atmosphere, and regularity of the winds; the thermometer during the year ranges at 70°. The dense fogs of Callao, and the heavy rains of Guayaquil, are equally unknown here. Payta is the port of Piura, a city with a population of four thousand, and so called from the purity of the atmosphere. The river, which flows past the city, passes through marshes of the *smilax sarsaparilla*; from which it is said to obtain medicinal qualities, which, together with the serenity of the atmosphere, make it the resort of invalids from this part of the coast.

The cruising ground of the ships employed in the sperm-whale fisheries is directly off this port, and, in consequence of its easy access and the excellence of the market, it is much frequented by them.

American whale-ships never carry medical officers, as is the case in the English and French whale-ships; in consequence of the peculiar liability to accidents, and their long cruises at sea, many lives are lost and much suffering produced for want of medical aid. The establishment of an hospital at some convenient port would be the means of alleviating much human misery and distress, at the same time it would foster this great school of hardy seamen. Payta is peculiarly adapted for this purpose, where an hospital could be established at a trifling expense; it is also a proper place for the sick of our squadron, where they could be placed in charge of a medical officer, and kept until the departure of one of our ships-of-war for the United States; instead of being cooped up in merchant vessels, without medical attendance, for four months during their passage home through the most inclement and unhealthy regions on the globe. The expenses that are annually incurred in sending sick officers and seamen from the Pacific station, would be amply sufficient to defray all the necessary expenses of an hospital.

10th of October, sailed from Payta, and in a few hours had a great change in temperature, the thermometer falling to 64°, with thick foggy weather, and the sick-list increased during the passage to forty. On the 16th touched at Lambayeque, and arrived at Callao on the 27th of October,

having been twenty-one days at sea since our departure from Puna; during which time the thermometer ranged at 68°, and the proportion on the sick-list was thirty—a majority having derangement of the stomach. The Potomac remained twenty-seven days at Callao, the thermometer ranging at 69°, barometer at 29.65, with a much more clear and dry atmosphere than during our previous visit; the-sick list averaged thirty, including a number of cases of scrofula, which are very obstinate.

21st of November, sailed from Lima, having at different periods of the cruise spent one hundred and twenty-seven days in this port; which afforded abundant opportunities of observing the effects of climate upon foreigners, and witnessing the diseases that occur here.

The Limaians are small in stature, and are short lived; the frequent revolutions in Peru carry off most of their athletic male population, while the climate and dissipated lives they lead shorten the period of their existence. The native Peruvians, who constitute four fifths of their population, are short, with very large chests, are fond of agricultural pursuits, were conquered, and are governed, by a handful of Spaniards. Their phrenological organization indicates little intellectual development, while their animal propensities are also diminutive; their habits and character strongly corroborate these indications; for when left to themselves, they diligently cultivate their fields, live amicably, and are hospitable and friendly; while the sentiments and faculties located in the superior and posterior portions of the cranium are much enlarged. Hence, when visited by Pizarro, they called themselves the children of the sun, and were far advanced in agriculture and the arts, while the sciences and warfare were scarcely known among them.

Our sick-list in Callao was usually large—an average of thirty-two; of which *adenetes*, or enlargement of the glands of the groin, constituted a large number. These indurations could seldom be resolved, notwithstanding the most active and varied treatment that could be enforced; in the officers, whose constant rest could be maintained, pediluvium (the foot-bath), cataplasms, and frictions, would occasionally prove useful, but rarely with the crew. They usually suppurate, and produce indolent ulcers, and are to be met with in every ship-of-war that visits Peru. The best prophylactics are, carefully avoiding the heavy mists, wearing flannel next the skin, and attention to the slightest injury or laceration of the skin on the lower extremities. Chronic hepatitis also frequently occurs, while the acute form of the disease is rarely met with.

Arrived at Valparaiso in twenty-five days, having met with calms and adverse winds; the average sick during the passage was twenty-six. Off Juan Fernandez we met with fresh head winds, which continued several days, during which the thermometer fell to 60°, and was followed by six cases of acute hepatitis, while many were labouring under colds and catarrhs. During the passage eight were admitted with bilious fever, who all convalesced immediately after our arrival in Chili, where the weather is dry and temperate at this season.

We remained fifty-three days at Valparaiso, during which time the thermometer averaged 69°, with constant pleasant weather, the barometer standing at 29.70; the average on the sick-list was eighteen, which was made up of slight accidents and indispositions resulting from indulgence

on shore. A quarter-gunner, one of the most athletic and useful men in the ship, lost his life by a fall on shore, when in a state of intoxication, and a case of phthisis terminated fatally. The only cases of importance that occurred were several cases of *hepatitis* and *intermittent fever*. At this season (their summer months) dysenteries and inflammation of the liver prevail among the natives, and the former frequently prove fatal. I attended a case of the latter in a Mr. Blanco, a gentleman who had been educated at our military academy at West Point, and promised much future usefulness to his young country; he had resided several years in the port, and was much debilitated by previous indisposition. The progress of the disease was twice arrested, and every indication was favourable; but, notwithstanding the most vigorous treatment, suppuration took place, which put a period to his existence. We spent one hundred and sixty days at Valparaiso, at different seasons of the year, and uniformly had a small sick-list. The climate of Chili is one of the best in the world; and this port was so peculiarly grateful to the Spaniards who came here from the coast of Peru, that they gave it the name of the "Vale of Paradise."

The Chilanoes are a robust and vigorous race, and frequently reach a great age, are capable of enduring much fatigue, and spend much of their time on horseback. The smallpox is endemic, and destroys many persons annually; and the state of medical science is so low that vaccination has not yet become universal.

An inflammatory fever, attended with much cerebral congestion, prevails during the autumn months, and sometimes assumes the form of an epidemic, which proves very fatal, and is considered to be contagious by the natives, who give it the name of *chaoolunga;* and which they treat with the infusion of *conchelagua*, an indigenous plant, which is a powerful diaphoretic.

The state of the medical sciences is very low on the coast, as there are no schools of medicine, and the native practitioners being from the lower orders of life, and uneducated, they command little respect; and their practice, which consists in the administration of the plants of the country, is attended with little success.

9th of February, sailed from Valparaiso, and met with head winds, which continued until we reached the fiftieth degree of south latitude, with cold, wet weather; on the 6th of March we were off Cape Horn, in 57° south latitude, at which time the thermometer stood at 46°, and the barometer at 29.80, with thirty-six on the sick-report. The character of the diseases had much changed since our departure from Valparaiso; pleuritis (pleurisy), cynanche tonsillaris (sore throat), and rheumatism, now swelled the list, and many of the crew were unwell who did not go on the list, as they were desirous to continue on duty during the passage home. After doubling Cape Horn we met with fresh, favourable breezes, which continued until our arrival at Rio de Janeiro. The lowest point reached by the thermometer during the passage was 42°, and the average on the sick-list was thirty-three; three fourths of which were labouring under inflammatory affections, produced by the cold and wet weather.

Arrived at Rio on the 23d of March, where we remained sixteen days. This is the rainy season; and although there were frequent showers during the day, the quantity of rain was very small. The average standing of

the thermometer was 78°, and the barometer 29.78, with twenty-nine on the sick-list.

After leaving Rio, a number of cases of diarrhœa came on the list, and our progress was slow until after we crossed the equator, which we did on the 27th of April, with the thermometer at 82°, and twenty-seven on the sick-list. We arrived at Boston after a passage of forty-four days, during which time the proportion on the sick-list was twenty-eight, on the 23d of May, at which time the whole ship's company were so well as to be able to take their discharge except six, who were transferred to the hospital—two with phthisis, one with fractured tibia, and the remaining three with chronic rheumatism.

The Potomac has been absent nearly three years, and the total number of deaths during that period was twenty-five, of which

16 died of dysentery,
3 consumption,
1 hepatitis (inflammation of the liver),
1 concealed hernia (rupture),
1 hydrocephalus (dropsy of the brain),
1 injured spine,
2 shot at the attack on Quallah-Battoo.

25 Total.

During the cruise seven of the crew, including two of the junior officers, were sent to the United States in consequence of ill health.

The average number of souls on board was four hundred and ninety, including thirty officers, of which we were so fortunate as not to lose one during the cruise. Our number of deaths was less than is usual on shore among the same number of adults—three out of every hundred being the yearly proportion; which would have given the Potomac forty-five deaths during the cruise. It must however be remembered, that at the time of sailing we were considered all in good health. The daily average of all excused from duty, in consequence of illness and slight injuries, for more than three years, while I was on board, was twenty-eight; which may be considered a large list. This, however, being the first cruise of the Potomac, we should expect a large sick-list, as new ships are always more unhealthy than old ones,—a circumstance supposed to be owing to the large quantities of salt used in building, which, attracting humidity from the atmosphere, renders the ship damp, and consequently unhealthy. The Brandywine was very sickly during her first two cruises, which was attributed to her being freely salted.

The Potomac has her galley on the birth-deck, and is the only frigate in the service that has it placed there; and was thought by many of the senior officers to contribute to the health of the ship—an opinion in which, with due deference, I cannot concur; as I consider cleanliness and dryness the best prophylactics on board ship—circumstances that cannot exist when the galley is placed on the lower deck.

In the cheerful and contented condition of the crew, with a constant state of employment, can be traced the health of the ship; to which a theatrical company, a weekly newspaper, and relaxation from severe mili-

tary discipline during our long passage across the Indian and Pacific Oceans, materially contributed; to which should be added the judicious police enforced on board ship during our visits to the most insalubrious ports on the globe. About one third of the crew had the spirituous portion of their ration stopped during the cruise, and it was found they were more frequently on the sick-list than those who drank their grog. This was owing to their being mostly boys and landsmen, who had never been to sea before, and would consequently not enjoy as good health as old sailors. A reduction in the quantity of grog issued would contribute much to the health of our ships' crews; and giving it to them *after*, instead of *before* meals, would prevent intoxication (which usually follows from taking a gill of spirits on an empty stomach), and preserve the health and lives of our sailors. This subject has been repeatedly urged by our ablest surgeons, yet it is unattended to.

During more than five hundred days at sea we never lost a man by a fall from aloft or overboard; and as the latter is an accident of very frequent occurrence, a few brief hints on the mode of treatment may not be out of place. So soon as out of water, hold the head in such a position as to permit the water in the mouth to discharge; then apply your mouth to that of the patient and *inflate the lungs*, at the same time press upon the ribs so as to imitate respiration, and continue this as long as there is a possibility of restoration; while the attendants are rubbing the body and extremities with coarse woollens, put the feet in warm water, or, if convenient, lay the patient in a warm bed. Drowned persons die from suffocation; the indications therefore are, to *supply the lungs with air*, and restore the natural temperature of the body. Many lives have been lost in fruitless attempts to evacuate the water from the chest, where it cannot enter until after death; and, when once there, all attempts at respiration will be fruitless.

When we compare the state of the health of our crew with that of early navigators, the improvements in modern navigation are found to be truly great. Lord Anson sailed from England with eight vessels, and one thousand nine hundred and eighty souls; out of which only a single ship's company, the Centurion, performed her voyage of circumnavigation. The early Spanish and Dutch navigators were equally unfortunate.

The great improvements in the marine police adopted by Captain Cooke during his voyages round the world, have benefited navigators as much as his geographical discoveries; but it must be borne in mind that his ships were small, and small vessels are more healthy than larger ones; at the same time, that his crews were in a constant state of excitement, anxiously looking forward to the discoveries they were almost daily making, being satisfied they would receive a proper reward upon their return home. In this, cheerfulness and cleanliness, consist the only good prophylactics on board ship.

Medical Bureau, Washington, 1835.

List of Officers, &c. on board the Potomac when she sailed from the City of New-York.

Commodore—John Downes.
Lieutenants—Irvine Shubrick, Stephen B. Wilson, Reuben R. Pinkham, Henry Hoff, Jonathan Ingersoll.
Surgeon—Samuel Jackson.
Commodore's Secretary—Nathaniel K. G. Oliver.
Sailingmaster—Robert S. Tatem.
Second Master—John Barry.
Chaplain—John W. Grier.
Purser—William A. Slacum.
Assistant Surgeons—Jonathan M. Foltz, Henry Dewitt Pawling.
Passed Midshipmen—Henry Tooley, junr., Sylvanus Godon.
Master's Mate—Charles de Selding.
Midshipmen—Francis P. Hoban, William May, Allen M'Lane, James G. Stanley, John W. Taylor, George Sinclair, Henry C. Hart, James H. Popplerton, William T. Cocke, James L. Parker, Charles Wm. Morris, George M. Totten, Charles Hunter, James B. Lewis, Micajah Claiborne, Eugene Boyle, Levi Lincoln, junr.
Schoolmaster—Francis Warriner.
Captain's Clerk—Erskine Stansbury.
Boatswain—John M'Nelly.
Gunner—John R. Covington.
Carpenter—William E. Sheffield.
Sailmaker—Christian Nelson.

Marine Officers

First Lieutenant—Alvin Edson.
Second Lieutenant—George H. Terrett.

Supernumeraries to join schooner Dolphin—Sailingmaster Benj. J. Totten, Assistant Surgeon Cornelius Moore, Midshipmen Wm. P. Taylor, Joseph C. Walsh, Alonzo B. Davis.

Recapitulation.

Officers	40
Supernumerary officers	5
Petty officers	28
Seamen	171
Ordinary seamen	118
Landsmen	66
Boys	28
Marines, officers and privates	44
Total	500

METEOROLOGICAL TABLES.

The following Meteorological Record was commenced on the 1st of June, 1833, while at the port of Coquimbo, Chili, west coast of South America; and continued until the arrival of the Potomac at Boston.

Date		THERMOMETER.			BAROMETER.			Winds.	Weather
		8 A.M.	12 M.	8 P.M.	8 A.M.	12 M.	8 P.M.		
1833,									
June	1	60°	61	65	29.80	29.85	29.82	S'd. & E'd.	Fair
	2	59	60	63	29.75	29.75	29.85	S.E. & S.W.	Fair
	3	59	60	61	29.72	29.80	29.80	Variable	Cloudy
	4	57	60	64	29.80	29.83	29.82	Do.	Fair
	5	58	60	58	29.84	29.85	29.80	N.E. to S.W.	Fair
	6	59	62	60	29.75	29.75	29.78	Do.	Light passing clouds
	7	62	62	63	29.78	29.72	29.75	Variable	Fair
	8	65	63	66	29.70	29.70	29.75	Northward	Cloudy and rain
	9	61	61	56	30.00	30.00	30.00	N. & W.	Fair
	10	56	60	62	29.75	29.72	29.75	Do.	Fair
	11	62	63	65	29.78	29.80	29.85	Variable	Fair
	12	62	63	65	29.90	29.95	29.95	Do.	Cloudy
	13	60	62	66	29.88	29.85	29.80	South'd.	Fair
	14	62	60	65	29.70	29.70	29.82	N. & W.	Thick and foggy
	15	62	63	66	29.85	29.85	29.85	S. & W.	Fair
	16	60	62	65	29.82	29.85	29.95	Northward	Hazy
	17	61	63	64	29.95	29.90	29.88	N. & E.	Fair
	18	59	58	64	29.88	29.85	29.88	S. & E.	Fair
	19	58	62	64	29.80	29.75	29.75	Northward	Fair
	20	58	58	63	29.72	29.75	29.75	N. & W.	Cloudy
	21	58	59	63	29.73	29.72	29.72	Variable	Cloudy
	22	59	58	62	29.72	29.72	29.75	Do.	Cloudy
	23	60	60	60	29.75	29.80	29.80	Light airs	Cloudy
	24	59	61	60	29.80	29.85	29.85	Variable	Cloudy, with rain
	25	62	60	64	29.85	29.85	29.85	S'd. & W'd.	Fair
	26	58	59	62	29.90	29.95	29.90	Do.	Fair
	27	58	60	63	29.90	29.85	29.75	Variable	Fair
	28	62	63	64	29.70	29.70	29.75	S'd. & W'd.	Fair
	29	62	63	64	29.80	29.80	29.80	Northward	Cloudy
	30	60	62	62	29.80	29.80	29.80	Calm	Fair
July	1	58	59	62	29.80	29.80	29.80	S'd. & E'd.	Fair
	2	56	56	56	29.80	29.80	29.80	Do.	Fair
	3	56	55	62	29.80	29.80	29.95	Variable	Fair
	4	58	62	60	29.95	29.95	29.80	S'd. & E'd.	Fair
	5	58	59	58	29.75	29.75	29.90	Variable	Cloudy
	6	55	60	62	29.90	29.90	29.90	Light airs	Cloudy
	7	56	58	56	29.85	29.75	29.75	Do.	Cloudy
	8	55	57	56	29.80	29.85	29.80	Do.	Fair
	9	54			30.05	30.00	30.00	Variable	Fair

Date.	Latitude.	Longitude.	THERMOM. 8 A.M.	THERMOM. 12 M.	THERMOM. 8 P.M.	BAROMETER. 8 A.M.	BAROMETER. 12 M.	BAROMETER. 8 P.M.	Wat'r.	Winds.	Weath'r.
1833.											
July 9	29° 32′ S.	71° 53′ W.	54°	55	58°	30.05	30.00	30.00	58°	Variable.	Fair.
10	25 54	74 15	56	60	60	30.00	29.90	29.90	60½	S.S.E.	do
11	22 42	76 06	62	63	63	29.95	29.85	29.85	62	S.E.	do
12	19 12	77 18	64	66	66	29.75	29.75	29.75	62	do	Cloudy.
13	15 53	77 40	67	66	66	29.75	29.65	29.75	65	S.E.'ly	Fair.
14	13 20	77 16	64	66	64	29.75	29.70	29.75	61	do	Cloudy.
15	12 24	77 04	64	65	65	29.75	29.75	29.75	62	Sd.&Ed.	do
16	Callao.		64	66	64	29.78	29.78	29.78		do	do
17	do		62	65	64	29.80	29.70	29.70		do	do
18	do		64	65	64	29.75	29.75	29.75		do	do
19	do		64	67	66	29.75	29.75	29.75		Calm.	do
20	do		64	64	63	29.75	29.70	29.70		do	Foggy.
21	do		66	67	65	29.70	29.75	29.78		Sd.&Ed.	Fair.
22	do		64	65	66	29.80	29.75	29.75		South.	Cloudy.
23	do		64	66	68	29.72	29.72	29.72		Sd.&Ed.	Fair.
24	do		66	64	67	29.72	29.72	29.72		South.	Cloudy.
25	do		66	68	69	29.70	29.70	29.72		Sd.&Ed.	do
26	do		66	68	67	29.75	29.75	29.75		do	do
27	do		66	67	68	29.80	29.80	29.80		South.	do
28	do		64	66	68	29.85	29.80	29.80		Sd.&Ed.	do
29	do		66	66	66	29.80	29.80	29.80		South.	Fair.
30	do		64	64	65	29.75	29.75	29.75		Calm.	Cloudy.
31	do		63	64	64	29.72	29.72	29.72		Sd.&Ed.	do
Aug. 1	do		65	65	67	29.75	29.75	29.75		do	do
2	do		64	66	66	29.80	29.80	29.80		do	do
3	do		65	66	64	29.75	29.75	29.75		do	do
4	do		64	66	67	29.70	29.70	29.70		do	Foggy.
5	do		67	66	68	29.70	29.70	29.70		do	Cloudy.
6	do		67	66	67	29.75	29.75	29.75		do	Variable.
7	do		67	67	67	29.75	29.78	29.78		South'd.	do
8	do		67	67	65	29.75	29.75	29.75		Sd.&Ed.	Cloudy.
9	do		67	67	66	29.78	29.78	29.78		do	do
10	do		67	66	66	29.78	29.78	29.78		do	do
11	do		67	67	67	29.75	29.75	29.75		do	Variable.
12	do		67	67	68	29.75	29.75	29.75		do	Cloudy.
13	do		66	67	68	29.78	29.78	29.78		do	do
14	do		67	68	68	29.72	29.72	29.72		do	do
15	do		67	67	67	29.75	29.75	29.75		Variable.	Variable.
16	do		67	67	68	29.75	29.75	29.75		Sd.&Ed.	do
17	do		67	68	68	29.72	29.72	29.72		do	Fair.
18	do		66	67	66	29.72	29.72	29.72		Variable.	do
19	do		67	69	67	29.72	29.72	29.70		South.	do
20	do		66	67	67	29.70	29.72	29.72		Sd.&Ed.	do
21	do		66	66	66	29.72	29.72	29.72		do	Cloudy.
22	do		66	67	66	29.72	29.72	29.75		do	Variable.
23	10° 22′ S.	78° 35′ W.	68	68	69	29.78	29.70	29.70		do	do
24	7 56	80 18	68	71	71	29.75	29.75	29.75	68	do	Cloudy.
25	5 39	81 14	69	69	70	29.78	29.78	29.78	68	do	Variable.
26	Payta.		70	72	71	29.78	29.78	29.78		Variable.	Fair.
27	3° 40′ S.	83 12	70	70	71	29.78	29.78	29.78	66	Sd.&Ed.	do
28	2 03	86 07	70	72	70	29.78	29.78	29.78	68	South.	do
29	1 31	88 55	71	70	70	29.75	29.75	29.75	67	Variable.	do
30	1 12		71	71	72	29.78	29.78	29.78	70	do	do
31			69	70	71	29.78	29.78	29.78		Sd.&Ed.	do
Sept. 1	Essex Bay.	Galapagos.	71	72	71	29.78	29.78	29.78		do	do
2	do	do	71	72	70	29.75	29.75	29.75		Variable.	do
3	do	do	70	71	70	29.75	29.75	29.75		Sd.&Ed.	do
4	do	do	72	74	72	29.75	29.75	29.72		Variable.	do
5	do	do	72	71	72	29.72	29.70	29.72		Sd.&Ed.	do
6	do	do	72	72	72	29.72	29.72	29.72		Variable.	Cloudy.
7	do	do	72	73	75	29.72	29.72	29.72		S.S.W.	Variable.
8	do	do	73	71	71	29.70	29.72	29.72		Variable.	Cloudy.
9	do	do	72	72	73	29.72	29.70	29.70		South.	do
10	1° 31′ S.	90° 51′ W.	71	72	72	29.70	29.70	29.70	70	Sd.&Ed.	Variable.
11	2 02	90 41	70	70	72	29.70	29.70	29.70	68	do	Cloudy.

Date.	Latitude.	Longitude.	THERMOM. 8 A.M.	12 M.	8 P.M.	BAROMETER. 8 A.M.	12 M.	8 P.M.	Wat'r.	Winds.	Weath'r.
1833,											
Sept.12	1° 35′ S.	88° 22′ W.	70°	70	72°	29.72	29.72	29.72	74°	Sd.&Ed.	Variable.
13	1 37	85 33	72	73	72	29.72	29.72	29.72	72	do	Cloudy.
14	2 00	83 36	71	72	72	29.72	29.72	29.72	70	Variable.	do
15	2 40	81 37	70	70	73	29.72	29.75	29.75	70	South'd.	do
16	3 18	Gulf Guay-	72	74	75	29.75	29.68	29.68	76	Variable.	Fair.
17	Puna,	aquil.	75	78	78	29.70	29.70	29.70		Nd&Wd	do
18	Guayaquil.		76	78	79	29.70	29.70	29.70		Variable.	Cloudy.
19	do		75	76	76	29.70	29.70	29.68		Westw'd	Fair.
20	do		74	76	76	29.68	29.68	29.68		Variable.	Cloudy.
21	do		75	77	78	29.68	29.70	29.70		Westw'd	do
22	do		73	76	77	29.70	29.70	29.70		Nd&Wd	do
23	do		74	77	76	29.70	29.70	29.70		Variable.	Fair.
24	do		75	77	76	29.70	29.70	29.70		Westw'd	do
25	do		74	78	76	29.70	29.70	29.70		Sd&Wd	do
26	do		75	77	77	29.70	29.70	29.70		Westw'd	Cloudy.
27	do		75	76	75	29.70	29.70	29.72		Sd&Wd	Fair.
28	do		74	77	76	29.72	29.70	29.70		do	do
29	3° 21′ S.	80° 28′ W.	75	76	74	29.65	29.65	29.65	79	Variable.	do
30	4 07		74	72	69	29.65	29.65	29.65	76	Sd&Wd	do
Oct. 1	4 51	81 40	69	69	69	29.65	29.65	29.65	62	Sd.&Ed.	do
2	Payta.		69	69	67	29.65	29.65	29.65		do	do
3	do		68	74	72	29.65	29.65	29.65		do	do
4	do		70	72	70	29.65	29.65	29.65		do	do
5	do		72	72	70	29.68	29.65	29.65		do	do
6	do		69	72	72	29.60	29.55	29.55		South'd.	do
7	do		70	72	72	29.65	29.65	29.65		do	do
8	do		71	73	72	29.70	29.70	29.65		Sd.&Ed.	do
9	do		75	79	75	29.65	29.65	29.65		do	do
10	5° 33′ S.		68	71	68	29.65	29.65	29.65	71	do	do
11	6 13	81° 51′ W.	67	70	69	29.70	29.70	29.70	71	do	do
12	6 22	81 02	68	69	69	29.75	29.75	29.75	67	do	do
13	6 46	80 31	69	69	69	29.75	29.75	29.75	63	do	do
14	Lambayeq'e		70	70	70	29.70	29.70	29.70		do	do
15	do		70	70	70	29.70	29.70	29.70		do	do
16	6° 53′ S.	80° 10′ W.	66	66	69	29.75	29.75	29.75	64	do	do
17	7 27	80 02	67	68	68	29.75	29.75	29.75	65	do	do
18	7 57	79 47	65	68	66	29.70	29.70	29.70	65	do	do
19	8 29	79 23	64	66	68	29.70	29.70	29.70	67	do	do
20	9 04	79 24	65	67	68	29.70	29.70	29.70	66	do	do
21	9 31	79 00	67	69	69	29.70	29.70	29.70	67	do	Cloudy.
22	9 41	78 27	67	67	67	29.70	29.70	29.70	66	do	Fair.
23	10 06	78 17	65	66	66	29.70	29.70	29.70	65	do	Cloudy.
24	10 55	78 37	66	68	69	29.70	29.70	29.70	68	do	Fair.
25	11 15	78 14	66	68	68	29.65	29.65	29.65	66	do	Cloudy.
26	11 47	77 52	66	67	67	29.65	29.70	29.70	66	do	Fair.
27	Callao.		66	66	66	29.70	29.68	29.68		do	do
28	do		66	68	67	29.68	29.68	29.68		Variable.	do
29	do		66	68	68	29.65	29.65	29.65		Nd&Wd	do
30	do		68	72	72	29.65	29.65	29.65		Variable.	do
31	do		68	70	70	29.68	29.68	29.68		Sd.&Ed.	do
Nov. 1	do		66	68	68	29.68	29.65	29.68		do	do
2	do		68	68	68	29.68	29.68	29.68		Variable.	do
3	do		69	69	68	29.68	29.68	29.68		do	Cloudy.
4	do		66	67	67	29.68	29.68	29.65		do	do
5	do		66	69	69	29.65	29.65	29.65		Sd.&Ed.	Fair.
6	do		69	69	69	29.65	29.65	29.65		do	do
7	do		69	70	70	29.68	29.68	29.68		do	Cloudy.
8	do		67	69	69	29.68	29.65	29.65		Variable.	do
9	do		69	70	70	29.68	29.68	29.68		Sd.&Ed.	do
10	do		68	70	69	29.68	29.68	29.68		Variable.	do
11	do		67	70	69	29.68	29.68	29.68		Sd.&Ed.	Fair.
12	do		67	68	68	29.65	29.65	29.65		do	Cloudy.
13	do		68	69	69	29.65	29.65	29.65		do	Fair.
14	do		68	70	70	29.65	29.65	29.65		do	do
15	do		69	70	70	29.65	29.65	29.65		do	do

Date.	Latitude.	Longitude.	THERMOM. 8 A.M.	12 M.	8 P.M.	BAROMETER. 8 A.M.	12 M.	8 P.M.	Wat'r.	Winds.	Weath'r.
1833,											
Nov. 16	Callao.		67°	67	67°	29.65	29.65	29.65		Sd.&Ed.	Cloudy.
17	do		66	67	67	29.68	29.68	29.68		Variable.	do
18	do		67	69	69	29.68	29.68	29.68		Sd.&Ed.	Fair.
19	do		69	70	70	29.68	29.68	29.68		do	do
20	do		66	68	68	29.65	29.65	29.65		do	do
21	do		67	69	69	29.65	29.65	29.65		do	Cloudy.
22	13° 07′ S.	78° 42′ W.	68	67	67	29.68	29.68	29.68	67°	do	Fair.
23	15 13	80 30	67	68	67	29.68	29.68	29.68	67	do	do
24	16 50	81 51	67	68	68	29.70	29.70	29.70	67	do	Cloudy.
25	17 56	82 56	68	70	68	29.75	29.75	29.75	69	do	do
26	19 40	84 06	68	70	68	29.75	29.75	29.78	68	do	do
27	21 56	85 27	66	68	68	29.80	29.80	29.85	68½	do	Fair.
28	23 34	87 20	67	70	68	29.85	29.85	29.85	69	do	do
29	25 55	88 37	67	68	68	29.90	29.90	29.90	69	do	do
30	26 48	89 11	68	69	68	29.90	29.90	29.90	69	do	do
Dec. 1	28 23	89 17	66	68	68	30.00	30.00	30.00	68	Variable.	do
2	29 17	89 05	69	69	70	30.00	30.00	30.00	68	do	do
3	29 46	89 12	70	70	69	30.00	30.00	30.00	68	Sd.&Ed.	do
4	30 56	89 05	66	67	70	29.95	29.95	29.95	68	Variable.	Variable.
5	31 22	89 08	68	68	68	29.95	30.30	30.00	69	Sd.&Ed.	Fair.
6	32 00	89 12	68	72	71	30.00	30.00	30.00	68	Variable.	do
7	31 58	88 37	70	72	72	30.00	30.00	30.00	72	do	do
8	32 16	86 23	70	70	70	29.95	29.95	29.95	67	South'd.	do
9	31 36	83 00	67	68	66	29.95	29.95	30.00	63	Sd.&Ed.	Cloudy.
10	31 19	81 52	63	64	63	30.05	30.05	30.05	64	do	Fair.
11	31 49	81 52	63	63	66	30.05	30.05	30.00	64	do	do
12	31 54	80 31	62	62	65	30.00	30.00	30.00	64	do	Cloudy.
13	31 53	77 53	65	63	67	29.85	29.85	29.85	62	do	do
14	32 00	75 35	64	63	65	29.85	29.85	29.85	62	do	do
15	32 32	75 26	64	63	64	29.85	29.85	29.85	62	do	Fair.
16	33 04	72 22	62	62	62	29.75	29.75	29.75	58	South'd.	do
17	Valparaiso.		63	69	69	29.75	29.75	29.75		Sd.&Ed.	do
18	do		63	69	70	29.75	29.75	29.75		do	do
19	do		63	69	69	29.75	29.75	29.75		do	do
20	do		64	64	70	29.68	29.68	29.68		Variable.	Cloudy.
21	do		64	63	65	29.70	29.70	29.70		Sd.&Ed.	Fair.
22	do		64	67	66	29.70	29.70	29.70		Variable.	Cloudy.
23	do		64	66	66	29.70	29.70	29.70		Sd.&Ed.	Fair.
24	do		65	70	65	29.70	29.68	29.65		Variable.	do
25	do		64	68	66	29.60	29.60	29.65		North'd.	Cloudy.
26	do		64	66	67	29.65	29.65	29.65		do	do
27	do		66	68	69	29.70	29.75	29.75		do	do
28	do		66	70	70	29.78	29.78	29.78		Sd&Wd	Fair.
29	do		68	69	70	29.78	29.78	29.78		Variable.	Cloudy.
30	do		68	70	72	29.78	29.70	29.70		Sd.&Ed.	Fair.
31	do		67	72	72	29.70	29.70	29.70		do	do
1834,											
Jan. 1	do		67	72	72	29.65	29.65	29.65		Sd&Wd	do
2	do		67	72	70	29.65	29.60	29.60		Sd.&Ed.	do
3	do		66	72	68	29.65	29.65	29.65		do	do
4	do		64	68	68	29.70	29.70	29.70		Variable.	do
5	do		64	64	66	29.65	29.65	29.65		do	do
6	do		63	68	67	29.65	29.65	29.65		Nd&Ed.	do
7	do		64	70	71	29.65	29.65	29.65		Variable.	do
8	do		63	65	68	29.75	29.75	29.75		Nd&Ed.	do
9	do		66	68	70	29.75	29.75	29.70		Nd&Wd	do
10	do		65	66	68	29.65	29.65	29.65		Variable.	do
11	do		65	66	67	29.65	29.65	29.65		do	do
12	do		66	68	68	29.65	29.65	29.65		do	do
13	do		64	70	68	29.70	29.70	29.75		Sd&Wd	do
14	do		64	70	72	29.78	29.75	29.75		Sd.&Ed.	do
15	do		68	77	78	29.70	29.65	29.60		do	do
16	do		68	80	78	29.56	29.60	29.60		do	do
17	do		68	68	70	29.65	29.65	29.65		do	Cloudy.
18	do		66	71	73	29.68	29.65	29.65		Variable.	Fair.

Date.	Latitude.	Longitude.	THERMOM. 8 A.M.	THERMOM. 12 M.	THERMOM. 8 P.M.	BAROMETER. 8 A.M.	BAROMETER. 12 M.	BAROMETER. 8 P.M.	Wat'r.	Winds.	Weath'r.
1834,											
Jan. 19	Valparaiso.		66°	71	70°	29.60	29.60	29.60		Variable.	Fair.
20	do		64	66	68	29.60	29.58	29.60		Sd&Wd	do
21	do		66	77	65	29.65	29.65	29.65		Variable.	Cloudy.
22	do		63	77	78	29.70	29.70	29.70		North'd.	Fair.
23	do		64	66	68	29.65	29.65	29.65		Variable.	do
24	do		66	74	72	29.65	29.65	29.65		Sd.&Ed.	do
25	do		66	70	70	29.65	29.65	29.65		Variable.	do
26	do		66	67	70	29.70	29.70	29.70		North'd.	Cloudy.
27	do		67	70	70	29.70	29.70	29.70		Sd.&Ed.	Fair.
28	do		66	71	72	29.70	29.75	29.75		Variable.	do
29	do		69	71	72	29.80	29.80	29.75		do	do
30	do		68	70	70	29.70	29.70	29.70		do	do
31	do		69	70	72	29.68	29.68	29.70		do	do
Feb 1	do		66	72	73	29.70	29.70	29.75		do	do
	do		67	71	72	29.78	29.78	29.78		Sd.&Ed.	Cloudy.
	do		68	72	70	29.75	29.75	29.75		North'd.	Fair.
	do		66	70	71	29.75	29.75	29.75		do	Cloudy.
	do		67	71	69	29.75	29.75	29.75		Variable.	do
	do		67	70	71	29.78	29.78	29.78		North'd.	do
	do		69	72	73	29.78	29.78	29.78		do	do
	do		71	71	71	29.78	29.78	29.78		Sd.&Ed.	Fair.
	do		69	72	70	29.70	29.70	29.70		Variable.	do
[illegible]	26′ S.	74° 52′ W.	69	68	69	29.70	29.75	29.75	68½°	do	do
[illegible]	52	78 56	70	72	69	29.85	29.85	29.85	72	Sd.&Ed.	do
[illegible]	47	80 42	71½	72	70	29.90	29.90	29.90	73	Variable.	do
[illegible]	46	82 20	72	73	74	29.95	29.95	29.95	72	Sd.&Ed.	do
[illegible]	12	82 54	74	76	75	29.85	29.80	29.80	75	Variable.	do
[illegible]	04	83 28	72	74	70	29.80	29.80	29.75	71	do	Cloudy.
[illegible]	50	83 41	68	66	65	29.75	29.80	29.80	68	Sd&Wd	Rain.
[illegible]	49	86 00	66	66	69	30.00	30.10	30.10	68	Sd.&Ed.	Squalls.
[illegible]	55	85 01	67	68	67	30.00	30.00	29.90	66½	Sd&Wd	Cloudy.
[illegible]	47	84 09	67	68	66	29.85	29.85	29.55	64	do	do
[illegible]	08	83 54	63	62	66	29.65	29.75	29.80	60	South'ly.	Rain.
[illegible]	42	85 50	62	64	61	29.85	29.80	29.80	62	Sd.&Ed.	Fair.
	28	85 10	61	61	55	29.75	29.75	29.75	58	Nd&Wd	Squalls.
	58	83 50	56	61	55	29.75	29.80	29.80	67	South'ly.	Fair.
24	44 42	81 48	53	54	53	29.60	29.60	29.80	56	Sd&Wd	do
25	44 20	84 43	54	52	54	29.85	29.95	30.00	55	Sd.&Ed.	do
26	46 00	81 20	55	54½	55	30.00	30.00	30.00	54½	South'ly.	Cloudy.
27	46 42	80 43	53	57	55	30.10	30.20	30.10	55	Sd&Wd	do
28	46 36	81 26	54	56	54	30.10	30.00	30.00	54	do	do
March 1	47 04	81 45	52	51	53	29.80	29.75	29.70	54	do	do
2	49 59	79 50	54	55½	51	29.30	29.22	29.20	53	Westerly	do
3	53 21	77 45	50	52	48	29.00	29.00	28.95	49	do	do
4	55 23	73 31	47	47	45	29.00	29.00	29.10	48	S.W.	do
5	56 28	70 04	46	46	50	29.20	29.20	29.20	47	Westerly	do
6	57 00	68 35	50	48	45	29.05	29.05	29.05	48½	Nd&Ed.	Squally.
7	55 54	64 53	40	40	42	29.50	29.50	29.65	43	Sd.&Ed.	do
8	53 27	63 16	44	48	46	29.65	29.60	29.45	48	Easterly	Cloudy.
9	52 39	58 52	48½	49	47	29.30	29.30	29.30	49	Variable.	Squally.
10	49 12	55 34	48	49	52	29.30	29.30	29.30	46	Sd&Wd	Fair.
11	46 31	53 19	58	57	56	29.20	29.30	29.40	57	Westerly	Cloudy.
12	45 41	53 02	59	64	58	29.50	29.50	29.50	58	Sd&Wd	Fair.
13	44 36	50 23	58	58	57	29.60	29.60	29.60	56	Nd&Wd	Cloudy.
14	43 30	47 46	61	62	64	29.40	29.40	29.30	57	do	Foggy.
15	41 00	45 48	59	59	57	29.60	29.60	29.70	59	Westerly	Fair.
16	38 28	45 30	67	69	66	29.70	29.70	29.65	69	Nd&Ed.	do
17	36 52	44 38	68	67	66	29.40	29.50	29.60	68	Westerly	do
18	35 18	43 30	69	72	69	29.65	29.65	29.65	71	Sd&Wd	do
19	34 42	42 18	70	70	72	29.60	29.60	29.60	72	North'ly.	do
20	33 00	41 40	71	72	72	29.60	29.60	29.40	72	Westerly	do
21	30 40	40 16	71	72	72	29.40	29.55	29.65	72	Nd&Wd	do
22	28 53	40 36	73	72	75	29.90	29.90	29.90	76	Sd&Wd	do
23	27 57	40 50	74	73	77	29.90	29.90	29.85	77	Variable.	do
24	26 50	40 55	76	76	76	29.85	29.85	29.85	79	South'ly.	do

Date.	Latitude.	Longitude.	THERMOM. 8 A.M.	12 M.	8 P.M.	BAROMETER. 8 A.M.	12 M.	8 P.M.	Wat'r.	Winds.	Weath'r
1834,											
Mar. 25	24° 29′ S.	41° 27′ W.	76°	74	78°	29.85	29.85	29.85	80	Sd.&Ed.	Fair.
26			77	80	81	29.75	29.75	29.75		Easterly	do
27	Rio de		77	80	79	29.65	29.50	29.50		South'ly.	Cloudy.
28	Janeiro.		80	80	81	29.68	29.68	29.70		do	do
29	do		76	75	77	29.78	29.78	29.78		do	Rain.
30	do		75	77	77	29.78	29.85	29.80		do	Cloudy.
31	do		77	78	80	29.80	29.75	29.75		do	Fair.
April 1	do		78	80	82	29.70	29.65	29.65		do	do
2	do		79	76	75	29.78	29.78	29.78		do	Rain.
3	do		75	77	76	29.85	29.85	29.85		do	do
4	do		75	78	78	29.80	29.80	29.80		do	Cloudy.
5	do		77	78	79	29.80	29.75	29.75		do	Fair.
6	do		78	78	79	29.72	29.70	29.70		do	Cloudy.
7	do		77	74	76	29.75	29.75	29.75		do	do
8	do		72	75	76	29.85	29.80	29.80		do	Fair.
9	do		75	77	76	29.80	29.80	29.80	78	do	do
10	24° 52′	41 35	78	79	78	29.80	29.80	29.80	80	Easterly	do
11	24 14	41 13	80	80	81	29.85	29.85	29.85	79	do	do
12	24 24	40 20	80	81	80	29.85	29.85	29.85	80	Nd&Ed.	do
13	24 08	39 18	80	80	81	29.80	29.75	29.75	80	do	do
14	24 16	36 48	79	81	80	29.75	29.75	29.75	80	do	do
15	23 53	35 10	80	80	80	29.70	29.75	29.75	79	North'ly.	Rain.
16	22 51	32 25	80	81	79	29.75	29.75	29.75	81	do	Cloudy
17	21 03	31 10	80	80	82	29.75	29.75	29.75	81	Nd&Wd	Squall
18	20 36	31 04	80	81	80	29.80	29.80	29.80	81	Variable.	Cloudy
19	19 27	31 29	81	82	80	29.80	29.80	29.75	82	Nd&Ed.	Rain.
20	16 51	32 53	81	82	82	29.75	29.75	29.80	82	do	Fair.
21	13 55	33 21	82	81	82	29.80	29.80	29.80	81	Easterly	do
22	10 29	33 30	82	82	82	29.75	29.75	29.70	82	do	do
23	6 45	32 57	82	81	81	29.70	29.70	29.70	83	S.E.	Squally.
24	4 22	32 17	82	80	81	29.70	29.70	29.70	82	Sd.&Ed.	Rain.
25	3 55	31 57	81	81	80	29.70	29.70	29.70	81	Variable.	do
26	1 39	33 34	81	83	82	29.75	29.75	29.75	84	Easterly	do
27	0 55	34 28	81	82	81	29.75	29.75	29.75	81	Nd&Ed.	do
28	0 28 N.	35 41	81	82	80	29.75	29.75	29.75	81	do	do
29	1 25	36 20	78	79	79	29.70	29.70	29.70	81	do	do
30	1 41	36 32	80	80	80	29.70	29.70	29.70	82	Variable.	do
May 1	2 40	36 39	80	81	82	29.75	29.75	29.75	82	do	Variable.
2	4 10	38 05	80	80	80	29.75	29.75	29.75	82	Nd&Ed.	Cloudy.
3	6 33	41 08	80	81	80	29.75	29.75	29.75	80	do	Fair.
4	8 54	44 03	80	80	80	29.70	29.70	29.70	79	do	do
5	10 59	46 23	80	81	80	29.75	29.75	29.75	80	do	do
6	13 15	48 40	79	80	79	29.75	29.75	29.75	79	N.E.	do
7	15 43	51 18	80	80	80	29.80	29.80	29.80	79	Nd&Ed.	do
8	17 58	53 47	78	80	78	29.85	29.85	29.85	79	N.E.	Rain.
9	20 09	56 24	78	79	78	29.85	29.85	29.85	78	Nd&Ed.	Fair.
10	22 49	59 25	78	78	77	29.85	29.85	29.85	76	do	Cloudy.
11	24 50	61 35	78	78	78	29.80	29.80	29.80	76	Easterly	Fair.
12	26 36	62 50	77	78	79	29.85	29.85	29.85	76	Sd.&Ed.	do
13	28 25	64 06	78	77	78	29.90	29.90	29.90	77	Sd&Wd	do
14	30 26	65 10	75	77	76	29.80	29.80	29.75	74	S.W.	do
15	32 45	66 25	73	73	73	29.70	29.70	29.70	70	S.S.W.	Rain
16	34 15	67 20	72	65	64	30.00	30.10	30.10	67	Variable.	do
17	34 28	68 06	64	64	66	30.18	30.10	30.00	68	Nd&Wd	Cloudy.
18	34 46	69 30	66	68	68	29.90	29.90	29.90	72	North'ly.	Fair.
19	35 50	69 22	72	73	74	29.90	29.90	29.90	76–69	Westerly	do
20	38 17	69 33	73	73	70	30.00	30.10	30.10	68–78	Variable.	do
21	39 29	69 16	68	68	69	29.90	29.85	29.85	61–76		do
22	41 45	69 11	56	56		29.85	29.85	29.85	48		do
23	Boston.					29.90					

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V + R (?)

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on 27 February, 2016